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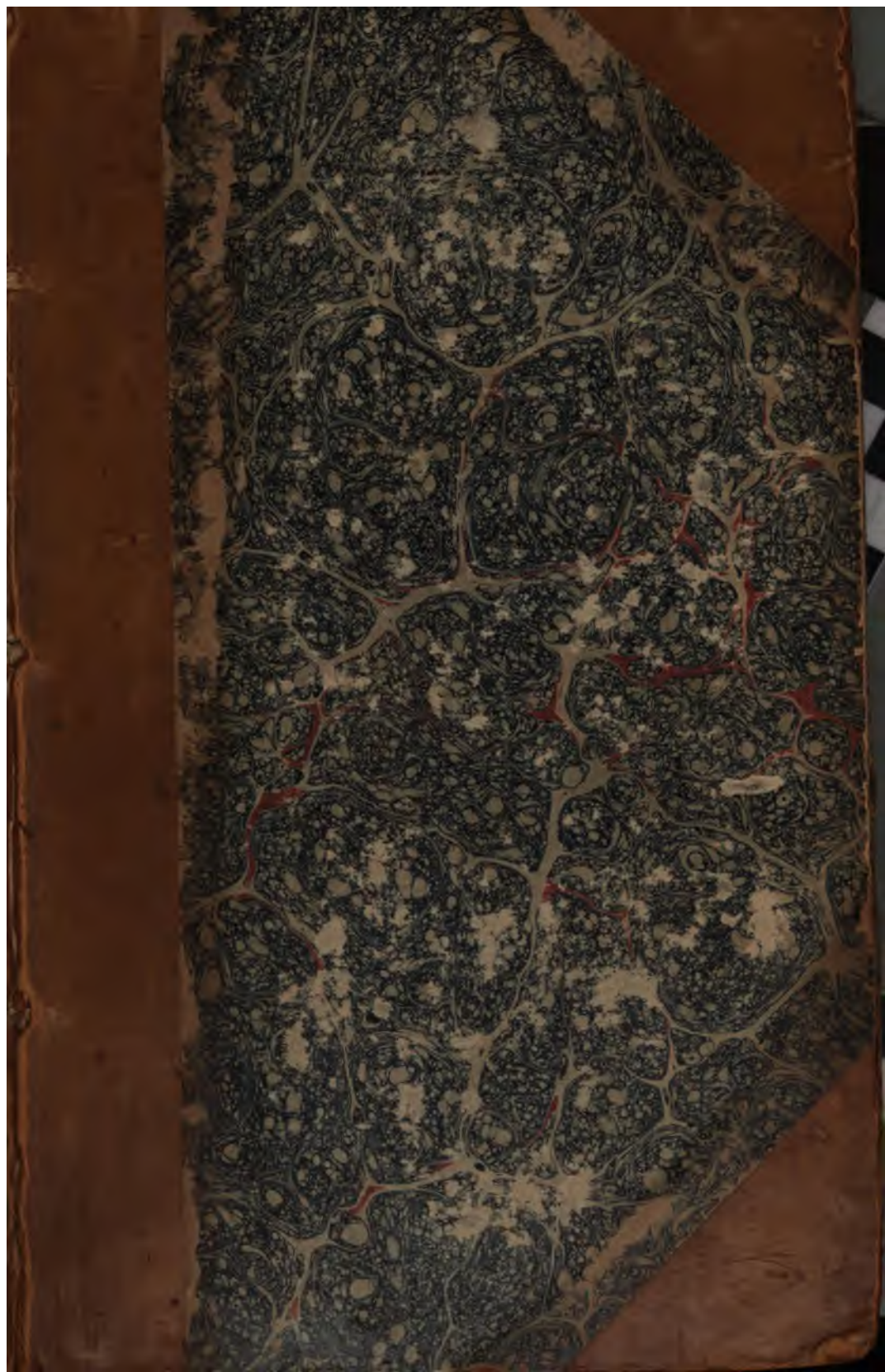
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THE  
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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MARCH & JULY,

1813.

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VOL. IX.

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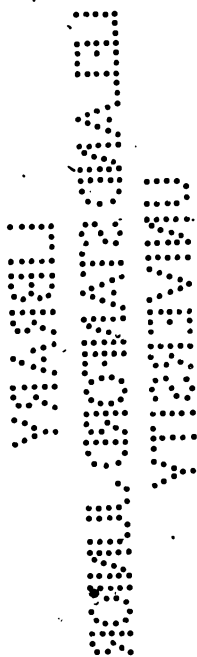
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# THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

MARCH, 1813.

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ART. I. *Malte par un Voyageur François*, 12mo.

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*Materials for a History of the People of Malta.* By William Eton, Esq. &c. 8vo.

IF singular anomalies never fail to arrest our attention, Malta, which presents so many deviations from the common order of things, moral and physical, is surely calculated to excite curiosity and interest. In a political point of view, she has far stronger claims upon our notice. Every year, we might almost say every month, which has elapsed since the renewal of hostilities, has afforded additional proof of the advantage, or rather of the necessity of this island to Great Britain, so long as she shall wish to maintain her station, either as a belligerent or a commercial power in the Mediterranean; and we trust that by this time the *tenenda est Melita*, is become as favourite a political maxim with Englishmen as the *delenda est Carthago*, was with the Romans. But if time and experience have convinced us of the soundness of such a principle, those two great teachers, in shewing us the value of our prize, have also shewn us that the system upon which we have hitherto acted is not the best calculated for its preservation. We believe we speak the common opinion, in considering our policy in the government of our foreign possessions as defective; but whilst a modification of the present system, if a radical change cannot be effected, is become necessary in all, it is no where more imperiously called for than in Malta. Postponing those considerations, which are general to our colonial acquisitions, we shall examine such points as are peculiar to that island; and after observing, that we view the spirit of cabal, which has exhibited itself there, through no exaggerated medium, and that we hold the main pretensions of the malcontents to be not less unreasonable than their power is insufficient to enforce them, we are yet of opinion that the causes of this spirit of disaffection, however remote or indirect, clearly call for inquiry.



We are much mistaken if there be not more of mischief than is yet visible, and if the clamour of the few do not derive confidence from a general spirit of restlessness; which, if not soothed or repressed, may, at no great distance of time, ferment into faction more deep and dangerous than the present. Some general principles of government may be laid down, but very few indeed that are abstractedly applicable to all cases, and which do not require to be modified according to the genius of the people for whose benefit they are intended. To an inquiry therefore into what has led to the appearance of discontent, to which we have alluded; to a consideration of the remedies which may be most capable of arresting its growth; in short, to any discussion of the present political state of Malta, we must bring a sufficient acquaintance with its former circumstances, and above all a knowledge of the genius and manners of its inhabitants. If therefore in the general view which we shall take of the island and things relating to it, we should enter somewhat into detail on this head, or dwell on traits which to some may appear trifling or perhaps ridiculous, we shall answer, that not only such an assemblage of features is absolutely necessary towards forming a fair picture of national character, either in a philosophical or political consideration of the subject, but that, in the latter point of view, such peculiarities are even sometimes individually of much more importance than the world might at first sight be disposed to admit.

Few, unfortunately very few and insufficient, are the sources from which we can hope to derive the information on the various heads under which Malta and its sister islands merit investigation; and we have selected the books before us, rather as a specimen of the class of works to which we would recur, than because they have fulfilled our expectations. The first, however, which is a succinct compilation from older authors, though superficial, contains some account of old Malta, and as full a description of its antiquities as will satisfy any but the professed antiquary. The second is passable as far as it goes, and though the author's place of superintendant of the Botanic garden in La Valletta is, necessarily, as nearly a sinecure as that of riding-master to the doge of Venice; he shews acquaintance with the state of cultivation, such as it is, and in proposing plans for its improvement, has interspersed his essay with some notices respecting the habits and character of the peasantry. The third, though its professions are not very large, amongst other things, (though the author seems to have forgotten his engagement,) undertakes to treat of manners. He has however failed not more egregiously in this than all other parts of his work; some of which, we will not say his supposed education, but mere common sense

sense and common observation would have been competent to execute with success. Those who have passed a winter in Malta, may judge of the accuracy of his notices on climate, by his remark on the rarity of rain during that season: those who have never travelled but on maps, will duly estimate his geographical information by his assertion, that Lisbon and Naples are the two most southerly parts of Europe; and an idea of the profundity and truth of his medical observations may be formed from his dictum, that *society is of benefit to the invalid from its promotion of the cutaneous perspiration*. For the stile, or rather idiom, it would shock 'brass-visaged barbarism' himself. But enough of the doctor!

We pass to the work of Mr. Eton, formerly superintendant-general of the quarantine department in Malta; and if we could draw an omen from the title of the book, or the name and station of the author, this would be a happy ascent in the scale of publications, which we have chosen as subjects of review: but a strange fatality (may we escape its influence!) hangs over this subject; and Mr. Eton has disappointed us equally with the rest. His title is a mere cloak; as his book is a masked battery against the present form of government established in Malta, mounted with an old, rusty, unserviceable, and ill-directed artillery which, if it has not been shaken to pieces by its own fire, may be dismounted by a single hostile discharge. If the first works on which we have commented, were other than what they are, and if there was any thing like a redemption of the promise of his title-page, or candour or consistency in the publication of Mr. Eton, our task would be more simple than it unfortunately is; but insufficient or vicious in various respects as are these different volumes, we see no means of disentangling, or of eking out the perplexed and broken web which lies before us. We are therefore reduced to the necessity of spinning one of our own, making use of such of their materials as we think applicable to our purpose, or giving our reasons for rejecting them where the case appears to require it.

In no country in Europe did the yoke of authority press so grievously as in Malta: a domineering system of policy was the only principle of government with the order of St. John, nor was the systematic rigor to which they were subjected the principal evil which her inhabitants had to endure; they had to bear with the more offensive profligacy and insolence of the individuals who composed it. Next in rank to these were the marquisses, counts, and barons, who for the greater part, we believe, derived, and often purchased, their honours from the grand master. Their nobility was in truth little more than titular, they were treated with no consideration by the knights, and consequently were little respected by the people. There was little commerce, and almost every path

leading to wealth and honour was closed against the natives; in short, to apply to Malta the strong and comprehensive words of a modern writer, *tout y étoit instrument ou poussière*. Menaced by France, and unable, from the failure and bad administration of their revenues, to maintain an adequate force for their defence, the order feared to accept the voluntary offers of the inhabitants, which might, at least, have presented a barrier to the danger of the moment. When these, who had only submitted from necessity, rose upon their oppressors, the knights were out of the question, and the nobles and, speaking by comparison, the rich, either observed a timid neutrality or, in some few instances, adhered to the enemy. A new race started into consideration, men, in whom native sense and courage, in a great degree, supplied the place of wealth, rank, or education, and who found their proper level in the disturbed circumstances of the times. Some of these leaders were doubtless not influenced by the purest motives, and some had first courted the favour of the French, who afterwards lined the ranks, or directed the hostility of the insurgents.

After the triumph of the Maltese and the establishment of a British government in the island, all, if we except one short interruption of tranquillity, for a while went well. Then came the peace of Amiens, in which England pledged herself to the restoration of the knights of St. John, and in remodelling this order, the vital principle of which was purity of descent, the paramount duties of which were the exercise of charity, and christian devotion unto death, the first exemplified by service in the receptacles of the poor and sick, the second by sea and land against the unbelievers,—in recasting a body, the members of which were sworn to defend their posts under every extremity of suffering and danger—projected to reconstruct it with the remnants of a perjured chivalry, to piece it by the insertion of purchased nobility, to prop it by the conclusion of a peace with the infidels, and to maintain it by the robbery of hospitals and almshouses. If the Maltese did not see the folly, they at least saw the injustice of this stipulation; they execrated the memory of the knights, who had oppressed and who had betrayed them: if they were in a great degree indebted to England for their former deliverance, they were obliged to her only as an ally, who, in blockading their enemies by sea, and furnishing them with a few auxiliary troops, furthered her proper interests, and they conceived themselves principally indebted to their own arms for their deliverance. They had willingly bestowed their island upon the king of England, but in so doing they had given him no power to convey it to another; if he declined it, the sovereignty justly reverted to themselves. Such points they pressed upon our government, backed by

by many other arguments and assertions, and if some of these were futile or fantastic, and such some certainly were, others were irrefragable. Amongst other things they cited the instrument by which Charles V. as king of the Sicilies, made over the *dominium utile* of Malta, to the knights of St. John, with the express reservation, that if they abandoned the government, it should revert to the crown from which it had been dismembered. Hence they justly concluded, that if considerations of right were to decide the question, the island was either the king of Sicily's or their own; the king of Sicily's in virtue of the instrument of cession, or their own by the title of conquest. They gained little by this logical appeal to the English cabinet, beyond the satisfaction of impaling the minister on one of the horns of their dilemma. While he, however, was sprawling upon the stake, the British nation, if not informed, or not sensible of the claims of justice, slowly awakened to more interested considerations, and Malta was delivered from the terror of her knights, and of the French. Unfortunately, however, it required little shrewdness on her part, to perceive that England had played a most unworthy part, and that her conduct was a fearful omen of what might be expected from her, on any future occasion, when interest and policy were not, as well as honour, arrayed on the same side of the question. If any thing, however, could have appeased the resentment of the Maltese, though it could not remove their fears, it would have been the conduct of the English governor, or, to speak more correctly, the English civil commissioner, Sir Alexander Ball. The mildness of his really paternal sway formed a striking contrast to the tyranny of their former masters, and other things tended to second its natural effects. Protection from the piracies of the Barbary states, the erection of La Valletta into a free port, and the consequent influx of English capital, had opened sources of wealth of which the Maltese, who appear to have a natural disposition to commerce, availed themselves with remarkable industry and success. All again appeared to promise quiet and content: but the calm was of short duration.

Many various and unconnected causes led to new dissatisfaction. Nothing could make a stronger first impression than the conduct of Sir Alexander Ball. It was the stronger, from a conviction of the sincerity of the man, and *il suo diletto popolo Maltese*, so constantly in his mouth, for a long while lost little effect from repetition, because it was known to come from his heart. Moreover, his indulgence was never capricious, because it was not formed on a false estimate of the character of the people. He knew them well, their defects as well as their merits, and, as far as his policy extended, managed them with equal sagacity and discretion. But though not capricious, it was excessive; and concilia-

liation has its limits. The gentleness of his nature would not allow him to temper his system with harsher yet salutary ingredients, and he could not, or he would not, believe that, were an option necessary between the two great principles of fear and love, the former, inasmuch as its impressions are more lively as well as more lasting, is the more powerful engine of government. Hence though he outlived not the love of the people at large, the latter period of his life was harassed by factions which we believe he possessed sufficient authority to have crushed. The Maltese had been long kept under by hard treatment and hunger. They were of a sudden pampered and released from restraint; it is not wonderful that, like other wild animals, they should abuse the blessings which were new to them. There is nothing more striking to an Englishman than the hourly exhibition of this spirit. The same men who dared not pass the large space before the Grand Master's palace but cap in hand, will not now shew those ordinary tokens of respect which are cheerfully paid to sex and station by ourselves. The manner in which this humour exhibits itself is sometimes offensive, and sometimes sufficiently amusing. A porter will jostle you in the street; nobody will ever make way for you. A hackneyman or boatman will, perhaps, if you accept his terms, clap you on the back, and cry *buono!* or, if you reject them, motion you from him with the addition of 'Shove off, John, or Mary,' according to the sex of the party with whom he is in treaty. In short, these people are precisely like those upstarts in society who mistake rudeness for ease, and consider impertinence but as a proper assertion of independence.

But if some bad effects sprang out of good, others proceeded from a more natural source. The Maltese law, which had, perhaps, been sufficient to the purposes of justice in a simpler state of society, was soon found to be inadequate to the new order of things. The complicated relations of commerce required a system more certain in its principles and more expeditious in its proceedings. Sir Alexander Ball doubtless thought that his abolition of a court, which cut off one stage of appeals, previous to arriving at the last resort, would conduce to the last mentioned object; but where there was a suspicion of corruption, and the persuasion, how justly founded we know not, certainly exists in Malta, it may be questioned whether such a reduction might not really remove one of the barriers which opposed it. At any rate, it was not calculated to efface the belief; a belief originating, perhaps, not more in the inconsistency of their decisions than in the deplorable poverty of the judges.

Nor was this poverty the fate of those magistrates alone. Great as was the influx of wealth, it was not every one who could be benefited

fited by it; to those who were not, it was injurious; and they, whose property was unimprovable, suffered not less in reality than by contrast. In many instances, too, owing to particular local circumstances, the price of things rose beyond all just proportion to the augmented value of money. Such was the case with respect to houses: this necessarily pressed severely upon the poor, who, as it is the nature of man to contemplate his situation on the most unfavorable side, did not probably consider that they were indemnified in the increased stipend of labour, which is better paid in Malta than in Great Britain. Another evil which bore hard upon a very extensive and respectable class, we mean the middle order of society, was the rise of wages amongst the women servants, which, from the great concourse of English settlers, rose to a sudden and unnatural pitch. This has driven the natives to a singular expedient, that of importing black female slaves from the opposite coast of Africa. We know not whether the introduction of these be clandestine, or whether slavery be a *status* acknowledged by the law of the island; whether it be or not, however, the sanction of it (if it ever were allowed) must have been done away by the acts of the British legislature, and we conclude, therefore, that such a traffic must be contraband, and that slaves thus imported might vindicate their liberty by an appeal to justice. To return from this short digression: by no class of people were the evils we have mentioned more severely felt than by the public functionaries of every description, whose miserable salaries, contemptible as they now appeared, had been formerly better proportioned to the relative value of money. It was difficult to apply a remedy to this evil. Malta furnished scarcely any revenue, but was, on the contrary, a source of large expenditure to Great Britain. Her governor could hardly, under such circumstances, apply at home for assistance, or, if he did, it is natural enough that it should have been refused. It would indeed have been easy to raise a revenue infinitely more than sufficient to such purposes, we believe adequate to the maintenance of the colony, from the island itself; not by internal taxes never levied by their former masters, but by duties imposed upon commerce: this, however, was not done, though the boon was our own, and we had a right to attach to it what conditions we pleased. As to the prudence of the measure, we need only cite the example of the Ionian islands, where the success of the experiment fully justifies what we have conjectured would have been its effect, if adopted in Malta. All the native officers of the colony were consequently left in a state of distress, which, if it did not alienate them from their attachment to England, was not likely to dispose them towards her interests; or, (if their sense of duty was proof against such a trial,) at least, left them little influence or



means to support them. Add to this, some of the lordings of the isle, though they had deserved nothing of us or of their fellow citizens, probably thought they had a sufficient title to consideration in their nobility; and of those who had a better plea in their services during the blockade, some may have been, in point of morals as well as talents, unfit for situations of civil trust. At any rate, it was difficult for the English governor to reward this class according to his estimate of their deserts, impossible according to their own.

Such were the causes which, directly or indirectly, mediate or immediately, contributed to the fermentation which followed. But this was only a general spirit of restlessness; the majority were like children who cry for something but know not for what. Out of the mass, however, started a party, not indeed formidable either in its composition or its numbers, but whose objects were more defined, and whose aims were more dangerous. These, unpractised in the chace which they were engaged in, were not long at a loss for instruction. They were cheered in the pursuit, if not laid on, by an English huntsman, in the shape of Mr. Eton; and if they did not evince much sagacity in unravelling the scent, it must be allowed that they approved themselves true *southern hounds* in their clamour, and that a louder (we cannot say

---

—— ‘ a cry more tuneable,)  
Was never halloo’d to or cheer’d with horn.’

All nations, from the Chippeways, who believed that their ancestors lived till their teeth were worn out with eating, to the Maltese, who fancy that they were once free, rich, and civilized, have an ideal golden age: it would be as difficult for the latter as for the former to assign its date. The first assertion of their great national rights was, however, made in the memorial on the peace, parts of which we have so lately discussed. In this, we are informed, amongst other things, that they *had been the free allies, and not the subjects, of Sicily, and that they had elected their own suzerains!!! &c. &c. &c. &c.* Notwithstanding, however, all the rusty rubbish in which they had raked for somewhat whereon to re-erect their supposed rights, amongst all the frivolous matter which they triumphantly fished up and most perversely misapplied, the grand piece of mummery, brought forwards with such pomp and circumstance, (and this is a fact well worthy of remark,) was as yet unproduced. This was an afterthought, when that spirit had been raised, the causes of which we have endeavoured to trace.

There existed formerly in the island a body denominated the *concilio pubblico*, or *popolare*, or, as is stated by the Maltese, sometimes designated as the *concilio della città*. This corporation was dissolved by the grand master in 1775, and all that is known of its functions

functions is, that they had been, as far as modern history or tradition extends, administrative. This council was, however, now armed with legislative powers by the patriots, who called aloud for the re-erection of the idol, whom they had vested with such imaginary virtues. According to our view of this subject, the question respecting the rights of this assembly might be dismissed as irrelevant to the points which are at issue. Granted, that the Maltese, as they assert, received us upon condition that we preserved to them their privileges; what could such a stipulation, or such a presumption, mean, but privileges either clearly defined, or lately held and enjoyed? To illustrate the case by the first instance, and certainly it is a fair parallel, which occurs to us;—let us suppose that several years after the Norman conquest, and before the establishment of parliaments, the throne of England had been by any means vacated, and a king of Denmark installed in the empty seat, upon the same terms on which, as it is affirmed, our own sovereign was received by the Maltese,—could his new subjects, under the plea of having had assurance of the guarantee of privileges, have pretended to the restoration of the wittenagemot? Notwithstanding, however, the light in which we view the subject, namely, that though the political speculators of Malta could make good their assertions, they are still but where they were in the argument respecting their pretensions, these pretensions we are ready to discuss; not in the perverse love of pursuing any unprofitable argument, but with the desire to detect imposture and to disabuse those who have been its dupes. We have already stated that the *concilio popolare* was an after-thought, or an after-discovery of the Maltese. Mr. Eton, however, (for he cannot saddle his battering-ram, the happily yclept *Marquis Testa ferrata*, or any other of his instruments, with *this* discovery,) has found out that it was re-erected by the Maltese, immediately upon their rising in arms against their oppressors; and he has recognized the features, and traced the character of the deceased; in a committee, similar to those of our late volunteer corps, created by the insurgents, in control of their chiefs, and afterwards, for their notorious misconduct, most deservedly dissolved. From this his first introduction of the subject, we are constantly revisited by the phantoms of this council and the liberties of the Maltese. We can compare these to nothing better than to Panurge's quit-rents of periwinkle and cockle-shells, not only as alike in point of insubstantiality but as being pressed upon us with the same perversely ingenious perseverance and artifice. Now absolutely affirmed, now incidentally mentioned, now referred to as things recognized, they are overlaid with such a mass of circumstance, that we are all but bored and bewildered into belief. But whoever will turn to Mr. Eton's book and take the trouble of shovelling away

away the lumber which is spread over the supposed foundations of all these privileges and pre-eminences, will find the whole fabric baseless, and his assertions utterly unpropped by the documents which he has so boldly and ostentatiously produced.

It is however in Part III. after having 'long preluded to the fray,' that he has mustered the assertions of the patriots in regular order of battle, with the said documents marshalled in the rear. The object of this memoir, which purports to be a translation, is to establish the great antiquity of the predicated Maltese liberties, as well as of this *concilio popolare*. In proof of this, besides more statements, to which we have before alluded, as produced in other papers, we are presented with accounts of concessions made in favour of these islanders, and more particularly with the precise words of an instrument of a Sicilian king, justifying them in the resistance they might make to a lord imposed upon them by the crown of Sicily. History tells us, (and with this the documents are by no means at variance,) that Malta was conquered by Roger, king of Sicily, and soon afterwards erected into a fief. After a succession of lords, the inhabitants, wearied with the change of masters, and disliking the individuals upon whom this island was conferred, did at different times purchase their redemption, and obtain the strongest assurances that they should not again be separated from the possession of the crown. But, as it will always happen, when the weak stipulate with the strong, faith was ill observed with them; they continued to be, as it suited the views of the court of Sicily, transferred from master to master, and at last willingly and joyfully acquiesced (for they testified their feelings in a most substantial manner) in the transfer of Malta by the Emperor Charles V. to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Now, supposing the flattering turn given to these transactions in Mr. Eton's book were perfectly just, we would simply ask these patriots, or their advocate, what their *Magna Charta*, as they phrase it, tends to establish. The permission given to them by one of their kings to resist any infraction of their purchased rights, may by them be considered as a monument of national honour, and however little value an Englishman may set on trophies obtained by gold, however little credit he may attach to their ancestors for not having used the privilege of resistance which they had purchased so dearly, we will still consider it, if they please, as an honourable achievement. But, at the best, this is all that can be said for it. The rights which the Maltese had purchased were necessarily merged in their voluntary submission to the knights of St. John; and this, though Mr. Eton has in one place declaimed on the injustice of Charles V,

is confessed in another division of his work : in that transfer they were buried.

But from this era they begin a fresh score ; and first we are told, that a general guarantee to the inhabitants of their privileges on occasion of this transfer, and the oath, equally general in its terms, taken by the grand masters to maintain them, prove the existence of these so often presumed rights ; and secondly, we are desired to believe that he was only first minister of the island, with limited and responsible authority. As to the latter ridiculous assertion, we shall refer the reader to the instrument of cession by Charles V. Ciantar, lib. ii. not. xiv. With respect to the guarantee of rights, and the oath taken to observe them, we shall only remark, that we are not at all disposed to deny that the Maltese enjoyed certain privileges not necessarily vacated by the transfer, some of which are sufficiently established by the documents before us, but it does require either a most singular degree of stupidity, or of effrontery, to contend from thence that such were popular. The most despotic sovereign in the world swears to preserve the rights of his people. Let the Maltese shew a specification of their rights, and evidence of their *concilio popolare*. In the mean time, they may continue to proclaim the first and to dress the latter with what authority they please ; they may devote pages (see Eton, Part III.) to an account of its composition, and to a definition of its powers, but all this is as ridiculous as the pompous opening speech of an advocate who has not an evidence to call in support of the allegations of his brief. One only sentence (these documents, it is to be observed, are generally extracts) can be adduced as containing any thing like a presumption of the council ever having exercised legislative powers. (p. 116) viz. ‘ That the jurats and the captain of the city shall be obliged to execute and obey all the resolutions of the deliberations of the council.’ But independently of the loose and general mode in which obedience is usually prescribed, even when it is meant to be limited, another paragraph in the same paper teaches how this ought to be interpreted, for it vests a particular power in the council, expressly subject to the approval of this very captain, who is, in the article before quoted, ordered to execute and obey all their resolutions!! We would recommend to the Maltese, the next time they present us with garbled papers, to compare with better caution the ill assorted pieces out of which they seek to make a whole. The paper, moreover, from which this article is selected, if it were not so harmless, would be singularly suspicious. It has neither description nor title. It begins thus : ‘ And the 22d of February, 1458, on the application of the noble Piero di Mazzara, royal knight, and Antonio Falzone, ambassadors, King Alphonso granted, &c.’ The whole series is curiously entitled,

intituled 'A note of the contents of diplomas of the sovereigns, sovereigns of Malta, containing concessions and conventions relative to the rights and privileges of the people of the islands of Malta and Gozo.' Garbled as these papers are, a fact which appears upon the face of them, they are also very doubtfully authenticated, having been produced before a single notary public by three jurats, in the year 1721, a period, which did not long precede an open conspiracy against the order.

Such are the foundations on which rests the supposed authority of the *comitato popolare*. Nothing, like what the Maltese have asserted, is to be discovered, neither *totidem verbis, totidem syllabis, nec totidem literis*. But forsooth, there are yet other important documents in the possession of certain families of the island, copies of which are preserved in the archives of Palermo. Need we here cite the old conclusion, passed into an adage, respecting things non-existent and non-apparent? We might, however, go farther: we understand that a Sicilian advocate of high character, for probity and talents, was employed to rummage for these supposed palladia of Maltese freedom, and we have been assured, that the result of his laborious researches was, that there existed no evidence whatever of the council having exercised the functions which the patriots had attributed to it, and that its duty appeared to have been limited to the regulation of the supply of grain. What seems to confirm this, is an article amongst the documents produced in Part III. of Mr. Eton, which we have before referred to, as requiring the sanction of the captain of the city, and, we might have added, his judges. This article empowers the council, conjointly with the jurats, and with the sanction of the before named officers, as *representing the suzerain*, to oblige the rich to lend money for the purchase of corn in cases of necessity. This, however, is totally unnecessary to our argument; the *onus probandi* lies with the malcontents, and we have seen what precious lights they have struck out from the hopeless mass upon which they have so long been hammering. Yet such was the *ignis fatuus* hailed by the patriots as the day-star of liberty to Malta.

Others there were, however, who, agreeing with them in opinion as to the supposed evils existing in the constitution of these islands, looked to a different remedy; though we know not that their opinions, thrown out generally indeed in the memoir on the peace, have ever been embodied and embattled like those of the persons whom we have just dismissed from the scene. These ran wild upon another project, about liberty of the press, trial by jury, &c.

It is obvious that some of the evils which we have mentioned as the certain or probable causes of the spirit of disaffection, which

which we have described, are to be cured by time alone; there are others which, not containing the *vis medicatrix naturæ* in themselves, require the healing hand of authority. We have the satisfaction of knowing that this has already, in one instance, been applied, that the present governor has begun to make the island contribute to its own support, and that he is proportionably augmenting the salaries of the public functionaries. Will it be believed, (we know not if it has lately been increased,) that the income of a Maltese judge, in a country where every thing is dear as in England, only a few months ago did not exceed the annual sum of two hundred and fifty pounds, and that during the government of Sir Alexander Ball the yearly revenue of the islands of Malta and Gozo did not amount to more than forty thousand? We sincerely hope that General Oakes will not desist from his purpose till he has made the revenue meet every expense of the establishment. We are well aware that the imposition of duties which ought to have been levied at first will come with an ill grace after so long an exemption from all fiscal regulation; but if we hope to retain our colonies, we must make them contribute to their own support and defence, a consideration, which, if any argument can in such a case have weight, cannot be utterly unavailing with the Maltese. The population at large pay scarcely any thing to the state, and very little to the church; unless their piety should prompt them to voluntary contribution. They will be only remotely and indirectly affected by the levy of duties upon trade, and men so little instructed are not likely, with the exception of the merchants, to clamour against, or even to foresee the consequential effects of such a measure. As to its justice there cannot be a doubt; we think there is as little question as to its policy, and certainly there is nobody better qualified to bring it to a conclusion than he who has begun it. Attention to the duties of his charge, firmness, tempered with great suavity of manners; that regularity of life, which conciliates respect amongst all nations, and a splendid hospitality, to which it is impossible that his very limited official appointments can be adequate, have all united to secure that authority and influence to the present governor, which mere rank and station can of themselves never obtain. He has moreover, in assistance of his own judgment, certainly fully sufficient to his situation, an able assistant in Mr. Fyers, and a safe counsellor in the Reverend Mr. Laing, the secretary and friend of Sir Alexander Ball. We trust we are not mistaken in believing that his views are directed farther than they have hitherto reached.

We do also entertain the fervent hope that he is equally convinced of the absolute necessity of reform in the administration of civil



civil and criminal justice. The Maltese law is contained in the code of Rohan, which derives its title from the grand master by whose order it was compiled; cases not provided for by this digest, or after-additions to it, (for Mr. Eton informs us some have been made since these islands came into our possession,) are determined upon the principles of the Roman law, upon which it is itself founded. It would be very unnecessary to enlarge upon the evils of this system in a country, the only one in Europe, which in very early times rejected it with indignation, and which every day witnesses its inconveniences in a kindred part of its dominions. Yet some remarks are necessary upon its effects as visible in the Maltese islands. In no country is its meddling spirit more deeply felt. There is no disposition of property, there is no agreement between buyer and seller, between landlord and tenant, in short, between man and man, which is safe from its interference. Those who think this an exaggerated statement may find a confirmation of the truth in the transactions which have taken place in La Valletta, on the part of the navy and victualling boards, and we can assert with safety, that the English naval commissioner, backed by all the legal assistance he can command, finds it impossible to word a contract which the Maltese courts will not vacate upon some frivolous pretence of equity, however apparently indissoluble may be its conditions.

If such is the character of their civil, equally miserable is that of their criminal justice. We pass by the censures so justly bestowed upon the slowness and general inefficiency of its modes of proceeding; we are content to rest its merits upon the principle of its decisions, and of these a case, which occurred during the winter of 1812, will furnish a sufficient illustration. A man was indicted for administering poison which was followed by death. The evidence amounted perhaps to a moral conviction of his guilt; but there was a deficiency in the chain of proofs, which the prisoner's advocate, an able and eloquent lawyer, very acutely exposed. What was to be done? It was not decent to hang him, and it was not right to acquit him. The judges compromised the difficulty, (do not let the reader imagine it was a commutation of punishment after the establishment of crime,) by banishing the man, whom they believed guilty, but whom they could not legally convict. This extraordinary decision was founded upon a case, recorded in the proceedings of the parliament of Catalonia, cited in confirmation of the sentence. Distinctions were drawn, at the time, respecting the difference of a person acquitted through some accidental defect of evidence, and one absolved as *scevro d'ogni taccia*. Much sophistry was also vented respecting the *scandal* of suffering a culprit to return into the bosom of society, to which, though it could not formally

ally be brought home to him, his crime was notorious. What must be the spirit of a system which defends itself by such arguments! We may go farther, and exclaim what must be the effect of such a system, not only on those whom it directly reaches, but on the whole class of society at large, whom it teaches in every instance to frame their conduct to the supposed exigence or convenience of the moment, rather than to those general principles of action, which are the only basis of justice, morality and religion!

We are aware of the difficulty of introducing amendment in so sickly a body as the jurisprudence of Malta; but the wisdom of the physician was never questioned for risking somewhat where the malady was desperate, and we know that in the present instance it is scarcely possible to apply a cure which shall be worse than the disease. It is not, however, our wish that such a recipe should be resorted to as, in the opinions of our countrymen in Malta, can alone be successful. What is nutriment to a sound, is poison to a diseased constitution, and it will be long ere she will be prepared to receive that best of benefits—the English law. In this, as well as other cases, the habits of the patient must be considered, and to those habits must be adapted the system of cure. Such caution is doubtless necessary; but if we continue to confound caution with delay, it is a question whether we shall not be forced upon more perilous experiments. ‘So long as justice is impartially administered,’ says even Mr. Eton, ‘the common people will generally remain quiet;’ but what people will long submit to a system so radically vicious, that we believe any man of common understanding and experience in the judicial proceedings of Malta would, with the conviction that the right was with him, as soon submit his cause to the hazard of the die as to the decision of the ordinary tribunals of La Valletta?

We shall now venture to suggest two means of giving influence to our government in these islands, the first of which, we believe, would bring an accession of moral, as well as physical strength to the English interests. The works of Malta, the excellence of which is in most instances so justly vaunted, are in some respects extremely defective. The Cottonera lines, designed only as a receptacle for the peasantry and cattle, in the event of Turkish invasion, afford but a feeble defence against the more dangerous arts of European warfare. They are, moreover, commanded by a neighbouring hill, which consequently must, in case of danger, either be raised, or converted into a military position. But the great evil of these fortifications is their extent. In the opinion of experienced officers, thirty thousand men would be required for their full occupation; say that fifteen thousand would be sufficient for effective defence. Our garrison ordinarily consists, and it is quite as much as we can spare, of about five thousand. There are also,  
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exclusive of a small corps of coast-artillery, two battalions of native infantry, which may amount to one thousand men. One of these is tolerably effective, the second is no better than an armed police. Now the population of the islands consists, according to the most probable estimates, of ninety-six thousand souls, having increased nearly a fourth, since they came into our possession. What prevents our raising from this a militia adequate to the necessity of the case? A very little instruction, and therefore a very small expense, would fit them for the execution of the duties required in a siege, and the numberless holidays observed in catholic countries would afford an opportunity for their assembly and exercise. Upon our system of colonial policy something must be trusted to the inhabitants of our settlements, and we believe no where could such confidence be more safely reposed than in the lower orders of the Maltese. It would flatter their *amour propre*, always a characteristic feature in the natives of petty states, and would be hailed by them as a sort of security against a return of their enemies. Should, however, such a scheme, if executed on a large scale, appear to be attended with risk, it might be discreetly modified so as to preclude the possibility of danger; a certain number only might be disciplined, and the great body of those required merely inrolled, and distributed under officers worthy of their trust. The advantages of such an arrangement are too obvious to require illustration.

Our second proposal will probably appear to others, as well as ourselves, utterly free from any possible difficulty or danger. One of the many causes which have retarded the civilization of these islands, is their language. This is Arabic, a tongue which promises no great sources of information; but even these, such as they are, are sealed to the Maltese; for they have never adopted its original characters, or established by convention an alphabet of their own. One has indeed been proposed in a dictionary lately published; but their preachers still continue to compose in Italian, and from the pulpit, translate their sermons, as they read, into the vernacular tongue. The former language, though incorrectly spoken, has made considerable progress in the towns; the English, however, is beginning to diffuse itself, and, if we may believe the assertions of a native, well informed on such subjects, it has gained a footing in the country which the Italian, so long the *lingua aulica* of Malta, has never been able to obtain. One great encouragement to the study of our language is the singular facility with which the natives of these islands, from their organs having been disciplined to every possible inflection of sound in their own, acquire its pronunciation. From the mode in which they receive their knowledge, and the habits of their instructors, it is not wonderful that they should fall into some whimsical singularities of idiom; but many of the lower ranks

ranks express themselves fluently, and all with very little impropriety of accent. Why not attempt to further the natural progress of things? It is surely unnecessary to enter upon a detail of the advantages which the establishment of English, as a national language, would produce, and a waste of words to prove how much it must tend to an identification of the inhabitants with their fellow-subjects. The useful discoveries of the present day furnish the means. The systems of Bell or Lancaster are well known to foreigners under another name; and the Neapolitan government some time ago established a school for Italian upon these principles in Palermo, which has answered the fullest expectation of its founders. The numbers and poverty of the Maltese clergy would furnish a cheap class of instructors: the youth, who are generally the worst provided, would eagerly embrace such a means of profit, however scanty, and would easily qualify themselves for their task. A Maltese advocate is at present not amongst the least respectable of the pleaders in the Admiralty Court of La Valletta, and we feel persuaded that, were this system adopted, the English would in a few years utterly supplant every other dialect spoken in the island. An uncommon portion of shrewdness, and a frugality, or rather dirty parsimony, unexampled in any other people, peculiarly fit the Maltese for commercial pursuits, and explain the cause of the marvellous accumulation of riches by men, totally without capital, who have laid the foundation of their fortunes in these two qualities alone. With this singular people, education is a key which can unlock treasures, and, as such, would be hailed with a gratitude proportioned to their sense of the benefit received.

Such are the measures which strike us as most likely to meet the evils which threaten the stability of our government in Malta; but there is one preliminary step which can alone give force and consistency to any change of system, on whatever principle it may be founded: we must do away the farce of a provisional administration; we must at once give confidence to our friends and take all hope from our enemies, by annexing this settlement to the empire of Great Britain. No objection ought to come, or will come, from the majority of the inhabitants who, like fatherless children, will gratefully receive our adoption. Does the measure hang upon difficulties with respect to the public law of Europe? After the events of the last few years; after the violence this code has suffered from France, and, in necessary retaliation on the enemy, from ourselves, what is such a pretended scruple but a cloak for cowardice or sloth? We believe, indeed, that more will be inclined to censure our suggestions as deficient in energy than to tax them with the opposite error. But those who would play a bolder game, must recollect that this is not an abstract discussion

of the colonial policy of Great Britain, it is not a question whether a better general system might or might not be substituted for the present; but how Malta may be best governed according to the existing order of things. To such who on the other hand may think, that what is sought by the patriots, though it cannot be pretended to as a right, might wisely be conceded as a grace—to such amongst these as will not shut their eyes against the light of history, and the experience of their own times, we reply, that putting out of the question all other considerations, the Maltese are yet far, very far from that point of civilization when such concessions could be considered as a benefit. The reader, who has not already arrived at this conclusion, will scarcely fail to acknowledge its truth, in the course of the perusal of some notices which we shall now throw together upon the national character.

The two most odious points in this are the passion of vengeance, and what we have already touched upon, an excessive sordidness of disposition. To these might be added, most overweening pride and self-conceit. Lord Bacon has designated revenge as a kind of wild justice: it is common to all barbarians, and people living under a defective system of justice. The second vice is more peculiarly their own; it pervades all ranks, exhibits itself in every money transaction, and is not more visible in the petty thefts of the servant, than in the dirty spirit of speculation in the public functionary, which he qualifies with the gentle term of *ingegnarsi*. For the third failing, if it is not so general in the higher classes, it meets you at every turn amongst the lower.

Into the opposite scale must be cast piety, chastity, sobriety, all the family affections, fidelity, courage, and industry. In Malta, the usual effect of a hot climate in disposing to indolence has been counteracted by peculiar circumstances; and the scantiness of the soil *et duris urgens in rebus egestas* have infused into these islanders a portion of energy and activity not to be surpassed by that of the inhabitants of our more northern regions. On horseback they are strong and courageous as ourselves; in the management of their own vessels they are admirable; in the use of the oar they are undoubtedly our superiors: the inhabitants of the coast may almost be considered as amphibious, and the address of the boys on the *marina* of La Valletta in recovering a small piece of money from the bottom of the harbour, is amongst the first striking circumstances which arrest the attention of a stranger. An Englishman sees with wonder the driver of his *calesse*, during the most oppressive days of summer, running by the side of his horse for miles together, and keeping up with him, whatever may be his pace; and, with respect to the peasantry, a singular picture of their industry and temperance may be found in the Essay of the Padre Carlo.

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Correspondent in appearance to the vigour with which they are animated are the figure and limbs of the Maltese. Strongly resembling the remains of Greek sculpture, they afford a singular confirmation of the propriety of that model which the ancients adopted as the scheme of perfection, with respect to strength and beauty, in the human frame. The face, however, bears no resemblance to the models of classical antiquity. The hair is coarse and bushy, the complexion swarthy, the features rude; and, with a certain expression of good-humour, is mixed that look of cunning which never fails to distinguish the barbarian.

Of the good qualities, which we have ascribed to these people, we think few will be called in question; their social affections, their devotion and their sobriety are universally admitted; and though the chastity of their women has been disputed by those considered as the best qualified to decide upon the fact, we believe that their experience has not extended beyond the limited sphere of corruption which emanated from the knights, and which, for a time, survived the extinction of the order.

The bravery and fidelity of the people are best attested by their conduct during the blockade of the French in La Valletta; and an occurrence which happened during this warfare, will illustrate, in singular contrast, two of the qualities we have attributed to them, namely, their vindictive spirit and their devout, though blind, obedience to their religion. A party had surprized and massacred some Frenchmen, and were about to glut their vengeance with devouring the hearts of their victims, when one of the number observing that it was Friday, they unanimously desisted from their intention, and reserved the forbidden viands till they could eat meat without offending against the precepts of their church. Nor did their purpose cool by delay; they did actually re-assemble and consummate the monstrous feast.

It is not, however, always striking virtues and vices which best determine the scale of civilization at which a people are arrived; traits of character, less important in themselves, often furnish a nicer criterion. The most remarkable among those which distinguish the Maltese, is exhibited in the supposed disease of the *scanto*, and its remedy; a folly which appears to be derived from their Sicilian neighbours. This is a violent panic terror, which, if it does not slay the patient outright, occasions a prostration of strength and spirits which yields only to some medicine, at once whimsical and strange, and the virtue of which consists, of course, in the confidence which it excites. But the Maltese refine upon the Sicilian mode of treatment. Their most approved prescription is a broth composed of puppies, put alive into the pot. The magic of this recipe consists in the sufferer's remaining ignorant of its composition,



tion, and in the consequent disgust which follows an exhibition of the dripping soup-meat. This is supposed to occasion a sudden re-action of the spirits, and the first idea so painfully fixed on the mind of the patient yields to the surprise of a yet more disagreeable impression.

If this disease be confined to the vulgar, the higher classes have their corresponding extravagance. This is what they term a *disgusto*, and may be rendered by the English word mortification, which oftentimes disposes of the patient as effectually as the *scanto*. One of the remedies also for this disorder is the favourite puppy-broth; but here it is administered as a restorative.

Notwithstanding this morbid sensibility of mind, the disposition of the Maltese people is joyous in the extreme. There is, indeed, little society amongst the gentry; but many causes have co-operated to render them unsocial; ancient habits of seclusion under the government of the order, their wretched frugality, and the factions into which they are divided. The genuine character of a people is, however, rather to be sought, as longest preserved, amongst the inferior classes: and those of Malta, undivided by the various parties which have sprung up amongst the noble and the rich, indulge, where they can, in a frank festivity, of which the first subject of this review presents a spirited picture, in a description of the feast of St. Peter.

It is not an unusual condition in a marriage settlement that the husband shall be obliged to bring his wife to this festival; yet it rarely falls to the lot of the women to partake of similar gaieties: their ordinary dress, their looks, their motions, their whole demeanor bespeak habitual restraint. While the man, gaily attired in white cotton trowsers, and a jacket, covered with fillagree buttons of gold or silver, and sometimes of the most expensive workmanship, his waist girt with a crimson sash, and his head covered with a red cap, nearly similar in form to the Phrygian, walks, though generally barefoot, with an elastic step and an air of confidence; the female Maltese, clad in black, her head and person partially enveloped in a mantle of the same colour, is seen shuffling along with precisely that constrained and awkward gait which distinguishes the cast of English women, who inclose themselves in long cases like caddises. We may still detect strong traces of the Arabic modes of thinking of their ancestors, whose maxim was, according to the work lately quoted, 'that women should appear but twice in public, the day of their wedding and of their funeral.'

The ceremonies formerly observed on the two latter occasions will be found in this publication. There is something singular, but there is little of elegance in these, nor is there much of wildness or originality in their other ceremonies or superstitious. Some  
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modes of speech however might be cited, as remaining shreds of islamism ; such is the caution used in the introduction of a pig into discourse, the mention of which is usually qualified with the apologetical phrase of ' *parlando con rispetto*.' But their superstition is not less gross for having little that is peculiar or picturesque. It is but a few years ago that an almost universal tumult took place against the Jews, which was quieted, with great difficulty, by the singular address and influence of the governor, Sir Alexander Ball. This species of insurrection was precisely similar to those which have happened in Europe at different periods of the middle ages, and was founded upon the same extravagant pretext of the concealment and murder of Christian children. Their other prejudices have been as little softened by commerce : a Mussulman, discovered in a bye street of La Valletta, is sometimes mobbed with the most persevering malice ; and woe to the unfortunate Ishmaelite, who, during the three last days of the carnival, is viewed by any of these most Christian revellers, at a distance from protection.

From the people we pass to the country they inhabit. Malta, and its sister islands, which are made first, as viewed from the sea, present a heavy, undulating outline ; nor is there any thing in the whole face of the country which can be called pleasing or picturesque, till you open the harbour of La Valletta. Here indeed a scene bursts upon you equally beautiful and imposing. Two considerable inlets, the largest of which forms a most magnificent port, almost insulate the town, situated on a tongue of land, which rising inland from the sea, exhibits a series of fine buildings, towering one above the other, and crowned with some singular edifices, detached from the mass, which give a striking finish to the whole. Each side of the harbour is strongly fortified with batteries, that appear to grow out of the rock, of which they are composed. The south-east side, sufficiently covered with forts and houses, is defended by a triple tier of guns, suggesting an image of power, which works of the first order often fail to convey to an inexperienced eye. The great visible length of the harbour and its windings, which leave you in suspense as to its real limits, fill the mind with undetermined ideas of extent ; and the quantity of shipping of various nations, of different forms, and bearing different flags, together with the crowds upon the Marina, gives gaiety and animation to a picture, which can hardly be paralleled in the world. Nor does the charm end on entering the town. The streets indeed are narrow, but amid the brilliancy of a southern sky, this does not occasion the gloom which renders such a mode of building disagreeable in England. The houses, which are built of stone, are flat roofed, for the purpose of preserving the rain water, on which the inhabitants principally depend, and have

most of them massive virandas glazed or latticed. There is indeed but one building which can pretend to any thing like regularity, but in no place is the triumph of the picturesque over the beautiful more decisive. Even the mixed character of the architecture of the palace, a union of the European and Saracenic, pleases, and appears justified by the doubtful position of Malta, as well as by the mixed groups of Mahometans and Christians who repose beneath its caves.

Perhaps the most striking thing to a foreigner, on first landing, is the uninterrupted din of bells, rattled with a perseverance which appears to exceed that of all other Catholic countries. If it happens to be a festival, it will require little stretch of imagination on his part to conceive himself disembarked upon the *Isle Sonnante*, and the idea may derive force from the swarms of many-coloured drones, whom he will see hived in their respective churches amidst this clatter of brass. These processions, however unpromising they may sound, and they are, with some few exceptions, to the full as dull and uninteresting as might be conceived, may fairly rank with the other amusements of La Valletta, with the single reservation of the Italian opera. This is maintained on a very respectable establishment both with respect to the performers and the orchestra; but the buffo style is the favourite of these islanders, who, like all the southern people, if they have not much taste for humour, have an infinite passion for buffoonery. An actor, the words and music of whose song would be nothing without his face, figure, and grimaces, will draw down thunders of applause, and, what is more extraordinary, will draw the purse-strings of the spectators. He sings in Italian, and dollars are tost upon the stage; he is encored, and recommences in Maltese, more dollars follow, and fresh encores. His last performance is in English, and whether it be from the contagion of taste or the pride of emulation, another volley of silver is showered upon him. The opera as well as a regular Italian theatre, which occupies its stage on alternate nights, lasts only a part of the year. The latter might be said to sound the very base string of comedy, if a company of English *dilettanti* actors had not contrived to reach a chord below it. During the carnival, masqued balls are substituted for the opera, to which the proprietors of the boxes can go as spectators. Here the favourite Maltese dance, a species of cotillon, is performed with infinite delight, and a loose given to every sort of buffoonery, little restrained by considerations of decorum. Occasionally tumults arise, sometimes even the native guard, charged with the police of the theatre, is forced; masquers in every sort of ludicrous habit are seen scrambling into the boxes for protection, and a detachment of English soldiers is called in for the re-establishment of

of order. During the three last days of the carnival, the whole country flocks into La Valletta in masquerade, and from morning to night all is noise, revelry, and extravagance. Grotesque caricature appointments, having no idea attached to them, aiming at nothing beyond a monstrous assemblage of things incongruous, with a large fund of animal spirits, are the qualifications necessary for figuring in these Saturnalia. This, with gesticulating, squeaking, grunting, bellowing, and pelting sugar-plumbs, complete the Maltese idea of an excellent masque. If a character is attempted, it is, perhaps, that of a *chasseur*, who makes his poodle yelp at you, and pokes his gun in your eye, or that of a fellow, with the imitation of a scald-head, who slips his hat upon those whom he can take by surprise.

Such are the public amusements of La Valletta. A stranger may find a better resource in the public library, begun by the knights, (who, by a late act of the order, were obliged to leave their books to this collection,) and continued by the English. It is tolerably numerous, but incomplete in almost all its parts. That it should be very ill-furnished with works in our own language it would be natural to expect; it is more difficult to explain why it should be deficient in Italian literature. The first foundations can scarcely be said to have been laid of the museum, which is annexed to it; for it is miserably poor in subjects of natural history: though situated in the neighbourhood of the most abundant mines of Grecian pottery, it is not more rich in vases, of which only one is really deserving of attention, and it is yet more deficient in sculpture. There is, indeed, a statue of Hercules, of disputed antiquity, said to be good, but which was not visible when we were in Malta, and a mutilated antique female figure certainly of no ordinary workmanship. Other remains of sculpture and inscriptions are preserved in the island, but nothing particularly interesting in point of excellence or rarity. The most valuable of the latter in different languages have, we believe, been removed; and, together with these, that in Punic, supposed by Sir Wm. Drummond to designate the sepulchre of Hannibal. Malta has as little to boast on the subject of pictures. There are many, indeed, which may pass for respectable, but not more than two which can challenge admiration. One of these, in the palace, a full length portrait of Louis XVI. in his royal robes, presented by him to the order, and said to be by the hand of David, is a painting of extraordinary mechanical execution; the other, which has infinitely higher pretensions, is of the old Italian school. It represents the decollation of St. John, and is suspended in the church dedicated to him; but in so bad a situation and light, that nothing but its supereminent merits could force it upon the observation of the spectator. Much time may be

pleasingly spent in this place: the riches of the altar, and of the chapels, appropriated to the different *Langues*, the pompous arrangements for the accommodation of the order, the monuments of the grand masters, the pavement blazoned in *incastro* with the arms of the knights in polished marble, lapis lazuli or enamels, the imposing splendor of the place throughout, altogether take possession of the imagination, which, readily overleaping the period of its corruption and decline, is transported back into the early and heroic ages of that illustrious institution. A contrast is opposed to the graver character of St. John, in the interior of St. Paul's, in Città Vecchia, the ancient metropolis, formerly called Città Notabile, and situated a few miles from La Valletta. The characteristics of this are lightness, elegance, and a festive brilliancy of appearance. When the traveller has visited these, and what else has been here specified, he has but to dive into St. Paul's cave and the catacombs, and he will have exhausted the wonders of Malta.

The country will have few attractions for him; and if this island be, as is now contended, the Ogygia of Calypso, he will no longer admire at Ulysses' rejection of immortality clogged with the condition of perpetual residence. Divided into a series of terraces, built up with free-stone, for the support of the scanty soil, during the rains, it exhibits the appearance of one vast church yard, a resemblance rather increased than diminished by a few and thinly scattered trees. The only two pleasure gardens of any extent, unless we class the Boschetto, previously mentioned, amongst these, are that of Floriana, a suburb of La Valletta, and that of S. Antonio attached to one of the villas of the governor, at about four miles distance. They are both laid out in the Italian style, but with considerable diversity of design. The latter is the most spacious and the most richly dressed. Near the former of these is also a small botanic garden; it is, however, on a sufficient scale to afford a fair proof of the experiment suggested by Denon in his book on Egypt, namely, the attempting to make Malta an intermediate station for the plants of warmer countries, as a mode of gradually seasoning them to the colder temperatures of Europe. It should seem, however, notwithstanding certain exceptions, that in spite of the absence of frost, there is something in particular winds which prevail here, exclusive of their violence, that is prejudicial to a large tribe of the vegetable creation. Several shrubs, which in our southern counties flourish in the open air, such as the *Magnolia Grandiflora*, and the less hardy *Camelia Japonica*, scarcely shiver through a Maltese winter with the shelter of basket-work or matting.

To some useful plants, however, which require warmth, such as the cotton-tree, the produce of which is manufactured here on a small

small scale, and to many fruits, this island is more congenial. The reputation of its oranges is established throughout the world. Of these the different species are described at length in the *Saggio di Agricoltura*.

A very strange idea is popular at home, derived from Malta, where, indeed, it is almost universal, that the blood-coloured orange (the best known in England, but not equal in flavour to the oval or egg-orange) is produced from a graft upon the pomegranate. The Padre Carlo observes, 'that some boast themselves to be in possession of plants thus worked; but with whatever attention I have observed them, I never could succeed in discovering in any one of these the slightest appearance of the pomegranate; and however often, moved by their repeated assertions, I have tried this inoculation in all possible modes, I never had the good fortune to see it once take. Hence it appears to me probable, that the first plants of this kind were imported into Malta, as were all the others which are most remarkable. Whether, however, in any other country this variety be natural, or whether it be artificial, is a question on which I shall not venture to pronounce an opinion.'

The figs of this country are delicious. The inhabitants, who, together with the islanders of the Levant, appear to have inherited the usage from the ancients, practise what is termed caprification, but not uniformly, even upon the same trees. If the erroneousness of the doctrine, respecting this being necessary to the fertilization of the fruit, had not been already exposed in England, this irregular execution of it would be sufficient to its detection. There is, however, no doubt but that it is thus most essentially improved, whether it be, as has been supposed by some, that the insects, in depositing their eggs, leave any liquor which produces a beneficial fermentation in the milk of the fig, as those of Provence are observed to ripen better from being pricked with a straw dipped in olive-oil, and as various fruits are ameliorated by the bite of the wasp, round which puncture the pulp is uniformly richer than elsewhere, must be determined by better naturalists than the Padre Carlo or ourselves. It might, perhaps, be worth while to introduce the first fig, which ripens in these islands in June, into Great Britain, where it is, we believe, unknown. A tree which matures its fruit with such early suns might possibly bring it to perfection even in our colder climate at a later period of the year. The olive and the vine both flourish in Malta; but though the first appears to have formerly furnished, over and above the oil consumed by the inhabitants, an article of export, (*Saggio di Agricoltura*, p. 215,) neither are any longer cultivated for profitable purposes. With the large exception of oranges, melons, pomegranates, and grapes, the latter of which also are better, forced in England, we have

have nothing to envy on the score of fruits, having accomplished with the help of art more than nature has done for the Maltese. The pine-apple, indeed, since it grows, we believe, without the shelter of houses, in Naples, they might, and the prickly pear or *Ficus Indianus* they do cultivate all over the island. But though this is both praised for its flavour and its nutritious qualities, and forms part of the food of the inhabitants, we doubt whether it would arrive at the rank of an eatable, much less of a luxury, in England. Vegetables of all kinds are excellent in Malta, during the winter, spring, and autumn, saving potatoes, turnips, and the pea: the culture of the latter, however, appears to have failed, from an improper selection of the sort. It is equally bad at Gibraltar, with the exception of one species, partially introduced, called by gardeners the fan-pea, which thrives as in England. The success of this experiment might suggest its importation into Malta. The most curious vegetable production of these islands is the *Fungus Melitensis*; this grows spontaneously on a rock contiguous to Gozo, and in a very small district in Malta. It has a great, but apparently an exaggerated, reputation as a stiptic.

Malta, which is stated to be twenty miles in extreme length, twelve in breadth, seventy in circumference; and Gozo which is twenty long, six wide, and thirty in circuit, are not, according to the Padre Carlo, one with the other, cultivated throughout above two-thirds of their extent; but the land of the latter is both more fertile and turned to better account than that of the former. They do not together produce more corn than is sufficient for a quarter of a year's consumption of the inhabitants. The bread made from the Maltese and from the imported wheat is detestably composed, and is moreover extremely gritty. This arises from the hardness of the grain which triturates the grind-stone. During the year of scarcity, in our own country, the Sicilian wheat was, on this account, rejected by the English bakers; yet in Palermo, bread may be procured made of the wheat of the country which has not this defect. We were informed that it was obviated by soaking the grain in water till it was sufficiently softened not to abrade the surface of the stones, and these are not, we believe, harder than those of France, which we make use of in England. We mention this as a hint worthy of attention in case of a recurrence of distress similar to that of 1801. In a country so hot as Malta, natural grasses are out of the question, nor are the artificial cultivated in the spirit of experiment. It is a reproach to us that we never should have tried the Guinea grass. In aid of what artificial forage there is, come the prickly-pear, and carrob-tree; the latter furnishes a food which, from the saccharine matter it contains, is extremely nutritious. After what we have stated it will naturally be

be supposed that Malta cannot produce cattle (she breeds no oxen) even in proportion to her growth of grain. The latter is supplied to the inhabitants, according to the old practice of the island, by the government. Bullocks were also, till a short time ago, furnished in the same manner, at an established price, when the scheme was tried of throwing open the market. The inhabitants, Maltese and English, disappointed at this not being attended with immediate success, seemed anxious at once to return to the ancient system, not reflecting that a considerable period of time was necessary to do justice to the experiment, and so much the more, as the island was supplied from Sicily by a contraband traffic. But the restriction put on such an export, either is already, or will be, we should imagine, removed. The Maltese, to make amends for the poverty of the land, extort all they can from the sea, and they deserve the praise of active and successful fishermen.

It is not only for inattention to improvements in agriculture, as observed in the preceding paragraph, that we deserve reproach; we justly merit it for the disregard we have shown to other branches of science. Without venturing to pronounce whether Dr. Domeier, whom we have exhibited as very bad authority on most points, is correct in his strictures on the medical establishments of La Valletta, we sympathize with him, as far as we understand him, which we believe we do in the most essential point; in regretting the want of an astronomer in so clear an atmosphere.

On points of importance to our naval establishment we have manifested more active exertion, and a capacious dock was in a state of forward preparation at the conclusion of last summer. Were we not already a laughing-stock to our enemy for having been the zealous stewards of his possessions, we should hail this great work as a pledge of our resolution to maintain at any cost the possession of these islands.

In commercial matters we have shewn yet more energy. As one proof of this, we have not only inundated Turkey, usually so called, but even her most southern provinces, and those nearest to Arabia, with our West India coffee, nor is any other drunk, unless it be in the houses of the most magnificent and luxurious, throughout the whole extent of that empire. Nay, even that which comes direct from Mocha itself is usually adulterated with another berry, from which it is easily distinguished in its unroasted state: but whether this be the production of the West or East Indian islands, we cannot pretend to determine.

Mercantile speculations have attracted to, and fixed in Malta a great number of English. It has also, since our exclusion from the continent, become the winter refuge of invalids. Its climate  
is



is then certainly delightful. It is true, that though the thermometer is scarcely ever below fifty in the shade, it is sometimes cold to sensation, and that an immense quantity of rain falls during this season; but this comes down at once, and never hangs condensed in a canopy of vapour, or spitters, as in England, in a perpetual drizzle. There are few days in which there is not a large allowance of sun-shine, and it would be a cruel injustice to the temperature of this period to compare it to that part of an English winter, which is, by courtesy, called spring, or even to the month of June of our ordinary summer. This latter season is particularly oppressive in Malta, from the extreme heat of the night, which is almost as sultry as the day. The sciroc, which fortunately seldom lasts long, is a severe infliction, and we can compare the feel and temperature of the air during the prevalence of this wind to nothing better than the atmosphere of an extremely hot washhouse. Very detailed and scientific observations on these points will be found in the first subject of this review. These were furnished to the author by M. Dolomieu in his own words, as was the substance of some others on the formation of these islands, which are well worthy of attention, though certainly open to dispute; and it must be admitted that if neither Malta, Gozo, or Cumino, which are all composed of calcareous rock, offer interesting productions in mineralogy, they present many appearances well deserving the investigation of the geologist.

The sum of M. Dolomieu's theory is that these three isles are only fragments of a more considerable land which stretched in the direction of the S. S. E. and that they have resisted, through the solidity of their materials, the violence which overwhelmed the country, to which they belonged. The cause to which he attributes such effects is an immense mass of water put in action by some irregular libratory motion of the earth; but he allows, we quote his words,

‘That even since the establishment of population in Malta, the island has been diminished in extent; a proof of which is to be seen in the tracks of wheels, at the extremities of the cliffs. Indeed it is a matter of common occurrence that large portions of the rock give way, occasioned by the fretting of the sea, or by the spontaneous destruction of the beds of the inferior strata, the substance of which,’ he proceeds to state, ‘has every where throughout the three islands, more or less tendency to decomposition, on exposure to the air.’

An idea, started in the course of these speculations, has, perhaps, created some unnecessary alarm.

‘This valley, (that of La Marsa) says M. Dolomieu, which is now one of the widest, most extensive, and, at the same time, most fertile of the island, was anciently almost entirely occupied by the sea, which reached

reached nearly to the *Casal Fornaro*, even at no very remote period: but the soil and fragments of rocks washed down from the higher ground, the labour of man, and above all, the settling of the substances, brought in by the sea with a N. E. wind, have by little and little filled it up. In a little time the interior of the harbour will undergo the same change, which might be hastened by means of dykes and basins, in which the sea always calm, would lodge the substances that are at present suspended by its agitation. This has happened without its being intended to the bason in the small valley, called the Little *Marsa*, and which in a very short time will be completely choaked.

We must observe that these predictions, even if well founded, threaten no immediate danger. It is only the farther part of the port which is menaced, because the rubbish which is to accomplish this mischief, can only come from the sides and bottom of the harbour itself. Little can be brought in from the open sea, the bottom of which is, we believe, generally speaking, composed of rock. Moreover, the winds which are to be the agents on this occasion, are not so prevalent, but that their effects might be counteracted by art. At present the great depth of water is an inconvenience, inasmuch as it precludes the possibility of laying down buoys, by which ships might warp out in winds with which they cannot work, owing to the extreme narrowness of the channel.

With these observations, we dismiss the subject of Malta. If, in the course of this article, we have in several instances entered into much detail, it has been, not only because the ponderous works written on this subject reach not to the present period, but because in all these, many points worthy of observation, have been postponed to objects of comparatively small interest or curiosity. For the long discussion, into which we have been drawn, in the examination of Mr. Eton's book, in particular, we think no apology is necessary. *In tenui labor* may be objected to us by such as look only to the extent and ostensible wealth of the country, whose factions form the subject of the argument, but such an accusation will not be preferred by those who contemplate it in the more enlarged and liberal light which it deserves. We are happy to find that in this light it is considered by the present government, and in the commission of inquiry which they have sent out to Malta, we hail an instance of attention to its affairs, which cannot but be followed with advantage, since, if not attended with immediate benefit, it must at least tend to the discussion, and consequently to the better understanding, and ultimate improvement of this important possession.

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ART. II. *Sermons* by Samuel Horsley, LL. D. F. R. S. F. S. A.  
late Lord Bishop of St. Asaph. Vol. 3. 8vo. Hatchard.

**A**MONG those ornaments of literature, and of the church of England, which have lately been removed by death from the stations to which unassisted merit had advanced them, are to be deplored the names of Porteus and Horsley, men of talents and dispositions more different perhaps than ever actively and harmoniously co-operated in the same cause. The one was elegant in deportment, gentle in manners, popular in the choice and treatment of his theological subjects, never profound but always impressive; and though often familiar, yet, by matchless dexterity, never inattentive to his own dignity. The other was rough, haughty, and imperious, of an understanding vast and comprehensive, addicted in his discourses to the choice of novel and difficult subjects, and mingling involuntarily with those, which were intended to be popular, disquisitions at once entertaining and profound. Both having been educated in the university of Cambridge, the one abandoned, as soon as academical restraints were removed, the pursuit of abstract mathematics for more elegant studies; while the other, after having graduated in another faculty, spontaneously and through life pursued them to a considerable extent. Both were admitted into the families of great prelates, eminent for their attainments in Hebrew literature; a pursuit which was too rugged for the one, and a mere relaxation to the other: and, while both were equally orthodox in their religious principles, the one maintained the essential doctrines of Christianity by clear and perspicuous statements, the other by irrefragable argument. Porteus had more taste than eloquence, Horsley more eloquence than taste: the first was unquestionably the most amiable; the second, the ablest man of their latter days. In their character as legislators, the same original diversity of temper marked their conduct. Ever attentive to the interests of religion and the establishment, the Bishop of London maintained on questions merely temporal a delicate reserve, which enabled him to interpose with tenfold effect in his own peculiar province; while the Bishop of St. Asaph, with a strong tendency to law and business, together with a constitutional absence of all timidity added to his other qualifications, never scrupled to interpose and to dictate on secular subjects.

With the character and peculiarities however of this great man, as a legislator, a mathematician, an Hebrew critic, or even as a controversialist, (excepting so far as his discourses are controversial,) we have no concern. His original and admirable sermons, many of which were preached in the pulpits of the metropolis, and yet  
live

live in the memories of his hearers, are now before us. Of these the first and characteristic feature is, that which distinguishes the gifted few from a numerous and subordinate class, entitled men of abilities only;—the splendour of original genius. It is by the predominant influence of this rare quality that the sermons of Horsley are freed from that dry severity of ratiocination which never fails to cramp the style of ordinary mathematicians, when writing on theological subjects. Proficiency in this science, we mean as distinct from invention and discovery, is no decisive test of superior talents. Great perseverance united to ordinary understandings, will suffice for the purpose: but great perseverance long employed in this single direction, will, if such qualifications have been bestowed on the mathematical student in a moderate degree alone, extinguish imagination, check the flow of native eloquence, and cramp every movement of free and excursive rhetoric. It is only minds like those of Barrow and Horsley (for the influence of the mathematical curb is visible in the discourses of Clark) in which the vigour of the more elastic and animated faculties is not broken by pertinacious meditation or abstract science; for where the acquirement is difficult, the whole understanding is absorbed; the mind takes a single ply, and when bent by a long and laborious attention to mathematical truths, becomes so tense and rigid, that it never after applies itself to moral or religious truths with ease or grace. In intellects of an order so superior, the other faculties, vigorous from the beginning, remain unimpaired, while the student passes at will and with ease from the exercise of pure analysis, to the ever varying gradations of moral evidence, to the persuasive topics of rhetoric, or to the awakening and animating strains of popular eloquence. An union of excellencies so rare and, in general, so little compatible, we repeat it, has hardly been attained but by Barrow and Horsley, among the divines of this or any other age or country.

Another excellence common to both, and of immense importance at present, for which the world may hold itself equally indebted to the intrepidity of their tempers, and the perspicacity of their understandings, is, that they never decline a difficulty, nor ever fritter away the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, because they have been abused by fanatics. This species of fortitude, (for to be unfashionable always requires some portion of that quality,) which began to be wanted among the latitudinarian divines of Charles the Second's time, is become much more valuable now. On the evidences of Christianity, the present reign in England has produced more luminous and convincing works than perhaps the whole Christian world from the age of the apostles: but it is impossible not to observe among first-rate divines a certain shyness as to doctrines:

doctrines: we are convinced indeed that Christianity is a revelation, but we are left to collect for ourselves what has been revealed. Meanwhile the fanatic outrages its doctrines to the destruction at once of morality and common sense; the Unitarian pares them down to the standard of reason, and, what is worse, of his own reason; while the preacher of the church of England, disgusted with one extreme, and afraid of the other, too often conceives that he has attained to the seat of truth, by placing himself in any part of the wide interval between opposite errors. On the firm ground of orthodoxy, as detailed in the articles of the church of England, or rather as contained in the volume of inspiration, Bishop Horsley took his stand, and that perhaps with the greater alacrity, as his peculiar position in the midst of an enemy's host afforded abundant scope for his polemical talents and propensities. He disdained the poor and cheap praise of liberality; he sought no security by concessions and compromises; he avowed, he displayed the difficulties of his own system; he restated with greater force the objections of his adversaries, that he might but the more triumphantly overbear them.

In point of matter and manner, at a period abounding with good theology, the discourses of Bishop Horsley stand pre-eminent and alone. They are compositions *sui generis*. Never perhaps did philosophy, certainly never did the philosophy of physics, lend more powerful aid to the cause of revelation. In acuteness of conception, in felicity of illustration, the theological works of Paley may be paralleled with those of Horsley; but in force and profundity, and still more in point of erudition, of which that original thinker had but a small proportion, the distance is immense. Both however could open at pleasure a vein of rich and happy eloquence; both had that contempt for artificial elegance, and that tendency to coarseness of style, which seems to be incident to minds of the first order; but Horsley is never playful, and Paley is never long or willingly grave. The former dogmatizes *ex cathedrâ*; the latter instructs with the easy gaiety and naïveté of a fireside companion. Both however enjoyed in perfection one attribute, (the first which can belong to reasoners, or to teachers,) namely, a precision and distinctness in their ideas, with an aptitude and felicity of expression, which, if they are not understood, leave the blame or the misfortune with their readers.

We have already mentioned the seasonable intrepidity of our author in bringing to that prominent and conspicuous station which they ought always to occupy in Christian discourses, the peculiar doctrines of revelation. Of this the following may serve as a specimen:

It is God's will that all men should be brought to a just understanding

standing of the deliverance Christ hath wrought for us, to a just apprehension of the magnitude of our hopes in him, and of the certainty of the evidence on which those hopes are founded. It is God's will that all men should come to a knowledge of the original dignity of our Saviour's person, of the mystery of his incarnation, of the nature of his eternal priesthood, of the value of his atonement, the efficacy of his intercession. This instruction would more effectually secure them against the poison of modern corruptions than the practice, dictated by a false discretion, of avoiding the mention of every doctrine that may be combated, and burying every text of doubtful meaning. The corruptors of the Christian doctrines have no such reserve. The doctrines of the divinity of the Son, the incarnation, the satisfaction of the cross as a sacrifice, the mediatorial intercession, the influences of the spirit, &c. are topics of a popular discussion with those who would deny or pervert those doctrines; and we may judge by their success what our own might be, if we would but meet our antagonists on their own ground.'

The clear, undisguised representation of revealed truth, which these admirable discourses every where hold forth, is the more to be applauded because in addition to the false discretion, the timid and heartless reserve of which our author complains, the cause of religion has received and is receiving many wounds 'in the house of her friends,' by imbecility, by indiscretion, by fanaticism. The present, it must be confessed, is an age of very superior intelligence; and, as it has been pleaded with great ingenuity in favour of a distinction of ranks among the clergy, that every order in society requires a class of public teachers on a footing of parity with itself; the same argument may with equal propriety be applied to the state of intellect and information which now prevails. Minds of a superior order, highly cultivated, and of reasoning faculties powerfully exercised, (and many such there are who have little attended to the peculiar doctrines of Christianity,) would be disgusted rather than edified by the faithful, though feeble representations of these great truths, which they would receive from ordinary preachers; much less would they endure to separate the gold from the dross, in the wild and incoherent discourses of honest enthusiasts. It is to minds so constituted, notwithstanding that masterly perspicuity which brings down as far as possible the sublimest doctrines to ordinary understandings, that, after all, the sermons of Bishop Horsley are peculiarly adapted. Possessed of strength themselves, they have here an equally powerful hand to grapple with. Accustomed, if the expression may be allowed, to athletic studies, whatever force they may apply to the argumentation of Horsley, will be met by an equal reaction. He is a preacher to scholars and philosophers of the first order, as a metropolitan is a preacher to princes: he is their equal. They may not at first assent to all his

his doctrines, but they will not be able to confute, and, least of all, will they be able to despise them. But our limits require, that we hasten to particulars.

On the sense of the word 'day,' as applied by Moses to the successive periods of the creation, after the difficulties which have lately been started on the subject, the theological philosopher will be heard with unusual interest.

'By what description could the word day be more expressly limited to its literal and common meaning, as denoting that portion of time which is measured and consumed by the earth's revolution on her axis? That this revolution was performed in the same space of time in the beginning of the world as now, I would not over confidently affirm. But a day, whatever was its space, was still the same thing in nature: a portion of time measured by the same motion, divisible into the same seasons of morning and noon, evening and midnight. The day was itself marked by the same vicissitudes of darkness and light: for six *such* days God was making the heaven and the earth, the sea and all that therein is, and rested the seventh day.'

In this account however more than one proposition appears to be extremely doubtful; that the portion of time described by Moses as a day, was so called as being bounded at each extremity by darkness, can scarcely be doubted: but it by no means follows that this period was measured by the same motion, and completed by one rotation of the earth upon its axis, when there was yet no sun to turn to. The principle of light appears at first to have been unembodied, and there is nothing in the term 'day' to contradict the opinion of modern geologists, (we mean Christian geologists,) that these periods were of indefinitely long duration. The latest discoveries on and beneath the earth's surface, while they bear irrefragable testimony to the *order* of the creation, as assigned by Moses, certainly countenance the opinion of considerable intervals having taken place between different portions of the work.

To this theory of the six days' work of the creation, and of the origin of the sabbath, we shall, by way of contrast, subjoin from the same discourse an account of the evil of sabbath-breaking, in the shocking extent to which it is now carried in this country, so lively and scenical, that we are almost led to forget the extent of the mischief, and the solemnity of the subject, in the life and spirit of the description.

'In a commercial country, the great fortunes acquired in trade have a natural tendency to level all distinctions but what arise from affluence. Wealth supplies the place of nobility: birth retains only the privilege of setting the first example. The city catches the manners of the court, and the vices of the high born peer are faithfully copied in the life of the opulent merchant and thriving tradesman. Accordingly, in the space

space of a few years, Sunday became the travelling day of all who travel in their own carriages. But, why should the humbler citizen, whose scantier means oblige him to commit his person to the crammed stage coach, more than his wealthier neighbour, be exposed to the hardship of travelling on the working days, when the multitude of heavy carts and waggons moving to and fro in all directions, renders the roads unpleasant and unsafe for carriages of a lighter fabric, especially when the only real inconvenience, the danger of such obstructions, is infinitely increased to him by the greater difficulty with which the vehicle in which he makes his uncomfortable journey, crosses out of the way in deep and miry roads to avoid the fatal jostle? The force of these principles was soon perceived; and in open defiance of the laws, stage coaches have for several years travelled on the Sundays. The waggoner soon understands that the road is as free for him as for the coachman; and the Sunday traveller now breaks the sabbath, without any advantage gained in the safety or pleasure of his journey. In the country the roads are crowded on the Sunday, as on any other day, with travellers of every sort; the devotion of the villager is interrupted by the noise of the carriages passing through, or stopping at the inns for refreshment. In the metropolis, instead of that solemn stillness of the vacant streets, which might suit, as in our fathers' days, with the sanctity of the day, the mingled racket of worldly business and pleasure is going on with little abatement; and in the churches and chapels which adjoin the public streets, the sharp rattle of the whirling phaeton, and the graver rumble of the loaded waggon, mixed with the oaths and imprecations of the brawling drivers, disturb the congregation, and stun the voice of the preacher.

Bishop Horsley's nerves were of no very delicate texture, yet we cannot avoid recognizing in this singular passage, something of the 'enraged preacher,' whose voice had actually been stunned by these discordant annoyances; but the strain of reprehension approaches nearer to satiric poetry than to preaching.

'Inde caput morbi, rhedarum transitus arcto  
Vicorum inflexu, et stantis convicia mandræ.'—Juv.

To this instance of levity may properly be opposed the awful solemnity of the following passage:

'In that moment, therefore, in which his present life ends, every man's future condition becomes irreversibly determined. Let us watch therefore and pray. Neither shall vigilance and prayer be ineffectual. On the incorrigible and perverse, on those who mock at God's threatenings, and reject his promises; on those only, the severity of his wrath will fall. But for those who lay these warnings to heart, who dread the pollutions of the world, and flee from sin as from a serpent, who fear God's displeasure more than death, and seek his favour more than life, though much of frailty will to the last adhere to them; yet these are the objects of the Father's mercy, of the Redeemer's love.



For these he died, for these he pleads; these he supports and strengthens with his spirit; these he shall lead with him triumphant to the mansions of glory, when sin and death shall be cast into the lake of fire.'

The following may be adduced as a specimen of that noble strain of declamation which this great preacher can always command.

'The time shall never be, when a true church of God shall not be somewhere subsisting on the earth; but any individual church, if she fall from her first love, may sink in ruins. Of this, history furnishes but too abundant proof in the examples of churches once illustrious, planted by the Apostles, watered with the blood of the first saints and martyrs which are now no more. Where are now the seven churches of Asia, whose praise is in the Apocalypse? Where shall we now find the successors of those earliest bishops, once stars in the Son of Man's right hand? Where are those boasted seals of Paul's apostleship, the churches of Corinth and Philippi? Where are the churches of Jerusalem and Alexandria? But is there need that we resort for salutary warning to the examples of remote antiquity? Alas! where at this moment is the church of France? Her altars demolished; her treasures spoiled; her holy things profaned; her persecuted clergy, and her plundered prelates, wanderers on the earth.'

The next passage (though our limits will not allow us to insert the whole of it) will shew the depth and clearness of our author's metaphysical talents, as exercised on the most difficult subject in the whole compass of that science, the will of man, and the necessity or freedom of his actions.

'We must not imagine such an arbitrary exercise of God's power over the minds and wills of subordinate agents, as should convert rational agents into mere machines, and leave the Deity charged with the follies and the crimes of men, which was the error of the Calvinists: nor must we, on the other hand, set up such a liberty of created beings as, necessarily precluding the Divine foreknowledge of human actions, should take the government of the moral world out of the hands of God, and leave him nothing to do with the noblest part of his creation, which hath been perhaps the worse error of some who have opposed the Calvinists.

'There is yet another error upon this subject, which I think took its rise among professed infidels, and to them, till of late, it hath been confined. But some have appeared among its modern advocates, actuated I am persuaded (for their writings on this subject witness it) by the same spirit of resigned devotion, which gave birth to the plan of arbitrary predestination. Deeply versed in physics, which the Calvinists neglected, these men wish to reconcile the notion of God's arbitrary dominion, which they in common with the Calvinists maintain with what the others overlooked, the regular operation of second causes; and in this circumstance lies the chief, if not only difference between the philosophical necessity of our subtle moderns, and the predestination of their more simple ancestors: and so far as these ne-

cessarians

cessarians maintain the certain influence of moral motives, as the natural and sufficient means whereby human actions and even human thoughts are brought into that continued chain of causes and effects, which taking its beginning in the operations of the infinite mind, cannot but be fully understood by him, so far they do service to the cause of truth, placing the great and glorious doctrines of foreknowledge and providence, upon a firm and philosophical foundation. But when they go beyond this, when they would represent the influence of moral motives as the same with that, which excites and governs the motions of the inanimate creation; here they contradict the very principles they would seem to have established. The source of their mistake is this, that they imagine a similitude between things which admit of no comparison, between the influence of a moral motive upon mind, and that of mechanical force upon matter.

Long as this citation may appear in itself, it contains perhaps fewer words than those in which any other writer could have stated the substance of a most important and long agitated controversy; and though it be sufficiently visible on which side the preacher's mind preponderates, yet the whole representation is conducted with a fairness and candour which does honour to his heart.

The brightest and most luminous bodies in the universe have their spots, and even the argumentation of this great reasoner is not always free from paralogisms. Into one of these the preacher has been led by his love of novelty and paradox in his inimitable discourse on the raising of Lazarus. Here, having previously determined, that our Lord's promise to Martha, 'he that believeth in me shall never die,' is not to be understood of the second death, but that believers shall in no sense die at all; or, in other words, that with them, in the interval between the separation of soul and body and the general resurrection, perception should never cease; he goes on to combat what he truly calls that 'unintelligible and dismal doctrine of the sleep of the soul,' during the same obscure and awful interval. But this doctrine is that of an universal suspension of perception in the separate spirits of all mankind: if therefore the promise that they should never die, be restricted to believers, and mean only that their spirits alone should be exempt from the general sentence, the inference is the very reverse from what the bishop intended; namely, that the spirits of unbelievers *shall* remain in a state of sleep between death and the resurrection.

The two next discourses, on the story of the Syrophenician woman, may be selected as unrivalled specimens of penetration and acuteness in analyzing an historical passage of Scripture, and tracing every movement of the heart (even in the human nature of our Lord himself) during a most affecting and interesting scene. In the peculiar strain of rhetoric, however, which pervades these most

animated compositions, it is impossible not to observe much of the manner of Bishop Hall, in his Contemplations :

‘ Oh miserable woman, offspring of an accursed race, cease thy un-availing prayers—he hath pronounced thy sentence.—Betake thee to thy home, sad outcast from thy Maker’s love. Impatience of thy absence but aggravates thy child’s distraction—Not long shall her debilitated frame support the tormentor’s cruelty.—Give her while she lives the consolation of a parent’s tenderness—it is the only service thou canst render her. For thyself, alas ! no consolation remains, but in the indulgence of despair.—The Redeemer is *not* sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and to that house, ill-fated Canaanite, thou wast born and thou hast lived a stranger.’

The next discourse (more celebrated in its day than any occasional sermon within our recollection) is that on the Principle of Life, preached before the Humane Society, which gives a deadly blow to the unscriptural and unphilosophical doctrine of materialism. Yet, even here, we are hurt by a blemish arising out of the unhappy choice of a term. The bishop begins with assigning, as the lowest principle of vitality in man, *vegetable* life, by which is to be understood that species of life which animals and vegetables possess in common, whereas, in common acceptance, it certainly means that which the one class of organized beings possess as distinct from the other. In the following passage, this infelicity leads the preacher into another. ‘ The vital principle may remain in a man for some time after all signs of *vegetable* life disappear in his body.’ With due deference to Dr. Horsley, we should have thought the contrary. Vegetables have no locomotion, no pulsation, no perceptible respiration, and therefore, when all these symptoms have disappeared in a suffocated animal, the vegetable principle of vitality may yet subsist. But for this casual lapse we are amply rewarded by the sublime account of the symptoms of apparent death in such unhappy subjects, which immediately follows :—‘ What have hitherto passed, even among physicians, for certain signs of a complete death—the rigid limb, the clay-cold skin, the silent pulse, the breathless lip, the livid cheek, the fallen jaw, the pinched nostril, the fixed staring eye, are uncertain and equivocal.’ To this we shall oppose a noble passage from the Prognostics of Hippocrates, describing the symptoms of approaching, not apparent, death, on the human countenance, and then inquire of our critical readers first, whether in terrific grandeur the modern divine has not equalled the old physician, and secondly, whether the coincidence appears to have arisen from imitation or casual resemblance. ‘ Πις οξεία, κρύαφοι συμπεπικωκόες, ὅλα Ψυχὰ καὶ ξυνεσταλμένα, καὶ οἱ λοβοὶ τῶν ὤλων ἀπεσφραμμένοι καὶ τὸ δερμα τὸ περὶ τὸ μῆλον σκληρὸν τε καὶ περιτρίψαντον καὶ καρφαλεὺς εὖν, καὶ τὸ χρομα χλωρόν τε ἢ καὶ μέλαν εὖν καὶ πελῖον ἢ μολιβδαδες.

More

More examples of excellence, and more also of haste and carelessness, might be produced from these volumes; but to detail the first would be to reprint half their contents, and to bring forward the last, would only prove (what surely is needless) that no work of uninspired man is perfect. We now, therefore, take leave of Bishop Horsley, with the respect and admiration due to a theologian, whom, in an age of audacious innovation, countenanced by a perverse antipathy to every thing ancient and venerable, we consider as having been raised by Providence to an exalted station both in rank and literature, that by a rare combination of opposite but not inconsistent qualifications, by a reason the most profound, and an eloquence the most attractive, he might at once convince the understanding and charm the heart; that by a faithful and courageous exposition of the genuine doctrines of the church of England, he might at once demonstrate their truth and enforce their vital importance, a striking contrast to every modern inroad upon revealed truth, which has uniformly been characterised alike by imbecility and coldness, and has left behind a system, if it deserve the name, as uninteresting to the heart as it is unfounded in Scripture.

One word more. The editor of Newton, who dared to call his author, 'out of mathematics, an ordinary man,' has, in these volumes, certainly dared to say many things which a man of smaller powers would have declined, and from which he himself, with smaller confidence in his own powers, would, perhaps, have shrunk. To genius, however, like that of Bishop Horsley, almost every thing may be forgiven: in such hands, paradox may be safe, experiments in language may be graceful, and trespasses upon decorum may only excite a smile,—but let ordinary men beware—'In that circle none can walk but he.'

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ART. III. *Li Romani nella Grecia*. Barzoni. 8vo. pp. 41.

IT is lamentable to think how little has been done by Great Britain towards disabusing the people of the continent, by a detection of the designs and weakness of the enemy; while his press has been incessantly employed in rivetting that yoke upon the nations for the reception of which it had previously prepared them. Every servile encomium on the government of Buonaparte, every calumny on his enemies, every exaggerated statement of his strength and of their imbecility, in short every falsehood vented in the *Moniteur*, is taken up by a succession of tributary echos, and passed from Paris to Vienna, Madrid, Petersburg and Constantinople. Every

ephemeral publication, in whatever language, French or Italian, Spanish, Greek or German, is bribed or forced into the service, and rendered, directly or indirectly, subservient to this end. The Romans adopted the arms of their enemies when persuaded of their utility; we are too idle to profit by the example of ours, even where the weapon is perhaps less efficacious in their hands than it would be in our own.

But it will be said that nothing hostile to France can find its way to her territories: an excuse for silence which, if it be valid, as far as it respects her original dominions, is not applicable to the conquered provinces, where, unseconded by the inhabitants, and less zealously served by his creatures, her ruler must find it impossible to dam up all the channels of information which might be opened to the people. Against a power, the basis of which is so rotten, the press might doubtless be employed every where with advantage, but perhaps in no part of Europe with greater promise of success than in Italy. The lively imagination and impassioned temperament of the people render them peculiarly sensible to the force of eloquence, and many circumstances concur in leading us to believe this one of the most vulnerable points of the overgrown dominions of France. If, roused to action, she *should* shake off the yoke of the oppressors, who knows but she may, by a union of her parts, form the best barrier which has yet been erected against the ambition of the conqueror? The extinction of so many independent states is certainly favourable to such an expectation; nor has any thing inspired greater confidence into the party which nourishes the passionate desire of Machiavel, that of the re-union of Italy under a single government. It may be questioned whether this project be not visionary; it may be doubted whether this party be strong either in authority or numbers; but the disposition to revolt amongst the Italians, under the influence of different hopes, and under the pressure of different evils, is placed beyond the reach of contradiction. On the withdrawal of Beauharnois' army to act against the Archduke near Vienna, the Ferrarese broke into an insurrection, which, though rendered vain by the desperate state of the Austrian affairs, afforded a sufficient test of what, under happier circumstances, might be expected from them. The Calabrias, which maintained a three years' defensive war against France, the grave of fifty thousand of her troops, and which, subdued only by the formation of roads and the establishment of military positions, cost her not dearer in blood than in treasure, await only a new opportunity of proving themselves in arms, while there is a smouldering insurrection in the Roman state which might be kindled by a breath. To keep alive this ardent spirit, to place before the eyes of the Italians their ancient wrongs and present sufferings,

ferings, to detect the weakness of the enemy, and disclose to them the secret of their own strength, in short to foment, by every appeal to their reason or their passions, the growing indignation till the time be ripe for action, ought surely to be the policy of Great Britain; nor could she find a better instrument for her purpose than she already possesses in the writer of the work under our review. This gentleman is already known to the public, as author of a History of the Subversion of the late Venetian Republic; stiled from its also succinctly narrating the former fortunes of that state, *Le Rivoluzioni della Repubblica Veneta*. If there be any who, dazzled by the glory of Buonaparte, yet persevere in admiration of his character, let them recur to this publication; they may here retrace the base and contemptible qualities which were subservient to the development of his more splendid vices; they may see, in this, the proudest period of his glory, how largely the lion's was pieced with the fox's skin; they may watch him wading through dirt as well as blood towards dominion. Does the disease remain unsubdued? a second remedy is presented to them in the volume before us; if this too fail, we may indeed pronounce that their malady is beyond the reach of hellebore.

The reader will have anticipated the character of the *Romani nella Grecia*. The title is typical; Italy is figured in Greece; the French in the Romans; the Austrians in the Macedonians; the Russians in the Thracians; the Venetians in the Ætolians, and Buonaparte in Flaminius; the parallel is more artfully sustained than is usual in works of a similar description. The author was probably influenced in adopting such a vehicle, as justificatory of that declamatory style in which he is peculiarly successful. Should it, however, be thought that this scholastic fiction is insufficient to his defence, he may at least shelter himself under the plea and example of Josephus, who from the deep interest taken by him in the calamities which he describes, claims the privilege of indulging in a more impassioned tone than is permitted to the ordinary historian. Like his, the language of Barzoni comes from the heart; and he describes, with natural pity and feeling indignation the weakness and the sufferings of his countrymen; the perfidy and oppression of the conqueror. Framed upon the same plan as the *Rivoluzioni della Repubblica Veneta*—this work, though of inferior bulk, embraces a wider field; the pictures which it contains are drawn with the same fidelity and spirit. It commences with a description of the causes which led to the conquest of Italy, the relative strength and disposition of the belligerents, and the character of the captain of the invaders. After the battle which was decisive of her destinies, the author becomes more circumstantial, and gives a detail of the measures resorted to in order to seduce, divide, corrupt

corrupt and terrify the people. With all this, there is no attempt to flatter the passions of the reader by underrating the valor or substantial force of the conqueror; but when other engines are substituted for these, he presents us with the ring of Angelica, dissolves the enchantment, and shews the wizard, apparently victorious in arms, in reality triumphant by imposture and delusion. Amidst this exposure, he is singularly happy in an account of the ephemeral governments of Italy, purposely constructed with a view to their own speedy dissolution, and of the arts by which the political fanaticism of the nation was irritated, till, reduced by a succession of paroxysms to the last stage of debility, she fell an unresisting victim to the tyranny of the French chief. Then follows a picture of the havoc of an unlicensed soldiery, ceaseless rapine and confiscation, the immediate evils which were their consequence, and the remoter, yet more lasting mischief which followed, in the moral debasement and depravation of the people. The infamous transfer of Venice, which formed the subject of the work before alluded to, is succinctly told and reprobated, and this closes the first Italian war. Very few pages are devoted to the second and its consequences: these are new modifications of fraud and violence. Here the story appears somewhat strained for the purpose of adapting it to the history, its prototype, and we should in some cases find a difficulty in fitting the Roman masks upon those personages of the drama for whom they are designed. The author rises again, however, towards his conclusion, and a summary account of the nefarious policy of France towards foreign nations, in general, furnishes him with a most brilliant and powerful peroration.

The chief characteristics of this work may be said to be shrewdness and vigor. Add to this, that the eloquence of the author flows in a full, clear, and uninterrupted stream, and is generally rapid as it is copious. Yet it would be too much to say that he has wholly escaped the defects of his school, defects to which the English are, perhaps, of all people the least indulgent. The most striking of these is the anxiety to screw every thing to the same pitch, to furnish and adorn the meanest as well as the strongest parts of the subject, to have, in the language of Foote, 'as much to say upon a riband as upon a Raffael.' We do not, however, intend to affirm that Signor Barzoni has sinned to this extent; but in his attempt to soar one even and continued flight, the effort is often visible and sometimes unsuccessful. Another fault of the Italian rhetoricians, from which he cannot be considered entirely exempt, a vice, perhaps, occasioned by the seduction of the language, is the propensity to round a period at the expense of its more essential part, and to baulk the understanding while they gratify the ear. These defects, however, are, neither frequent nor important. We return to a more  
essential

essential point. We would willingly give the English reader a juster idea of the more intrinsic merits of this work than our short abstract of its contents can have afforded: but this is inconsistent with our plan and limits. We will not, therefore, since a short citation is insufficient for such a purpose, deprive those conversant with the Italian, of an opportunity of tasting beauties, as preceptible in a fragment as in a whole, but which cannot be transfused or fixed in a translation. We select the character of Buonaparte.

‘ Nel terzo anno Tito Quinzio Flaminio fu destinato a quel comando. Egli era per natura soldato, e l'esercizio incessante dell' armi lo aveva disposto ad essere gran capitano. Fino dalla sua prima età aveva appresa l'arte di governare, e di comandar le armate. In qualità di tribuno era stato alla guerra contro d'Annibale sotto Marcello. Prefetto da poi di Tarento, indi condottiere di due colonie alle città Narnia e Cossa, tanto negli affidatigli carichi si distinse, che il popolo il creò console, benchè non ancora di anni trenta. Fu nella spedizione contro Filippo ch' egli fece risplendere que' grandi talenti militari che gli diedero tanto vantaggio su' Greci generali, e che tanta fama gli procacciarono a Roma. Ardito ed intrepido nel combattimento, atto a durar fatiche che fanno fremere la natura, accorto a tutto prevedere ed a provvedere a tutto nel periglio istesso, sagace a trarre da' suoi disastri e dall' infedeltà della fortuna improvvisi ripari ed impensati profitti, aggiustato nelle sue mire, di un genio perspicacissimo per eseguire a tempo li suoi progetti e per penetrare i disegni de' suoi nemici, tutto artificio per operar senza scoprirsi, mai più artificioso ancora allorquando evidentemente si scopriva, immenso negli espedienti, sempre inclinato ad intraprendere cose difficili, ed a tentare pur anco le impossibili, deciso di non abbandonare mai all' arbitrio del caso ciò che poteva essere condotto dalla prudenza, risoluto di osar tutto quando il consiglio era inutile, destro a coprire d' una calma sorprendente tutte le sue più gravi operazioni, facile ad essere spinto quasi da febbrile impeto a straordinarie imprese; tale era Flaminio \* \* \* \* \*

‘ Ho esaminato questo giovane come guerriero, ora l'osservo come uomo di stato.

‘ Ente ingegnossissimo, astuto, profondo e maraviglioso perche impenetrabile, senza onore, senza religione, senza morale, senza fede, ma molto esperto ad ammantarsi colle apparenze di quelle virtù per quanto convenisse a' suoi vantaggi; aspro per natura, impetuoso, iracondo, ma capace d' imperare a se stesso, e d' assumere all' uopo gli aspetti delle più delicate passioni; egualmente facile a far da tiranno che a spiegare i modi soavi e compiacenti d' adulatore; perspicace a conoscere il momento di fare il bene senza aver l'anima propria a volerlo; tronco e grave ne' detti suoi, inestricabile ne' suoi discorsi come nella sua condotta; costantemente assorto in un mondo di viste, di desiderj, d'imprese, tutte coincidenti all' aumento del suo potere; pronto a sacrificare l'amicizia, la riconoscenza, l'altrui riputazione all' esito de' suoi divisamenti, ed a servirsi della calunnia per tradir l'uno, soppiantare l'altro,



l'altro, screditar questo, perdere quello, e per rimuovere ogni ostacolo dalla carriera della sua ambizione; alacre a parlar sempre ai popoli il linguaggio che era nell' animo loro, ed a nascondere sempre a tutti i sentimenti del suo; lesto a toccar le fibre del cuore umano per cavarne i segreti che gli erano utili, quanto Orfeo a sorvolare sulle corde della sua lira per trarne i suoni che gli erano necessari; ambizioso come Alessandro, avido come Pimmalione, perfido come Lisandro, impostore come Pisistrato . . . . ecco Tito, ecco il redentore degli schiavi. In breve tutto stringo: trattavasi di far la guerra, egli era soldato, era Romano: trattavasi di gabbare, era Flaminio, con tante prodigiose arti del suo ingegno e del suo carattere, egli giunse ad ingannar tutti i Greci, e vi riuscì tanto più facilmente quanto che non gli occorre che della mala fede per sedurre popoli che amavano esser sedotti.

The reader, after this specimen, will probably agree with us in regretting that Signor Barzoni, who has now been several years in the service of Great Britain, to which he is equally attached from interest and from principles, should not have laboured more than he has in a cause which he is so well qualified to support. Would he know why we have so little of what is so good, he will learn that the valuable time of this gentleman is occupied in the conduct of a Maltese newspaper. He will perhaps imagine that this is but a vehicle for political discussion and for patriotic exhortation; that the little island in which he is placed has been merely chosen for his residence on account of its central situation, and that he is sounding an alarm to the surrounding nations from his watch-tower on the rock. Though the watchman slumber not on his post, his trumpet is not heard. Yet if he is not striving,

‘ciere viros martemque accendere cantu,’

he is doubtless usefully, though less brilliantly, employed; he may at least be occupied in informing the small population amongst which he is placed, and in animating and directing public opinion in the neighbouring kingdom of Sicily? No such thing; his duty is confined to translating articles, selected for him from the English papers, into the Malta Gazette, to detailing the number of old wheelbarrows found in some old fort in some part of the old or new world, of which perhaps his readers never heard, and to re-echoing all those small news, which, because interesting to ourselves, we wisely conceive must be equally so to every body else. It is not often we find men fit for our purposes, who will embrace our cold favour and scanty remuneration. We have found one, and we neither know nor will learn how to turn his talents to account. We are worse than Master Stephen; when he had got his hawk he sought a book to keep him by: we keep ours perched, hooded

hooded and fasting at Malta, and if we fly him at any thing it is such mousing work, that he is ashamed of the rattle of his bells.

In regretting the waste of Signor Barzoni's talents, it is not our wish to reproach those who first assigned him, much less those who have continued him in, his unprofitable office, any more than it is our intention to charge this or that administration with faults, common to them all, in the reflections which preceded our observations on his work. So general a reproach has been popularly, and perhaps justly, attributed to a general disposing cause: but if this be the case, if we cannot hope that our foreign shall be as well administered as our domestic affairs, are we, where perfection is unattainable, to make no effort towards improvement? If party squabbles too much occupy the time and thoughts of our statesmen, is it not because party squabbles too much interest the passions of the public? And can no good arise from awakening and directing their attention to other considerations? Are we not, after all, too apt to consider defects of long standing in matters of government, as inherent in the system, and as such, irremediable? We all recollect when our troops were deficient in every military virtue but courage. The language of that day was, that an army was not the natural weapon of Great Britain, and that we could not hope to see our land correspond with our naval forces in energy and discipline. Necessity forced us upon the experiment, and to its successful result Portugal owes her safety, and Spain looks to her deliverance. May this memorable experiment in all similar circumstances be our omen and our guide!

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ART. IV. *Sylva, or a Discourse of Forest Trees and the Propagation of Timber in his Majesty's Dominions, together with an Historical Account of the Sacredness and Use of Standing Groves.* By John Evelyn, Esq. Fellow of the Royal Society. With Notes by H. Hunter, M. D. F. R. S. 1812. The Fourth Edition, with the Editor's last Corrections, and a short Memoir of him.

THE occupation of planting belongs to an advanced period of society, and the amusement of planting to a refined one. Wherever colonies of the human species have been spread over the face of the earth, they have usually found themselves amoyed and encumbered, in the first operations of agriculture, by a superfluity of native woods. Of the graminivorous animals, some have accompanied mankind in their migrations; and of those which from their wilder and more independent habits may be supposed to have preceded

preceded our species, all have unquestionably found existing forests in a state too advanced to be injured by their tooth. This observation illustrates a remarkable fact in the economy of providence. Had the origin of plants and animals in every country been contemporary, and had the latter started at once from the earth, as the former are known to have done from seeds previously dispersed in situations adapted to their growth, the probability is, that woods and forests would never have arisen. For the instincts of many animals plainly direct them to boughs and leaves for food; and there are some, as the rhinoceros and elephant in Africa, and the ass and goat among ourselves, who, by a mischievous perversity of taste, prefer the dry browse of trees and shrubs to the most delicious herbaceous plants. But these monarchs of the vegetable kingdom, so easily destroyed in their infancy, so incapable of injuries from quadrupeds at a more advanced period, have commonly been found by man, wherever he has explored new countries, in a state of alternate luxuriance and decay, defying the bite of the graminivorous animals, which abounded under their shade and partook of their lower branches. These appearances at once prove and account for the fact, that migrations of quadrupeds have gradually taken place from some central point, while the principle of vegetable life started universally into action at the period of the creation. At all events such and so unchecked had long been the progress of woods and forests, at the first colonization of almost every country, that the original settlers have scarcely been able to win their way, or to make the first rude and circumscribed attempt at cultivation but by the destruction of ancient trees. Many centuries have elapsed, since man has spread himself over the plain and productive tracts of every country, before this process of devastation is at an end: the last remnants of native forests are then found in the deep vallies of remote mountainous districts, neither easy of access nor copious in the production of grain.

But in this long interval of increasing population and civility the wants of man are multiplied, cities are built, and navies launched. The demand for timber increases while the supply continues to diminish; and it is at this precise point, in the progress of society, that the first conception of artificial planting, as an object of rustic economy, will begin to be formed. The Romans, with all their expenditure of timber on architecture and ship-building, had never exhausted their native forests; the larch of the Appennines continued under the emperors to supply the capital itself with beams of stupendous bulk and unknown antiquity. Accordingly, it would be vain to seek in the works of the *rei rusticæ scriptores* for any systematic directions on the subject of planting timber trees. Virgil seized it as a charming subject for poetry, but Columella,

Columella, at a somewhat later period, almost wholly omits it; while Cato, long before, sourly assigns the ninth and last place in his catalogue of soils to that which was productive of the noblest, that is the glandiferous species of trees. ‘Cato quidē gradatim proponens alium aliū agrum, meliorem esse dicit in novem discriminibus, quod sit primus ubi vineæ esse possunt, bono vino et multo—secundus, ubi hortus irriguus—tertius ubi salicta, quartus ubi oliveta, quintus ubi pratum, sextus, ubi campus frumentarius, septimus ubi cædua silva, octavus ubi arbustum, nonus ubi glandaria silva.\* We may pardon the father of geaponics for his very consistent preference of the vine;† but a practical farmer like Cato ought to have known that the oak flourishes most in the same soil with wheat. To the Romans we are indebted, in this island, for the chesnut, the first instance of artificial planting amongst us, which, after rivalling the oak for some centuries in the construction of our ancient houses, has tacitly left that sovereign of the vegetable world to its ancient and deserved preeminence. The beech and the Scottish pine, notwithstanding the testimony of Cæsar to the contrary, are unquestionably indigenous in Britain. Among the Saxons, with the exception of castles, and partly of churches, not the roofs only, but the walls of all buildings above the rank of mud and wattles were of wood. Hence the word *timbrian* came to signify building in general. But at this period the native forests of England were of vast extent, and so far was the national consumption of oak from exhausting them by use, so far were the efforts of agriculture from wearing them out by gradual encroachment, that without the aid of an heated imagination we may be permitted to believe individual trees, now existing, to have attained to no inconsiderable bulk before the conquest. But how have they survived so many revolutions? The answer is easy—Revolutions at those early periods brought with them no temptations to the destruction of woods. No man long perseveres in wanton and laborious mischief, and there was then no market for timber. When the purposes of house-bote and hay-bote were answered, the survivors of the wood were left to live or die in the common course of nature. On the other hand, in the most ancient records of noble and religious houses, scarcely a vestige can be discovered of any attention to the state of their woods; they were accounted rather an incumbrance than a profit; and for landscape or ornament men had then neither eyes nor taste. But after the dissolution of the religious houses, a certain insecurity which was long apprehended in the tenure of their lands, and a vast increase in the demand for oak timber, by an in-

\* Varro de Re Rustica, l. 1, s. 50. Ed. Rob. Steph.

† Narratur et prisci Catonis  
Sæpe mero caluisse virtus.

creased solidity in the manner of constructing inferior houses, occasioned so prodigious a devastation, that in the reign of Elizabeth the first scarcity of that valuable material began to be felt, and the first instructions for repairing the deficiency were given. 'This scarcitie at first,' says an observing writer of that time, 'grew as it is thought either by the industrie of man for mayntayning of tillage, or else through the covetousness of such as in preferring of pasture for their sheepe and greater cattle do make small account of fire-bote and timber, or finally by the crueltie of the enemies.'\* The cause, however, already assigned operated probably more powerfully than any of these, excepting the first.

But it was the civil war in the reign of Charles I. which gave the first great blow to the forests and woods of England. The estates of delinquents were minutely surveyed,—their aged oaks, like the old families which owned them, were by these enemies of all that was elegant or venerable, doomed to destruction. In these patrician trees they beheld a kind of aristocracy—the royal forests, above all, followed the fate of their unhappy master, and as all the Stuarts had uniformly felt a patriotic concern for the navy of England, it became one of the first cares of Charles II. after the restoration, to repair this formidable breach, which seemed to threaten the existence of England as a maritime, and consequently as an independent, power.

Laws enacted to limit and direct the administration of private property are never obeyed; and Charles was too sensible a man to think of compelling his subjects to plant, by fines and forfeitures for the omission. Example he knew would do something, and he had scope enough for the purpose in his own wasted forests; but an animated exhortation from the press, in an age when the nobility and gentry began to read, and to reflect, he knew would do more. A proper person for the purpose therefore was sought and found; a man of family, fortune, and learning; an experienced planter; a virtuoso, and not a little of an enthusiast in his own walk.

Such was Mr. Evelyn: and to this occasion we are indebted for the *Sylva*, which has therefore a title to be regarded as a national work. And surely every man of taste will rejoice that such an undertaking was not reserved for the improved science and cool didactic clearness of the present day. The Linnæan classification, the exact botanical arrangement, which has been bestowed, and very properly bestowed on the subject, by a modern editor, would have been dearly purchased at the price of that ancient and simple strain of piety, that amusing superstition, that multifarious reading, and,

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\* Harrison's Account of Britain prefixed to Hollinshead, ed. 1577.

above all, that tender and parental feeling with which Evelyn writes on his favourite subject. To say that a republication of the *Sylva* was unnecessary because we know more of the subject, and, what we do know, more accurately than Evelyn, is to say nothing. Varro was a better, that is, a more practical agriculturist than Virgil: yet the *Georgics* have a thousand delighted readers, while the *rei rusticæ* scriptor has a few curious critics. The truth is, that no man will sit down to the text of the *Sylva* as a book of science. Nay even the notes, valuable as they are, and reflecting many useful lights on the subject of planting, are capable of much improvement. In fact an experienced nursery-man in partnership with a tolerable botanist, would produce a better guide for the modern planter than the combined labours of the author and editor of the *Sylva*. But what would be the comparative effect? On opening the one we are introduced into a magnificent forest, where the delighted imagination disdains to notice that the paths are tangled, and the undergrowth of shrubs and bushes is wasting itself in rank and idle luxuriance; while we should take up the other with the indifference of those who visit an infant seminary of forest trees, staked out and numbered on their several beds according to class and order. But the great and immediate use of the *Sylva* (to make use of the author's own expression) was that of a 'parænesis'—It sounded the trumpet of alarm to the nation on the condition of their woods and forests. This was almost enough; for the truth is, that the *science* of planting is of no difficult attainment. 'He, who remembers that all the woods by which the wants of man have been supplied from the deluge till now were self sown, will not easily be persuaded to think all the art and preparation necessary, which the georgic writers prescribe to planters. Trees certainly have covered the earth with very little culture: they wave their tops among the rocks of Norway, and might thrive as well in the Highlands and Hebrides.\*' And if men of fortune, among ourselves, can once be persuaded that the timber wanted for the British navy is in no long period likely to fail, and that therefore planting is a patriotic work; or if it can be demonstrated to their satisfaction, that, in addition to all the essential advantages conferred upon posterity, it will, if entered upon in early life, besides the pleasing and gentle occupation which it affords, be to themselves a profitable work—the end is achieved. In the course of their first experiments on soils and exposures, some miscarriages will take place, and some mortifications be endured, but if they bear in mind one line of the poet,

'Texendæ sepes tamen et pecus omne tenendum est,'

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\* Johnson's *Journey to the Western Isles*, p. 344.

without which every advantage of soil and climate and skill will be thrown away, the knowledge thus acquired will be more valuable than all the results of formal instruction; it will be topical and experimental.

In the later editions of the *Sylva*, which at intervals, longer or shorter, was under the author's hands, during a period of more than forty years, it is pleasing to observe the impulse which the first publication had given to the national taste. Charles the Second, as became his station, set the example of patriotic planting, and the royal forests were replenished with saplings which, at an interval of an hundred and twenty years, were destined to assert the naval supremacy of our country against the fleets of Spain and France, during the American war. Far other we fear have been the effects of those well intended efforts, which, at a much later period, have been made to replenish the royal forests.

*Δρυος παρῶσης πας ἀνὴρ ξυλευεῖται*

is but too true of the depredations which, from the absence of due inspection, have been committed on that noble tree, from the acorn, which, when sown, is abandoned by unprincipled workmen to the hogs, to the aged trunk, of which a moiety, under the description of root and stub, is seized by the ranger. The truth is that woods always succeed best, for a season at least, on small estates—in other words, under the hand and eye of the owner. A winter's residence in London has, within our observation, been the destruction of an extensive and promising plantation; but,\* on the other hand, the pressure of the present times, which bears with peculiar hardship on all owners of small landed estates, added to the necessity of frequent alienations, always preceded by the untimely sacrifice of wood, and the impossibility of providing for families without the same work of premature destruction, combine in limiting the race of full grown oaks to estates above the necessary operation of these galling exigences. On the contrary, if, with the mismanagement which takes place on large estates, few saplings survive, the probability is that those few will become so many giants.

The editor\* of this elegant work was a man of different character from the author, whose innocent quackeries will now excite a smile in the 'experienced housekeeper,' and whose habits, though elegant, were simple and abstemious. We must, however, do Dr. Hunter the justice to say that his re-publication of the *Sylva* revived the ardour which the first edition had excited, and while forests were laid prostrate to protect our shores from the insults of the enemy, the nobility and gentry began once more

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\* See his *Culina famulatrix Medicinæ*.

to sow the seeds of future navies, while, in the language of his poetical friend, the surface of the country became

‘One ample theatre of sylvan grace.’

Before this period, the spirit of planting, whether for the purpose of ornament or profit, was almost confined to the great: if a private gentleman, in the century preceding, planted an hedgerow of an hundred oaks, it was recorded, for the benefit of posterity, in his diary; meanwhile the nursery trade was in few hands, and, as the demands were small, the profits were enormous. The dealers, moreover, encouraged the planting of tall trees, on which, while their own labour had been multiplied for lucrative purposes, the success of the future plantation was always precarious. But the re-publication of the *Sylva* opened the eyes of land owners by teaching them that the seeds of trees would grow in private seminaries, that there was no mystery in managing a nursery; and that a plant of six inches and one of as many feet, placed in equal circumstances, side by side, would, in seven years, almost invert their relative heights.

In this national and patriotic work, however, the great Scottish nobility took and have maintained the precedence. Nothing in South Britain equals the extent and magnificence of those artificial forests which these lords of whole provinces have spread over their wild domains. A little before this period, the introduction of the larch formed a new epoch in the history of planting. That hardy native of Dauphigné and the Appennines had been introduced among us, as a tender exotic, in the reign of Charles the First, but was afterwards neglected; and though the astonishing success of a few individual plants might have directed, much earlier, the attention of our countrymen to its worth, it was little before the era alluded to that it began to be cultivated to any great extent. But a tree, which, in fifty years, will produce a beam equal to an oak of more than twice that duration, while, in contradiction to every other example, the durability and hardness of the wood are in no degree affected by the rapidity of its growth, a tree which, if the oak should fail, would build navies, and if the forests of Livonia or Norway or Canada were exhausted, would build cities, is an acquisition to this island almost without a parallel. In the present state of our relations with foreign countries, and even with our own colonies, it is impossible to contemplate, without exultation, acquisitions which contribute in so important a degree to render us independent on importation. But there are fashions in all pursuits, and every stimulus is, in its own nature, temporary. It becomes us, therefore, by calling the attention of our wealthy countrymen to the



the re-publication before us, as well as by independent encouragements, to keep alive that good spirit which has already gone forth. When Evelyn directed *his* contemporaries to the elegant and patriotic employment of planting, he had to wean them from the boisterous pleasures of the chase, and the consequent excesses of the table. In our humble effort to awaken men of moderate fortune to the profits and the pleasures of the same occupation, the first difficulty to be encountered is a 'winter in London.' Evelyn himself wrote what he quaintly styled a fumifugium, and the following observations may perhaps be permitted to operate in the same salutary direction. First, then, longevity has been, above every other description of men, the lot of great planters.

'And now,' says our amiable author, 'it is observed that planters are often blessed with health and old age. According to the Prophet Isaiah, "The days of a tree are the days of my people." *Hæc scripsi octogenarius*, and shall, if God protract my years and continue my health, be continually planting, till it shall please him to *transplant* me into those glorious regions above, planted with perennial groves and trees bearing immortal fruit.'

But the man of pleasure will say, a mere vegetable existence in the country, however prolonged, is no better than a *βίος ἀβίος*, a life not worth the living. And if indeed this mode of existence were mere rustic vacuity, if it were inconsistent with literary occupation, with domestic enjoyment, with active usefulness in those stations of authority which await every country gentleman resident on his own estate, we should certainly be of the same opinion; but in fact it is only inconsistent with absence, with dissipation, with waste, with vice. Then, again, the return of the planter's income among the labouring peasantry of his estate, the influence of his constant superintendence and example on their morals, and the habits of cheerful submission which they always acquire by working under the eye of a master, are considerations to which no benevolent mind can be indifferent. And for himself, let him believe, till he has tried the experiment and been disappointed, that every clod which is turned up in his presence will breathe health into his nostrils, that in planting he will find the only occupation in which hope and gratification uniformly go hand in hand; the one never sated, the other never extinguished. It affords to the mind, the gentlest and most soothing engagement, and to the body a species of exercise produced by every variety of posture, every flexure of joint and limb, and such as no uniform motion can ever attain. If in this class of society, a young man on entering upon his estate, were systematically to apply but ten acres annually to this most useful work, it would furnish himself with employment for life, and his  
younger

younger children with portions after his decease. But, in spite of the reclamations of his gardener, who is feed by the nursery-men, he must begin with the seed-bed: he is otherwise not the natural father of his future family. Transplantation next succeeds, which from every principle of present economy, as well as future advantage, ought to be early. Then follows a long progressive work of thinning, pruning, and lopping, all which demand a skilful, and, if possible, a master's hand.

Erasmus was laughed at by the elder Scaliger for having conceived (and, perhaps, he was the first modern who conceived) the idea that plants were afflicted with a certain degree of sensation. This imagination, which seems to have received some countenance of late, must, for the sake of his feelings, be discarded by the planter; otherwise, in every act of necessary discipline upon his plants he will appear to be performing a surgical operation on his children: for the knife, the chissel and the saw must all be used in succession, though with more or less reserve, according to the following analogies.

Glandiferous trees, of which the seeds are few and bulky, have also few and perpendicular roots, with broad deciduous leaves, and are apt to extravagate into a waste of vegetation in their side branches. To compensate for this native defect, all these are patient of the knife. On the contrary, the whole pine tribe, of which the seeds are diminutive as those of herbaceous plants, have roots numerous in proportion, more capable therefore of transplantation; but because they have little hold on the ground, they are filled, instead of leaves, with a kind of spines, on which the winds have little effect. These never waste themselves in side branches, and to them, therefore, excepting with respect to dead branches, the knife, not being necessary, is injurious. In all cases, early planting is highly expedient, *'adeo in teneris consuescere multum est.'*

To animate still farther the youthful planter by the prospect of no remote nor chimerical profit from his labours, a single poplar of eighteen years growth has been sold for four pounds; and a single acre planted, according to the circumstances of the soil, with that valuable aquatic, or the equally valuable larch, will, in favourable situations, and in no longer a period than twenty years, yield a produce worth ten times the fee simple of the land. Very different are these views of the subject from those of our great but gloomy moralist, who reminds the Scottish planters, for their consolation, that 'there is a frightful interval between the seed and the timber. He that calculates (he continues) the growth of trees has the unwelcome remembrance of the shortness of life

driven hard upon him. He knows that he is doing what will never benefit himself, and when he rejoices to see the stem rise, is disposed to repine that another shall cut it down.\* Dr. Johnson was not a father,—and what if that ‘other’ should be a beloved son?

With respect to the oak, indeed, hope must for the most part be the planter's reward; and were Quarles himself to seek for an emblem of the highest disinterestedness, or the grossest folly, he might light upon a man of fourscore dropping the acorns of this ornament and strength of future centuries. Yet we have seen men short of threescore years and ten reposing under the shade of oaks sown by themselves, which had attained to seven feet in circumference. From the seed-bed therefore to the perfection of some, and to the hopeful and rapid increase of others among his ‘old contemporary trees’ are the probable limits of the planter's life. But in the multiplied and delightful occupations of this long period, he will find that a tincture of other knowledge than experience alone can confer, is necessary to accomplish him in his own department. He will be assailed in the outset by temptations from interested persons to a wasteful profusion of plants. He ought, therefore, to be acquainted with the mensuration of surfaces, lest he should ignorantly be led to conceive that the difference in the number of his seedlings between planting at the distances of three, four, or five feet, is merely as those numbers. He should also, for similar purposes of economy, be acquainted with the geometrical relations between areas and their different outlines.

At a more advanced period of his progress, when the peculiar appetite of old age begins to operate in shortsighted temptations to immediate gain, he should acquaint himself with the mensuration of solids, and should be able to counteract the plea of interest upon interest, by actual admeasurements and practical demonstrations from year to year, that his woods, if spared, are uniformly increasing in a ratio which far outstrips the operations of indolent and sedentary avarice. To fortify himself in this species of abstinence, he will study the history and progress of woods, as detailed in this volume, with a wide compass of inquiry and information; and that he may not be discouraged by the comparatively trifling emoluments which are there represented as having accrued to the planter or his posterity after a lapse of many years, and from woods of considerable extent, he will do well to remember that the price of oak has nearly quadrupled within the last thirty years; and that by adding a cypher to estimates relating to the time of Charles the First,

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\* Journey to the Western Islands, p. 325.

he will do no more than raise them to the standard of his own times.

On the subject of taste, which, by a peculiar felicity, is in this single instance capable of harmonizing with views of profit, we have yet said little. Evelyn had a true feeling of picturesque beauty; but, living before the laws of landscape were known, except to painters, he admired justly, though without rules. Let the reader turn to the incomparable chapter in this work on the 'sacredness and use of standing groves,' where he will find, that in order to feel and describe the combinations of nature in these her most majestic works, it is not indispensable to talk, in the cant of a profession, of keeping and of tints, of foregrounds, offskips, and distance. Evelyn's painting resembles the forest scene in 'As You Like It,' or the more rugged features of Milton's Garden of Eden, 'wild above rule or art.' But to the undisciplined taste of picturesque beauty, there is added to this chapter such an accumulation of learning, sacred and profane; such a devout and holy feeling excited by the solemnity of ancient woods; such an harmless and elegant superstition on this his favourite subject, as exalt the planter to the much higher characters of critic, poet and saint. In short, the spirit of this chapter, and almost of the whole work, is that of his retired and tuneful friend Cowley, or of a later bard, who imitating, without knowing it, the sentiment and expression of Columella, exclaimed

"God made the country and man made the town."

In short, nothing can furnish a better antidote to the dry, scientific, didactic clearness with which physiological subjects are treated at present, or even to the formal and mechanical rules by which we are taught to avoid formality and mechanism in gardening, than this most feeling, desultory and enchanting work.

The truth is, that at a time when ornamental gardening was no better than architecture in trees and shrubs, there were always men of genius found to soar above that wretched taste; and now, when artificial landscape had attained to its highest point of perfection by copying nature, when the 'earth-painter', as he has been not unhappily named, had begun to emulate Claud and Salvator in nature's own materials, a set of trading mannerists have arisen, who, without taste or discrimination to consult the genius of places, if they succeed at all, succeed in producing a monotonous uniformity of beauty which will tire their employers and mankind. This, from the mere 'fuga' of sameness, will in no long time be succeeded by some monstrous and fantastic taste, which in its turn, and in some happier day, will once more give place to the supremacy of truth and nature.

The superlative merits of the writer, and the enchantment of the subject itself have left us little space, and less inclination to bestow much time on the editor or the present impression. To Dr. Hunter, however, considerable credit is due for the scientific arrangement of trees and shrubs which he has added, in their respective places, to the text, for the valuable hints which he has every where scattered on the modern improvements in sowing and planting, and above all, for the admirable portrait of his author by Bartolozzi, which, under the lean and fallen features of age, exhibits all the intelligence and fire of youth. In the last edition, such is the state of the engravings, (perhaps unavoidably,) that the possessors of the earlier impressions may felicitate themselves on their good fortune.

On the subject of physiology, and the internal organization of plants, something has been added by Dr. Hunter, perhaps as much as was then understood—though the observations of Malpighi and Grew, at a much earlier period, were excellent. ‘Many things, however,’ says the editor, ‘yet remain to be discovered,’ (p. 418,) and, in the last four years, experiment and observation appear to have completed the work.

On comparing Mr. Evelyn's unarranged enumeration of trees and shrubs cultivated among us in his time, with the few and unimportant additions to the catalogue of trees cultivated in England, which appear in the scientific arrangement of his editor, adapted to the close of the last century, it is impossible not to remark, that during a period of activity and improvement in every other department unequalled in any former age, the British *sylva*, as far as relates to the introduction of new species, appears to have been nearly at a stand. The cold regions of New England, of Russia and Norway, had, indeed, already added to the remains of our indigenous pine forests many varieties of that valuable tribe; while our immense acquirements on the torrid plains of Hindostan afforded no acquisitions but for the hothouse: the present reign, however, has opened a new southern continent, resembling in climate that of Constantinople, and abounding with varieties of trees and shrubs which would unquestionably bear the ordinary severities of an English winter. The southern shores of the Euxine had long before been explored by Clusius and Tournefort, and the fruit of their researches, and of some other early botanists, was not only the horse chesnut, at once a forest tree of the first magnitude, and a flowering shrub of the greatest beauty, but the laurel, and many other shrubs, unlike that great ornament of our winter walks, of the finest scent.

The climate of the great southern continent, at least that of our settlements upon it, we have already said, is nearly the same with  
that

that of Pontus. Thither we annually export whole cargoes of vice and guilt, and thence, to purify our own air, we might import innumerable varieties of vegetable beauty; but, to the disgrace of an elegant and scientific age, the door is shut. The vigilance of our *doganeri* is equally directed to the detection of imports properly contraband, and to articles of no intrinsic value, but objects sometimes of pure curiosity and sometimes of great national utility. Restrictions so unprofitable, and so little in the contemplation of a liberal government, but connived at in the conduct of men habitually coarse and violent, are worthy only of a despotic sovereignty or of a barbarous age.

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**ART. V.** *A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, in 1808 and 1809; in which is included some Account of the Proceedings of his Majesty's Mission under Sir Hurford Jones to the Court of the King of Persia.* By James Morier, Esq. Secretary, &c. London. 1812.

*A Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire, accompanied by a Map.* By John Macdonald Kinneir, political Assistant to Brigadier General Sir J. Malcolm, in his Mission to the Court of Persia. London. 1813.

**T**HAT the Persian empire flourished in all the arts and luxuries of the east, when the western world gave shelter, in its woods and wilds, to a few hordes of savages, the most ancient and authentic records, both sacred and profane, afford unequivocal testimony; every where the Scriptures display a distinct and intimate knowledge of the local and political concerns of this empire; and the father of profane history details, with the exactness of local information, the principal transactions by which its sovereigns were distinguished.

By what particular tribe of people Persia was originally inhabited must remain a matter of conjecture; that they were of the Scythian or Tartar race is more than probable, as the Parsees or Guebres, undoubtedly the most ancient and the least mixed of the Persians, have few if any of the lineaments of the Hindoo countenance, whilst the remarkable Tartar eye and olive complexion are universally discoverable among this tribe. The modern Persians, however, can hardly be said to possess any peculiar national character; the original traits having been defaced by the various revolutions of the government, the frequent change of masters, and the introduction of new systems of morals and religion.

Without ascending higher than the third century of the Christian

tian era, beyond which indeed we have no regular and unbroken series of Persian annals, this unfortunate country will appear to have been governed and overrun alternately by the Turcomans, the Affghans, and more northern Tartars, on the one side, and by the Mahomedan Arabs on the other; it had before this period received, at various times, under its protection, the Christians of Egypt, Syria, and Armenia: it has never ceased to carry off by force, or procure by traffic, the beautiful girls of Georgia and Circassia, who have given birth to many of its kings and khans; and when, to all these, we add the populous colonies established in the country by the Greeks after the conquests of Alexander, one of which, that of Seleucia alone, is said to have contained 300 nobles, and 600,000 citizens, we shall find it as difficult to make out the pedigree of a modern Persian as of a 'true-born Englishman.' The difference in this respect is very remarkable between the Persians and almost every other people of Asia, but particularly the Hindoos and Chinese, whose national contempt for foreign connection has preserved them, for ages, the same unvarying, unmixed race, through all the revolutions which their respective countries have undergone.

The boundaries and extent of the Persian empire have been as changeable as their national character. In the reign of Ardshir, better known as Artaxerxes Babegan, who, about the 220th year of the Christian era, established the house of the Sassanides, it was circumscribed by the Araxes and Euphrates, the Oxus and Indus, the Caspian sea and the Persian gulph. At the present day it is not easy to assign any precise boundary, nor to mark the extent over which the authority of the reigning monarch may be said to reach. To the northward the Russians for some years past have been pressing upon Persia, and to the eastward and westward its ancient limits are considerably narrowed by the Turks, the Tartars, and the Affghans: yet the pride of the 'king of kings' would have it understood that his power and extent of dominion are not inferior to those enjoyed by Ardshir.

Supposing, however, what may strictly be called Persia, though not all of it obedient to the sway of the present sovereign, to extend from the river Tigris on the west, to the Aroba on the eastern frontier of Hindostan; and from the Kur and the Tidjen (on the east and west of the Caspian) to the Persian gulph and Indian ocean, it will form a parallelogram of about 1200 by 1000 miles, comprehending an area of 1,200,000 square miles: of this area one-third part at least consists of arid deserts, salt lakes, and marshes covered with jungle; and more than another third of naked mountains. 'There is not in all the world (Chardin says) that country which hath more mountains and fewer

fewer rivers; and he adds, 'that not one-twelfth part of it was either inhabited or under any sort of cultivation.' Some of the mountains he describes of such a height, that their 'tops and summits are beyond the reach of the eye of man.' The principal ranges are ramifications of Caucasus and Taurus; but we are not aware that any traveller has ventured even to estimate the height of any one point of these ranges. Few of them, except those in the provinces of Mazanderaun and Ghilan, on the south and south-west sides of the Caspian, produce any timber; but those branches of the Caucasian mountains are well clothed with oak, chesnut, acacia, walnut, sycamore, pines, cedars, poplars, and many other kinds of trees, some of very large dimensions.

'There is not a single river,' continues Chardin, 'that can carry a boat into the heart of the kingdom, or serve to transport commodities from one province to another.' This is true; the Euphrates and the Tigris, the Indus and the Oxus, were considered in his time as the frontier rivers, but none of them enter Persia; and those of the interior are either inconsiderable streams, or such as, gradually diminishing from their sources, lose themselves, like those of Africa, in marshes or sandy deserts; of the latter, the most celebrated is that which is usually called the Great Salt desert. It cuts through the very heart of the empire, 'being in length about 400 miles, and in breadth 250;' and if to this be added the desert of Kerman, which may in fact be considered as a continuation of the former, its length will be extended to 750 miles. This dreary waste produces nothing but a few saline and succulent plants; such as various species of atriplex, salsola, mesembryanthemum, &c. Of the *Great Sandy desert* of Mekran, where, according to Arrian, the beasts of burthen belonging to the army of Alexander had nearly been smothered, we cannot convey a better idea than Mr. Pottinger's description, as we find it in Mr. Kinneir.

'The great desert is estimated by Mr. Pottinger to extend from the banks of the Heermund to the great range of mountains which separates the southern from the northern division of Mekran, a distance of four or four hundred and fifty miles, and from the town of Nooshky to that of Jask, a distance of rather more than two hundred miles. The sand of this desert is of a reddish colour, and so light that, when taken in the hand, the particles are scarcely palpable. It is raised by the wind into longitudinal waves which present, on the side towards the point from which the wind blows, a gradual slope from the base, but on the other side rise perpendicularly to the height of ten or twenty feet, and at a distance have the appearance of a new brick wall. Mr. Pottinger had great difficulty in urging his camel over these waves, especially when it was necessary to ascend the perpendicular or leeward side of them. They ascended the sloping side with more ease;



case; and as soon as they perceived the top of the wave giving way with their weight, they most expertly dropped on their knees, and in that manner descended with the sand, which was so loose that the first camel made a path sufficient for the others to follow. This impediment however was but trifling, compared to what our travellers suffered from floating or moving particles of sand. The desert seemed, at the distance of half a mile, to be a flat surface, about eight or ten inches above the level of the waves. This cloud or vapour appeared constantly to recede as they advanced, and at times completely enveloped them, filling their eyes, ears and mouths, and causing a most disagreeable sensation. It was productive of great irritation and severe thirst, which was not a little increased by the scorching rays of the sun. The ground was so hot as to blister the feet, even through the shoes; and the natives affirmed that it was the violent heat which occasioned the sand to move through the atmosphere. Mr. Pottinger indeed remarked that this phenomenon was only seen during the heat of the day. The *sahrab*,\* or watery appearance, so common in all deserts, and the moving sands, were seen at the same time, and appeared to be perfectly distinct, the one having a luminous and the other a cloudy appearance. The wind in this desert commonly blows from the north-west; and during the hot summer months it is often so heated, as to destroy any thing, either animal or vegetable, with which it comes in contact: the route by which Capt. Christie and Mr. Pottinger travelled is, therefore, deemed impassable from the middle of May to the end of August. This wind is distinguished throughout the *East*, by the term of the *bade seemoom*, or pestilential wind. It has been known to destroy even camels and other hardy animals, and its effects on the human frame are said to be the most dreadful that can possibly be conceived. In some instances it kills instantaneously; but in others the wretched sufferer lingers for hours, or even days, in the most excruciating torture.—p. 223.

The climate of Persia is so various that Xenophon makes Cyrus say, ‘my father’s kingdom is so large that there is no enduring the cold on one side of it, nor the heat on the other.’ In the lower plains, on the borders of the Indian ocean and the Persian gulph, and even at the capital Tehraun, the summers are represented as intolerably hot, whilst, in many of the mountainous regions, snow lies the whole year round. ‘In the month of July, 1810, the hills were covered with snow, and in several of the vallies between Shirauz and Ispahan, we found it so cold, as to make it necessary to sleep under two or three pair of blankets;’ and we find from Morier that, on the route from Tehraun to Constantinople, snow lay on the ground six inches deep in the month of June. The atmosphere is generally clear and dry, and the dews not insalubrious; excepting however in the mountainous provinces

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\* Literally, the water of the desert.

of Ghilan and Mazanderaun, on the borders of the Caspian, which are considered as peculiarly unhealthy. Shah Abbas is said to have persuaded vast numbers of Christians from Armenia and Georgia to settle in those two provinces for the purpose of cultivating the silk worm. Thirty thousand families, according to Chardin, allured by the beauty of the country, transplanted themselves thither, of whom, within a century, four hundred only remained; the rest having died or abandoned the country. 'Agues and dropsies,' says Mr. Kinneir, 'are the prevalent disorders, and the natives have in general a sallow and bloated appearance.' Hanway, who visited these provinces, says, that old women, mules, and poultry, are the only animals there that enjoy good health.

The vallies and smaller plains within the mountains are the most fertile, and consequently the most populous, parts of the empire. In them are produced all that luxury or necessity can wish. Wine, sugar, fruits of every kind, wheat, barley, and rice; silk, cotton, indigo, opium, and tobacco, senna, rhubarb, saffron, manna, and assafoetida, are every where abundant, as well as all kinds of culinary vegetables. They have the olive and the palma christi; but the bituminous naphtha, or mineral pitch, supplies the place of oil for their lamps. They have abundance of sheep, with tails of such a weight that, according to Chardin, it is not unusual to place them on a little cart with two wheels. Goats are plentiful, as well as horned cattle; the latter, however, are rarely used as food. Poultry of all kinds is very abundant. They have an excellent breed of horses; and camels, mules, and asses, are the common beasts of burthen. In the woods and jungles are lions, tigers, leopards, and wild boars. Such are the general features, climate and productions of a country which Sir William Jones has pronounced the most beautiful and desirable in the whole world.

We know of no data whatever from which any thing like a tolerably correct estimate can be formed of the population of Persia. In Chardin's time, the natives pretended that it contained twenty-four provinces, five hundred and forty cities, towns and fortresses, and forty millions of souls. Mr. Kinneir thinks it doubtful whether the population of the whole extent of country between the Euphrates and the Indus would be found to amount to more than eighteen or twenty millions, including all the wandering tribes of every denomination. Both accounts have probably no other foundation than conjecture; but, in forming a judgment from the state of the country, we should say that the latter approaches the nearest to, and perhaps exceeds, the truth.

Twenty-three provinces are enumerated and described by Mr. Kinneir, but of these, the first ten only can be said either wholly

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or partially to belong to Persia. The provinces of Georgia, Schirvan, and Daghestan are either in the hands of the Russians, or of independent chiefs; Mingrelia is divided between the Turks and Russians; Bulk, Seistan, Cabul, and Scind are inhabited by various tribes of men altogether different from, and independent of, the modern Persians. The title of his book might therefore have been—'A Geographical Memoir of all the Countries between the Euphrates and the Indus.'

In all these countries the state and condition of the people appear to be pretty nearly the same. Whatever revolutions the Asiatic nations, even those where the arts and luxuries were carried to the highest pitch of perfection and profusion, may have undergone, the form of government has remained substantially the same. The prince or the conqueror was always a tyrant, the people were always slaves.

'From the earliest times to the present day, Persia (says Mr. Kinneir) has been subject to the will of a despotic prince, and no monarch ever ruled with a more arbitrary sway than the person who now fills the throne of that empire. He is the absolute master of the lives and property of his subjects, and is under no restraint in the exercise of his power. His commands are instantly obeyed, and the first man in the empire may, in a moment, without even the form of a trial, be stripped of his dignities and publicly bastinadoed.'

Yet this personage neither owes his elevation to the sword, nor to legitimate descent. As nephew to one of those wretched beings who, with the loss of sex, seem to lose all feelings of manhood and all sense of crimes, he quietly ascended the throne, on the death of the uncle, in the year 1795. This eunuch, Aga Mahomet Khan, was himself an usurper, and had just completed the final destruction of the unfortunate race of Kerim Khan, in the person of Latif Ali, when he suddenly died. Futteh Ali Khan, the present sovereign, is said to be the least warlike prince that has sat on the throne of Persia since the last of the Sefis; he is even considered by his subjects to be deficient in personal courage; 'and yet,' says Mr. Kinneir, 'to read the history of his campaigns, a stranger would suppose him to have equalled, if not surpassed, in military fame, the most admired commanders the world has ever produced.' His family are of the Kajer tribe of Astrabad and Mazanderaun, which is of very inferior renown among the numerous and powerful tribes of the empire. We are told by Mr. Scott Waring, but on what authority we know not, that the people of the bazar refused to sell any article to a Kajer, on the plea that there was nothing sufficiently bad for one of that race. Yet, in direct contradiction to these two gentlemen, Mr. Morier assures us, that the Kedjars are 'the most ancient and honoured in Persia.' But  
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whatever deficiency there may be in his hereditary rank, or military renown, he is careful to make up in pretensions and titles, which, for absurdity and extravagance are, we should think, unequalled. In the preamble of a treaty concluded with Colonel Malcolm we find him thus designating himself.

‘The high king, whose court is like that of Solomon’s, the asylum of the world, the sign of the power of God, the jewel in the ring of kings, the ornament in the cheek of eternal empire, the grace of the beauty of sovereignty and royalty, the king of the universe like Caherman, the mansion of mercy and justice, the phoenix of good fortune, the eminence of never-fading prosperity, the king powerful as Alexander, who has no equal among the princes exalted to majesty by the heavens in this globe, a shade from the shade of the most high, a prince before whom the sun is concealed, &c.’

Among the early acts of this ‘mansion of mercy and justice’ was that of the murder of Haji Ibrahim, one of the most respectable persons in the empire, by whose exertion and influence he had been quietly placed on the throne; but occurrences of this kind are nothing extraordinary in the eastern world. ‘His face,’ says Mr. Morier, ‘is obscured by an immense beard and mustachios, which are kept very black, and it is only when he talks and smiles that his mouth is discovered.’ He is said to have a taste for literature, and to write verses; and he employs both an historiographer and a poet to record his actions and recite his praise. If, as Mr. Morier was informed, the poet receives from the king a gold *tomaun* (nearly a pound sterling) for every couplet, he may laugh at the decree of fate which the eastern mythologists pretend to have doomed poets to perpetual poverty; but we doubt the fact. The king of Persia is the most avaricious of mortals: such is his venality that he actually sold the vizierat to his own son for ten thousand pounds; and all the inferior offices of the state are disposed of to the highest bidder.

The sovereign will is the law; and two great officers of state are the immediate executors of that law. These are the *azem*, or grand vizier, who is the prime minister, and the *ameen ed dowlah*, or lord high treasurer. The vizier has the management of all foreign affairs, and is commander-in-chief of the army; the other is the secretary of state for the home department, charged with all matters relating to the revenue, and the imposition of taxes. The authority of these two men is subject to no controul; but their continuance in office, and even their existence depend on the caprice of the tyrant whom they serve. Under them are a host of inferior officers in the army, the household and the revenue departments, all of whom look up only to their immediate superior, whose protection is considered as most secure, when it is most costly.

costly. The several provinces of Persia are subdivided into districts; the governors of the former are called *beglerbeks*, and of the latter *hakim*. Under pretence of an anxious solicitude for the welfare of the people, the *beglerbeks* at certain periods are called to court, to render an account of their administration, or, in other words, to pour into the lap of the sovereign and his two ministers, a large portion of the treasures extorted from the people; without which they are morally certain of losing the whole, and probably their eyes into the bargain. No inquiries are made as to the manner in which those treasures have been procured. The *hakim* only can tell this, and all that the *hakim* knows is from the *kelounter*, who superintends the collection of the tribute, and one of whom is found in every city, town, and village. He again shuffles off the responsibility to the *ket-khoda*, or chief of the village, whose *pak-kur*, or agent, is the only person who comes in immediate contact with the *ryot* or husbandman.

The extortions of these officers, and the oppressive taxes on every species of produce, not unfrequently drive the peasantry from the plains to join the *banditti* of the mountains. It is impossible that agriculture can flourish where property is held on so precarious a tenure, and always subject to systematic rapacity. The established tribute of the king, which was formerly one-tenth, is now said to be one-fifth of every species of produce; or rather of what *might* be produced; for the assessment is made, not on the actual produce of the land, but on the indirect criterion of produce, deduced from the number of cattle which each landholder employs. Every town and village is rated at a certain sum, and if one man cannot pay his quota his neighbour must raise it for him. There are besides many arbitrary taxes, of an occasional nature, as the passage of ambassadors, military expeditions, &c. which the *ryots* are called on to pay, as well as to satisfy the collector for this additional trouble; and as this office is purchased by him who holds it from his immediate superior, the amount of the purchase money usually regulates the rate of extortion.

There is, however, a pretended system of jurisprudence, founded on the precepts of the *Koran*, and a nominal judge of civil and criminal law, under the title of *scheik ul islam*. But the king himself is supreme judge, and the *nasakchee bashee*, an officer of high rank, the chief executioner, who requires no other authority than the king's *firmaun* to take off half the heads in the empire. The governors of provinces and of cities act as judges within their respective jurisdictions; but such is the justice of their decisions, that the rich man's hog invariably oversets the poor man's pot of oil. The ordinary punishments are privation of sight, bodily mutilations, and the *bastinado* on the soles of the feet. Theft is punished with  
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great severity, generally with death. 'I remember,' says Mr. Kinneir, 'having seen four thieves built into a wall, all but their heads, and thus left to perish.' Mr. Morier says, the present king never pardons a thief, and that the usual punishment is to draw him up between two young trees whose tops have been forcibly brought together; when let loose, the body, by their elastic spring, is torn asunder, and hangs divided on each separate tree: this barbarous proceeding is corroborated by Mr. Kinneir. It must, indeed, be a very ancient mode of punishment in Persia; being that which, according to Plutarch, Alexander inflicted on the regicide Byssus.

The King of Persia may be considered as the most arbitrary tyrant in the universe with so small a military force to support his tyranny. His body guard, which is the only permanent army, does not exceed ten thousand men, to which may be added the gholaums or royal slaves, in number about three thousand. The former, indeed, are not always on duty, though always liable to be called out; the latter are the guardians of the king's person. It is the number and bravery of the wandering tribes that constitute the real military force of the Persian empire. These compose, in fact, half the population of the country. Their chiefs or khans are the feudal barons of the empire, and hold their dignities and territories from the king on condition of military service; and each has a son, a brother, or some near relation at court, to answer for the loyalty and fidelity of the chief. These khans are, for the most part, of the Turcoman race, and still preserve the manners, and speak the language, of their Scythian ancestors. Those in the southern provinces pretend to trace their origin to a much higher antiquity, and, as Mr. Kinneir seems to think, may be the descendants of the ferocious bands encountered by Alexander in that part of the country: they dwell in tents, lead chiefly a pastoral life, and change, with the seasons, their place of abode in pursuit of better pasturage. The following passage will convey some idea of the manners and hospitality of these wandering tribes of Elauts; (probably Eleuths,) as they are called by Mr. Morier, a party of whom he fell in with near the foot of Mount Ararat.

'As soon as it was announced at the tent that strangers were coming, every thing was in motion; some carried our horses to the best pastures, others spread carpets for us; one was dispatched to the flock to bring a fat lamb, the women immediately made preparations for cooking, and we had not sat long before two large dishes of stewed lamb, with several basins of *yaourt* (thick milk) were placed before us. The senior of the tribe, an old man, (by his own account, indeed, more than 85 years of age,) dressed in his best clothes, came out to us, and welcomed us to his tent with such kindness, yet with such respect, that his sincerity could not be mistaken. He was still full of activity and

fire, although he had lost all his teeth, and his beard was as white as the snow on the venerable mountain near his tent. The simplicity of his manners and the interesting scenery around, reminded me, in the strongest colours, of the life of the patriarchs; and more immediately of him whose history is inseparable from the mountain of Ararat.—(p. 309.)

From the aggregate of all these tribes Mr. Kinneir thinks the present king might, on an emergency, collect a force of one hundred and fifty, or, perhaps, two hundred thousand men, all cavalry. These undisciplined armies, he tells us, receive no regular pay, and are only kept together by the hope of plunder; they are therefore generally indulged once a year, to take the field, either against the Russians, Affghans, or Turcomans, their immediate neighbours. We doubt the correctness of this statement. They certainly do not go to war with the Russians for the sake of plunder, but to repel them beyond their ancient limits which they have invaded, and for which purpose they have waged an unprofitable war for the last fourteen or fifteen years; and our government of India must be held responsible for urging the Persians to make war upon the Affghans.

Mr. Kinneir goes on to state, that, as the horse and accoutrements belong not to the public, but are the property of the individual, for which if lost he receives no compensation, the anxiety to preserve them has frequently proved fatal to the reputation of the Persian arms. This account is at direct variance with those of Scott Waring and Morier, both of whom state the pay and allowances to be considerable, and add, that horses and clothing are supplied out of the royal treasury. Our own opinion is, that the king pays and clothes his personal army, and that each khan does the same out of the revenues of his district, and the plunder derived from the neighbouring chiefs, among whom mutual hostility constantly prevails. If, indeed, it be true, as Mr. Kinneir states it, that the whole revenue paid into the treasury does not amount to more than three millions sterling, even allowing the value of money there to exceed that of Europe four-fold, it is impossible that the food and clothing, the horse and accoutrements, which are all expensive, could be furnished to a large army out of such a sum.

Nothing can exceed the profusion of ornamental finery with which the palace and person of Futteh Ali Shah are surrounded. His throne, his clothing, his arms, and all the regal insignia exhibit one blaze of pearls and diamonds, rubies and emeralds. His harem is said to be equally splendid; and some idea may be formed of its extent from Scott Waring, who states that, at the age of five and twenty, he had no less than fifty sons—how many daughters, we know not, for *they* go for nothing. In 1809, the

the fourteenth year of his reign, Mr. Morier tells us that he had sixty-five sons and as many daughters. His second son, Ali Mirza, Prince of Schiraz, at the age of nineteen, had eight children; and his love of women, horses, and finery fully equalled that of his father, whom he resembled in other respects, except, indeed, that instead of cutting off ears, slitting noses, and piercing eyes, he contented himself with the gentle application of the bastinado.

Very different from these is said to be the character of the heir apparent, Abbas Mirza, Prince of Aderbijan, whose residence is at Tabreez. Plain and simple in his dress and manners, his whole attention is turned to the improvement of his troops in military discipline and tactics. He regularly inspects their arms, their horses, and their accoutrements. He is considered as the best horseman in Persia, and Mr. Morier was told, by the governor of Tabreez, that at full gallop he could bring down a deer with a single ball, or with his bow hit a bird on the wing: he possesses also the rare quality in a modern, but the pride and glory of an ancient Persian—that of speaking truth—an instance of which appeared in his reprimanding the governor for telling Mr. Morier that the French had left Tabreez, when they were still there, and ordering him to go and unsay what he had told him. Such a man is worthy of a throne; but miserable, indeed, must be the state of that country whose prospects of prosperity extend not beyond the occasional and transient reign of one virtuous sovereign.

As the constitution and administration of all governments, and the moral character and political condition of the people, act reciprocally on each other, it would not be difficult to determine with tolerable precision the actual state of the subjects of Persia. Both Mr. Kinneir and Mr. Morier have afforded some incidental information on this point. We find that, in the province of Fars, or Pars, which is in the very heart of the empire, and gives the modern name to it, many of its fertile plains and vallies are destitute of inhabitants.

‘Between Behaban and Shirauz (says Mr. Kinneir) I travelled, in 1809, upwards of sixty miles, through the most delightful vallies, covered with wood and verdure; but all was solitary; not the face of a human being was any where to be seen. They had been possessed by an ancient tribe which, in consequence of their licentious conduct, had been nearly extirpated by the orders of the prince, and the few that survived had taken refuge on the summits of the loftier and most inaccessible mountains, where they subsisted on a wretched kind of bread made from acorns, and from thence sallying forth, infested the roads and rendered travelling extremely dangerous.’—(p. 55.)

Again, in Khosistan, (the ancient Susiana,) in the government of Shuster,



Shuster, which constitutes its fairest portion, fertilized by four streams which cross the plain in every direction, even here, 'the peculiar blessings of nature are insufficient to counterbalance the baneful influence of the ignorant and rapacious government of the Persians; for wherever it prevails, desolation and ruin attest its destructive effects. This wealthy province which, as we learn from Strabo, yielded to the husbandman one hundred or even two hundred-fold, and was rich in its productions of cotton, sugar, (not *sugar* from Strabo surely!) rice and grain, is now, for the most part, a forsaken waste.—From the Alzal to the Tigris, and from the banks of the Karoon to those of the Shat-al-Arab, all is dreary and desolate; and on the east side of Shuster, a lonely wild, upwards of 60 miles in length, extends from that city to the entrance of the valley of Ram Hormuz.' He goes on to say, that this valley, of more than usual fertility—the spot where Artaxerxes Babegan, after conquering Artabanes, first assumed the title of Shah en Shah, the kings of kings—is now in the hands of five hostile and predatory chiefs, four of whom are brothers, who live in castles, and take every opportunity of sallying out to commit depredations on each other's property: the governor of Shuster has little or no authority over these lawless and disorderly chiefs and their banditti, though the inhabitants of the towns and villages groan beneath his arbitrary sway. The following incident is quite characteristic of the state of the country.

'Mr. Monteith and myself, in our journey across the desert from Shuster to Ram Hormuz, encountered a party of one of these tribes, and happily succeeded, not only in beating them off, but in making prisoner one of their leaders whom we carried back to the city. We had no sooner arrived than I lodged a formal complaint against him with Meerza Sheffee, the governor, demanding, in the name of the ambassador, that he should be publicly punished. The Meerza, with whom we were personally acquainted, fairly confessed his inability to punish the prisoner, and gave it as his advice that we should avail ourselves of an offer which he had made, to conduct us in safety through the desert, provided he received his pardon. We, accordingly, next morning, set out a second time, escorted by sixty chosen horsemen of the same banditti that had attempted to murder us on the preceding day: nor did they offer to quit us, until we entered the valley of Ram Hormuz, a distance of near seventy miles, when we made them a trifling present and they returned to their homes.'—pp. 95, 96.

If we turn to Irak, the central province of the empire, in which are situated the two great capitals of Ispahan and Tehraun, we find the country about Cashan, one of the most flourishing cities in Persia, in a state of depopulation, and laid completely waste by the inroads of the Turcomans.

'It was the custom of these barbarians, previous to the reign of the present

present king, to make incursions into Persia, in parties not exceeding forty or fifty men; when, after plundering the villages, and massacring the male inhabitants, they carried off the women and children as slaves. For this purpose each Turcoman was attended by two horses, which were as regularly trained for these *chapowes*, or plundering expeditions, as the racers in England are to run at Newmarket; and it is an astonishing fact, that these horses have been known to perform a journey of seven or eight hundred miles in as many days.'—p. 115.

Aderbijan is reckoned amongst the most productive provinces of Persia, and the villages have a gay and delightful appearance, being for the most part embosomed in orchards and gardens, which yield the most delicious fruits and flowers of every description; and where, but for the tyranny of their rulers, the inhabitants might enjoy all the comforts and conveniences of life in the highest possible degree. Provisions of all kinds are excellent and abundant, and wine might be made in any quantity; but even in this retired and mountainous situation, such is the oppression of the government and the poverty of the people, that, in the hope of bettering their condition, we are assured by Mr. Kinneir, 'they contemplate with pleasure the approach of the Russians.'

The large province of Khorassan, once so populous and flourishing, so productive in wine, fruit, corn and silk of the best quality, 'has so often been laid waste and overrun by the most savage nations, that commerce and prosperity have utterly disappeared; the cities have fallen into decay, and the most fruitful regions have been converted into solitary deserts.' An incessant war of plunder is carried on by marauding parties of irregular horse, who, after ravaging the country and burning the villages, carry off the inhabitants into slavery. At no great distance even from Herat, which is still said to contain one hundred thousand inhabitants, the peasantry, 'in constant fear of being attacked, never go unarmed; they even cultivate their gardens with their sword by their sides.'

We could produce many passages of a similar description, but we deem those already given more than sufficient to shew the distracted and desolate state of the country, and the deplorable situation of the people. We turn, therefore, with pleasure, to a description of another kind, which, however, is almost the only one of an agreeable nature which occurs in Mr. Kinneir's volume.

'The situation of Khonsar (in Irak) is singularly interesting and romantic. In approaching it from the west the traveller passes over a road completely shaded on both sides, for the distance of four or five miles, by every species of fruit tree which this country produces. The town stands at the base of two ranges of mountains, running parallel with each other, and so very close that the houses occupy the bottom, and, at the same time, the face of the hills to some height. Each house is separate, and surrounded by its own garden; and the town, which is

only connected by means of its plantations, is about six miles in length, and not more than a quarter of a mile in breadth. Khonsar contains two thousand five hundred families, under a chief named Ali Shah, and yields an annual revenue of five thousand *tomauns*, exclusive of the *sadir* (an arbitrary tax) which generally consists of dried fruits and a kind of cotton chintz. No corn of any kind is grown in the valley; but the fruit is so abundant, that it alone enables the inhabitants to procure every kind of necessary article and convenience in return for it. The women of this place are celebrated for their beauty and vivacity.—p. 128.

Khonsar can only be considered as a Persian village. We shall now give a brief sketch of the celebrated Shiraz, and of the two capitals Ispahan and Tehraun, in order to convey some general idea of the cities of this empire. Shiraz is not more than four or five miles in circuit, it is surrounded with a wall about twenty-five feet high, and ten feet thick, having round towers at bow-shot distance, or at eighty or ninety paces from each other. The houses are low and consist only of one story; the streets are narrow dirty alleys. The citadel is a fortified square, within which is the palace, consisting of ranges of low buildings round a succession of quadrangular courts, in which are canals bordered with tall and spreading sycamores. A splendid mosque, begun by Kerim Khan, remains unfinished. The great bazar, or market, built by the same prince, extends a full quarter of a mile, is constructed of burnt brick, arched over the top, and has every convenience of windows and sky-lights, to let in light and air, and to exclude the sun and rain. Within this bazar all the merchants and trades-people have their assigned quarters.

‘Shiraz,’ says Mr. Kinneir, ‘has a pleasing, rather than a grand, appearance. It is surrounded with many beautiful gardens. The lofty domes of the mosques, seen from afar, amidst the trees, diversify and enrich the view; but, on entering the city, the houses, which are, in general, small, together with the narrow filthy streets, give the stranger but a mean idea of the second city in the empire. The inhabitants, who, according to the best information I could obtain, amount to about forty thousand, enjoy one of the finest climates in the world, and have nothing to regret, but the want of a wise and liberal government.’

Ispahan is the largest city in the empire, and has, for ages, been considered as the capital. Chardin has furnished a long, tedious, and exaggerated account of this city. Including the suburbs, he reckons it to measure twenty-four miles in circumference, and gives to it a population of 600,000 souls. The palaces and the mosques, the bazars, and the baths, he describes as most magnificent; and the plentiful stream of the Zaiande-rood, running through the heart of the city, with its bridges of ‘singular yet beautiful construction,’  
and

and the rows of pines and pinasters, and plane trees which adorn its banks, add not a little to the convenience and cleanliness and to the ornament of Ispahan. The private houses are low and small, the streets crooked and exceedingly narrow; the wall of mud, and its eight gates, so out of repair in Chardin's time, as neither to be opened nor shut, have since been destroyed by the Affghans, and the suburb of Julfa, by Mr. Kinneir's account, has been reduced from twelve thousand to six hundred families: most of the others, he adds, have shared the same fate, and a person may ride for miles amidst the ruins of this immense capital, which yet boasts a population of 200,000 souls. The Maidan, or royal square, together with most of the palaces and mosques, though greatly decayed, have still a magnificent appearance. Most of the mosques and colleges, mentioned by Chardin, are standing; and there are still nine churches (of Armenians, we presume) in the suburbs of Julfa, in which weekly service is performed. The valleys and plains, for many miles around Ispahan, are adorned with plantations; and the first view which the traveller has, on coming from Shiraz, of this great metropolis, is from an eminence about five miles from the city, when it bursts at once upon his sight, and forms, perhaps, one of the grandest prospects in the universe.

The city of Tehraun was fixed upon as the capital of Persia, by the late king, Aga Mahomed, partly, perhaps, from its proximity to the Kajer tribe, but principally from its commanding position, being nearly central to the most important roads and passes, and in the midst of those wandering hordes known to be faithful to the reigning family, and from whom it is reckoned he could, on any emergency, raise a body of 25,000 horse within the space of five days.

'Tehraun is about four miles in circumference, surrounded by a strong wall, flanked by innumerable towers, and a noble dry ditch, with a glacis, between it and the wall. The only building of consequence within the city, is the *ark*, or citadel, which contains the palace of the sovereign and his officers. It was founded by Keerim Khan, enlarged by the late king, and beautified by the present one. The population varies from time to time according to the number of guards and attendants then in waiting upon his majesty. In summer, when the excessive heats compel the king to move from this place, the majority of the inhabitants follow the royal camp, when the capital cannot boast above 10,000 people. When the king is there in the winter, the population is supposed to amount to 60,000 souls.'

This is all that we can collect from Mr. Kinneir; but Mr. Morier adds that there are 'six gates inlaid with coloured bricks, and with figures of tigers, and other beasts in rude mosaic,' and that 'their entrance is lofty and domed,' that the town itself is about the size of Shiraz, built of sun-dried bricks, and that it has a muddy appearance;

appearance: in this last respect it resembles the print which he has given of it. It contains one large but unfinished mosque, and six small ones; three or four medrassis, one hundred and fifty caravan-serais, and as many hummums.

The ruins of Rae or Rey, the capital of Persia in the reign of Alp-Arslan, which was sacked and overthrown by the generals of Ginges-Khan, are situated five miles south of Tehraun. They cover a great extent of country, but present only a succession of little mounds or hillocks, and an undulating inequality of surface, breaking through which, are sometimes visible a few fragments of lacquered tiles or bricks that have been baked in the furnace. Such generally is the only appearance by which the remains of the ancient cities of the eastern world are now to be recognised. Excepting the ruins of some large and lofty turrets, like that of Babel or Belus, the celebrated cities of Babylon and Nineveh, of Ctesiphon and Seleucia are so completely crumbled into dust, as to be wholly undistinguishable but by a few inequalities of the surface on which they once stood.

‘The humble tent of the Arab now occupies the spot formerly adorned with the palaces of kings, and his flocks procure but a scanty pittance of food, amidst the fallen fragments of ancient magnificence. The banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, once so prolific, are now, for the most part, covered with impenetrable brush-wood; and the interior of the province, which was traversed and fertilized with innumerable canals, is destitute of either inhabitants or vegetation.’

Most of the houses throughout the east are, in fact, built of bricks dried in the sun, and many of mud or earth; they are, therefore, no sooner deserted than they crumble into dust. Not a shower of rain falls in Persia that does not dissolve the walls of many a habitation. Even the more substantial buildings gradually disappear. As Major Rennell justly observes, ‘a deserted city is nothing more than a quarry above ground, in which the materials are shaped to every one’s hands;’ and it is quite evident from the corroborating testimony of many travellers, that Hillah, the only town in Persia built of furnace-baked bricks, has risen out of the ruins of Babylon. Of these ruins Della Valle, Père Emanuel, Niebuhr, Beauchamp and others have given detailed and minute descriptions, which have been examined and compared by Major Rennell with that critical acumen by which his useful labors are peculiarly distinguished. The conclusion which he draws from them is, that, the position and extent of the city walls might probably be ascertained even at this day; and that the delineation and description of the site and remains would prove one of the most curious pieces of antiquity exhibited in these times.’

It was not, therefore, without great disappointment we read in  
Mr.

Mr. Kinneir's account of this part of the country, that his friend Captain Frederick, after dedicating eight or ten hours every day, for a week, in the neighbourhood of Hillah, after examining, with all possible attention, a space of twenty-one miles in length, and twelve in breadth, was unable to discover any thing which could admit of a conclusion, 'that either a wall or ditch had ever existed within this area.' The tower of Babel, or temple of Belus, was examined by both these gentlemen, and other ruins in the shape of mounds, in all of which were furnace-baked bricks, with and without inscriptions in the Persepolitan arrow-headed character; and we are still persuaded that, had they examined the banks of the Euphrates with the eyes of antiquaries, the traces of the wall and ditch would not have escaped them. They did see, in fact, at 'one mile and a half from Hillah, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, a longitudinal mound close on the edge of the river,' and two miles further up 'a second more extensive than the first.' The last English traveller who passed over the site of Babylon was Captain Cuninghame, who observed 'long mounds of earth running parallel to each other, and having others crossing them at right angles.' We have thought it right to notice these discrepancies, that future travellers may not be discouraged by the disappointment of Mr. Kinneir and Captain Frederick.

The antiquities which have been discovered confirm, but throw no new light on, the fragments of the ancient history of Persia. The majestic ruins of Persepolis are generally considered as the remains of a palace burnt by Alexander at the instigation of his mistress, but the founder of it is still unknown. On the smooth surface of rocks, in various parts of the kingdom, are sculptures in bas relief of colossal figures on horseback. Of several of these groups Mr. Morier has traced the outline, and copied a few of the inscriptions, from which it would appear that Sir William Jones was not mistaken in conjecturing them to be engraven in the Pahlavi character; a conjecture that is confirmed by Mr. Kinneir's description of the excavations and sculptures of Taki Bostan, not far from the city of Kermanshaw, in which he found 'two inscriptions in Pehlvi.' Among other representations, there is one meant for the hunting of the wild boar, in which 'are a vast number of figures, all executed with wonderful precision and judgment; the attitudes of the elephants, which compose a part of the scene, are so well conceived, and the trunks and every other part so exquisitely finished, that they would not perhaps have disgraced the finest artists of Greece and Rome.' For any thing that has yet appeared to the contrary, they may have been the work of Greek artists. In fact, there is a Greek inscription on the chest of one of the horses at Backshee Rustum, but too much defaced to be intelligible.

ligible. Some have supposed these sculptured rocks to represent the conquest of the Parthians by Artaxerxes; others the defeat and captivity of the Emperor Valerian by Sapor, in honour of which event the city was built and named; whilst Gardanne, the ambassador of Buonaparte, decides the matter like a Frenchman, in three words—'plus loin sur un rocher élevé, on voit une croix et les douze apôtres sculptés.'

The Persians of the present day have no taste either for painting or sculpture. The walls of their houses are decorated with glaring colours, and their palaces, like those of the Emperor of China, beautified by a profusion of azure blue and gold, a species of tawdry grandeur that ill assorts with the low mean buildings without windows, and brick or clay floors, which come in contact with those apartments of state. In mechanic arts and manufactures they are not deficient; and, as is usually the case in the east, their most curious manufactures are performed by the simplest means. Their earthenware is little inferior to that of China. The beautiful Murrhine vases, so highly esteemed by the Romans, were supposed by Pliny and others to be the produce of Persia,\* though recent discoveries would seem to render it probable that Baroche, in Guzzerat, was the place whence the ancients received them; at least vases agreeing with their description are still manufactured at this place. It is probable, however, that the Guebres, who fled from the persecutions of the Mahomedans, and found an asylum on the coast of Guzzerat, may have carried thither the lapidary art, which the Hindoos do not appear to have ever possessed in any degree of perfection. The Persians embroider on leather, satins, silks, and other stuffs, in a very superior, perhaps unequalled, manner. Those most beautiful carpets brought to us through Turkey, are the works of the Illiats or wandering tribes. At Shiraz and Maraga are manufactories of glass. In Khorassan they make sword blades not inferior to those of Damascus, whence, it is said, cutlers were brought by Tamarlane. In steel, iron, and copper work, they excel the Hindoos and Chinese. The art of dying cotton and woollen cloths is as perfect with them as in Europe, and their silk and satin brocades are little, if at all, inferior to those of China. They make shawls and stuffs of goat's and camel's hair; but these are not to be compared with that species of manufacture in India. The art of tanning leather is well understood, and shagreen is the manufacture of Persia. With all this, however, Persia enjoys but little foreign commerce, and that little is in the hands of strangers.

\* Oriens Murrhina mittit. Inveniuntur ibi in pluribus locis, nec insignibus, maxime Parthici regni: præcipue tamen in Carmania (Kerman).—PLIN. NAT. HIST. lib. 37. cap. 2. Doctor Vincent seems to think that the Murrhine vases were of porcelain and carried from China to Baroach.

Trade and navigation seem to have been discouraged by the laws of Zoroaster; and the religion of Mahomet, though it does not absolutely prohibit, affords no encouragement to foreign adventure or trade of any kind. Nadir Shah seems to have been the only sovereign who was sensible of the benefits to be derived to the empire from commerce and a marine. He caused thirty or forty vessels to be purchased in India, and brought into the Persian gulph. He also appropriated the forests of Mezanderun to the building of a fleet on the southern shores of the Caspian; but, as it rarely happens that the schemes of a conqueror or an usurper survive him, the Persian marine perished with Nadir Shah.

In no respect does the character or condition of the Persians appear to be improved, since the introduction of islamism by the conquest of the Saracens. Every where has this religion been signally distinguished by a spirit of intolerance and a thirst for persecution. Disdaining to inculcate the doctrines of the Koran by persuasion and argument, the disciples of Mahomet employ the readier and more effectual means of enforcing them by fire and sword. The followers of Zoroaster, who had no temples, no altars, no statues, to overturn, whose adoration and sacrifices to one supreme Being were performed at stated times on the tops of their highest mountains—whose religious tenets were, at least, harmless—and whose moral precepts were unexceptionable—would probably have found little favour in the eyes of the conquerors, much less the Parsees or Guebres, whose Magean mysteries, introduced by the Parthians, might have afforded them, at the same time, a plea and an apology. The concealment of the sacred element, established a belief in the followers of the commander of the faithful, that the inextinguishable fire went out on the birth of the prophet. Many of the Guebres, who refused to abjure their faith, fled to the mountains and deserts, and were only brought back under a solemn promise of having their civil and religious liberties secured to them, on payment of an annual tribute. The tribute was exacted, but the promise was but partially kept. The only remaining college of Guebres is at Yezd, which contains about four thousand families of this tribe, but they are so much oppressed by the government that their numbers decline yearly. Some become Mahomedans, and others join their brethren in western India, whither they first fled on the irruption of the Saracens, and met with a kind reception from the prince of Guzzerat. From hence they spread down the coast, and are, at this day, the wealthiest and the most respectable class in and about Bombay. Here they act as merchants and ship-builders, proprietors of land and planters, are connected in partnership with British merchants, are an intelligent, hospitable, and generous race of men. Like the quakers, they provide for their  
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own poor, and never suffer any of them to ask or receive alms from one of another sect; but they mingle freely with Hindoos, Jews, and Christians, live well, dress well, and bring their ladies into society.

The modern Persians, however, are satisfied with a mitigated system of faith, and are accounted by the Arabs and Turks little better than heretics. It is well observed by Gibbon, that 'in every age the wines of Shiraz have triumphed over the laws of Mahomet.' When Chardin was in Persia, the king, at an entertainment given by the minister, drank so freely, that 'he was carried away, not being able to ride or walk, through weariness and merry making;' and the nobles 'were so tired and so drunk that most of them, not being able to sit their horses as they returned home, caused themselves to be laid down upon the stalls in the way.' The present king, on sending his ambassador to England, recommended him, however contrary to the precepts of the Koran, to eat and drink whatever he liked, and to conform to the customs of the people among whom he might reside. The ambassador, though a true disciple of Mahomet, and one who had performed a pilgrimage to Mecca, concluding that an immediate gratification was preferable to an eventual punishment, adopted the recommendation of his prince, and disregarded the mandate of the prophet.

The Persians have been called the French of the east,—vain, lively, frivolous, obsequious—but Mr. Kinneir shall describe their character.

'The Persians are a remarkably handsome race of men; brave, hospitable, patient in adversity, affable to strangers, and highly polished in their manners. They are gentle and insinuating in their address, and, as companions, agreeable and entertaining: but, in return, they are totally devoid of many estimable qualities, and profoundly versed in all the arts of deceit and hypocrisy. They are haughty to their inferiors, obsequious to their superiors; cruel, vindictive, treacherous, and avaricious; without faith, friendship, gratitude, or honour. Frugal in his diet, robust in his constitution, capable of enduring astonishing fatigue, and inured from his infancy to the extremes of heat and cold, to hunger and thirst, nature seems to have formed the Persian for a soldier.'

We are confident that Mr. Kinneir has thrown the dark side of his character too much into shade. A wretched government, under which the subject has neither to look for equity nor justice, may have debased the character of the people, and rendered nugatory that ancient fundamental maxim in the education of their youth,—'to tell the truth.' Yet that a whole nation should be 'without faith, friendship, gratitude, or honour,' is a charge we will not believe to be well founded without further testimony, and is indeed contradicted by Mr. Morier as well as by Chardin, the latter of whom

whom had more dealings with them, and was much more intimately acquainted with their character than either of the other two gentlemen. By his account, they are not only 'affable to strangers,' but exceedingly kind, and always ready to afford them protection; and so far from being 'avaricious,' that the moment they are in possession of any wealth, 'they scatter it about in the most lavish and extravagant manner—in horses, women, jewels and fine clothes; and if any thing be left, so little careful are they to hoard it up for posterity, that they build caravanseras for the reception and accommodation of travellers, or bridges over rivers, found mosques, &c. as the surest way of being talked of in this world; and of securing to themselves those voluptuous delights which are promised to the faithful in that which is to come.'

Though the Persians can no longer boast of being instructed 'to tell the truth;' to draw the bow and ride on horseback are points as essential now to the education of a gentleman as they were in the days of Cyrus. To a person, indeed, of any rank or importance, three things appear to be indispensable—his horse, his harem, and his caleoon or tobacco-pipe. Cyrus stigmatized walking as the sure mark of poverty, and no one will, even now, be seen on foot who can afford to keep a horse. Hunting and hawking, throwing the lance, and other feats of horsemanship, are their favourite amusements; and all travellers agree, that they ride well and manage their horses with great boldness and address. They have, indeed, a wonderful command of them, and can stop them in an instant in the midst of their career; this, however, is not done by a fine hand, but by a heavy bit, and main strength. The Persian horse is larger and more powerful than the Arabian, but neither so swift nor so beautiful; those, however, which are most generally esteemed are of the Turcoman breed; they are from fourteen and a half to sixteen hands high, have long legs, little bone under the knee, spare carcasses, and large heads. That which renders them most valuable in the eyes of the natives, is their extraordinary power of bearing fatigue. Their usual food is chopped straw and barley; and they are littered with their own dung, sun-dried and pulverized so as to be free from any offensive smell.

It has been the misfortune of Asia, in all periods of its history, to consider the one sex as subservient to the pleasures and conveniences of the other. When those females, whom the Asiatic has contracted for as his legitimate wives, cease to please, he goes into the market, and bargains for a female slave as for a horse or mule. The 'good points' of a Circassian girl are a rosy or carnation tint on her cheek, which they call *numuck*, 'the salt of beauty;' dark hair, large black antelope eyes and arched eye-brows, a small nose and mouth, white teeth, long neck, delicate limbs and small joints.

joints. Mr. Kinneir tells us that the Georgian women are preferred to all others; that they are extremely beautiful, full of animation, grace, and elegance; that they are either brought for sale by Armenian merchants, or carried off by the predatory incursions of the borderers into Georgia; and that the price of a young and beautiful Georgian is about eighty pounds sterling. The harem of the great and the zenana of the middling ranks are sacred. The time of these cloistered damsels, it appears, is chiefly employed in sewing, spinning, and embroidery, in sipping coffee, eating sweetmeats, and smoking the caleoon; few of them can either read or write, and music and dancing are here, as in other parts of the east, not considered in the light of accomplishments, but performed by slaves for the amusement of their owners. The wives of the common people manage the affairs of the house; but even these go not abroad without having the lower part of the face covered with a veil. It would be an offence to a Persian to inquire after the health of his wife or wives, as nobody is supposed to know anything about his female concerns. 'If a prince,' says Mr. Morier, 'should be asked the number of his children, he would probably answer, I really don't know—ask my minister.'

The caleoon, or water-pipe, though somewhat different in shape, is on the same principle as the hookar of the Indians: whether in moments of business or idleness, in company or alone, in the harem or zenana, or on horseback, the caleoon is almost constantly in use. In the last case the caleoon-bearer carries it by the side of the horse, while his master proceeds unembarrassed with the tube in his mouth. It has generally been thought that tobacco was unknown till the discovery of America, of which it was the exclusive product. The countless millions of Asia, all of them more or less hostile to the introduction of novelty, who make use of tobacco, furnish what may be considered as almost proof to the contrary. The variety of machines\* through which they draw the smoke, all of them different from each other, and from the common European pipe, makes it nearly certain, at least, that the practice of smoking something existed in the east before the Portuguese carried thither American tobacco. They still indeed smoke hemp, opium, and other drugs; but the fact is, a species of tobacco, of native growth, different from that of America, is in common cultivation in India and China, and is generally preferred as being of a milder quality.†

\* It is worthy of remark that the Boshuana Caffres of South Africa smoke a variety of strong herbs with a rude kind of hookar made of a horn, which they fill with water.

† The tobacco plant of India is called *tamrapootra*, the copper leaf. The *nicotiana fruticosa* is common in China and Cochinchina. Thunberg saw the *paniculata* growing in Java; but we are not aware that the *tabacum* is yet cultivated in the eastern world.

The Governor of Būshire invited Sir Harford Jones and his suite to dinner, which Mr. Morier thus describes.

‘ After having sat some time *kaleoons* were brought in, then coffee, then *kaleoons*, then sugar and rose water, and then *kaleoons* again. All this was rapidly performed, when the *khan* called for dinner. On the ground before us was spread the *sofra*, a fine chintz cloth, which perfectly entrenched our legs, and which is used so long unchanged that the accumulated fragments of former meals collect into a musty paste, and emit no very savoury smell; but the Persians are content, for they say that changing the *sofra* brings ill-luck. A tray was then placed before each guest; on these trays were three fine China bowls filled with sherbet; two made of sweet liquors, and one of a most exquisite species of lemonade. There were besides fruits ready cut, plates with elegant little arrangements of sweetmeats and confectionary, and smaller cups of sweet sherbet. The *pillaus* succeeded, three of which were placed before each two guests; one of plain rice called the *chitto*, one made of mutton with raisins and almonds, the other of a fowl, with rich spices and plums. To this were added various dishes with rich sauces, and over each a small tincture of sweet sauce. The business of eating was a pleasure to the Persians, but it was misery to us. They comfortably advanced their chins close to the dishes, and commodiously scooped the rice, or other victuals, into their mouths with three fingers and the thumb of their right hand; but in vain did we attempt to approach the dish: our tight kneed breeches, and all the ligaments and buttons of our dress forbade us, fragments of meat and rice falling through our fingers all around us. We were treated with more *kaleoons* after dinner, and then departed to our beds.’—(p. 74.)

At Shiraz, the prime minister entertained them, and when they were seated, and the *sofra* spread as usual,

‘ We very frequently (says M. Morier) shared the marks of his peculiar attention and politeness, which consisted in large handfuls of certain favourite dishes. These he tore off by main strength and put before us; sometimes a full grasp of lamb mixed with a sauce of prunes, pistachio-nuts and raisins; at another time a whole partridge disguised by a rich brown sauce; and then, with the same hand, he scooped out a bit of melon, which he gave into our palms, or a great piece of omelette thickly swimming in fat ingredients. There is no rattle of plates and knives and forks, no confusion of lacquies, no drinking of healths, no disturbance of carving, scarcely a word is spoken, and all are intent on the business before them. When the whole is cleared and the cloth rolled up, ewers and basins are brought in, and every one washes his hand and mouth. Until the water is presented it is ridiculous enough to see the right hand of every person (which is covered with the complicated fragments of all the dishes) placed in a certain position over his left arm: there is a fashion even in this. The entertainment was now over, and we took our leaves and returned home.’—(p. 115.)

These dinners are of course of the first fashion in Persia. The  
common

common people generally frequent the *kabob* shops, or eating-houses, where they can at all times have their rice, sweetmeats, fruit and sherbet, with all the various preparations of stews, soups, pillaus, &c. at a very reasonable rate. The bazars or markets in which these shops are usually situated, are the scenes of wit, mirth, and gaiety, in all the eastern nations. The adventures of Haroun al Raschid, of Sinbad the Sailor, and of Little Hunchback, are familiar to the barbers, tailors, and shoemakers of every bazar; and the 'Thousand and one nights' are stored up in the memory of many a Malay slave on the distant islands of Java, Sumatra, and Macassar. In Persia, the story-tellers by profession recite tales from oral tradition which, according to Mr. Kinneir, have never been committed to paper; and the king, we are told, has always one about his person to amuse his leisure hours, who never repeats the same story. He adds, that a very considerable acquaintance with the best poets of Persia descends even to the lowest classes of the people; and that it is not uncommon for a groom, or other menial servant, to recite long passages with the utmost correctness, from their best writers. Schools for children are not wanting, and a moderate share of education is within the reach of most who dwell in towns and cities. There are, besides, in every considerable town *medrasses*, or colleges, handsomely endowed, where youth are instructed in the nicer points of their native language, in Arabic, moral philosophy, and in the principles of the Mahomedan religion. Mr. Kinneir says, 'they have some little knowledge of Algebra and geometry, (very little we believe,) and some of them affect to be familiar with Euclid, Aristotle and Plato, which have been translated into Arabic.' We suspect he means out of Arabic into Persian. Their astronomers, however, are mere astrologers; their physicians venders of charms and amulets; and their surgeons, barbers, whose operations are chiefly confined to the letting of blood, cleansing the ears, and shampooing the joints.

The Persian has been considered as the language of poetry; the nearest in Europe to which it can be compared is that of the German, to which indeed it bears no very distant affinity, but is more polished and melodious. It admits of the most extravagant and violent metaphors, and is generally so loaded with them, and consequently so obscure to Europeans, that the best informed of our Persian scholars in India have occasion for an interpreter at their elbow. The *Shahnama* of Ferdousi has been compared to the *Iliad*, and Hafiz termed the Anacreon of the east. The latter is the universal favourite of the Persians, who visit his tomb near Shiraz in parties, to do honour to his memory, by strewing flowers and pouring out libations of the choicest wines of this part of the country. On the block of *white* marble, of which Mr. Kinneir

says

says his tomb is composed, are inscribed *two* of his poems. Mr. Morier, however, says that *one* poem only is engraved on it; and that the whole tomb is of 'the diaphanous marble of Tabriz, in colour a combination of *light green*, with here and there veins of *red*, and sometimes of *blue*.' So difficult is it to get at the truth, even in a matter of fact, cognizable by the least equivocal of the senses.

There is, perhaps, no nation on earth which has the least pretension to civilization, so destitute of the means of conveyance by land or water carriage, as Persia. They have no navigable rivers, no inland canals, no high roads, no wheel carriages of any description.

'The only mode of travelling,' says Mr. Kinneir, 'is by riding either a mule or a horse. For women of high rank, or sick persons, indeed, there is a vehicle called a *tukte rowan*, which is transported by two mules, one before and the other behind; but the women and children of the poor are carried in baskets, slung across the back of a mule or camel. The length of the stages, (which sometimes exceed forty miles,) and badness of the accommodation, in addition to these circumstances, render travelling unpleasant to females. We have here no regular establishment for the transmission of intelligence, and it is therefore necessary, when letters are to be carried from one part of the kingdom to the other, to dispatch a *chupper*, or express horseman, or a messenger on foot, who is stiled a *cassid*. Be the distance ever so great, the *chupper* seldom changes his horse: they travel at the rate of four or five miles an hour, and have been known to go from Tehraun to Bushire, a distance of seven hundred miles, in the space of ten days. The *cassids* will also travel for many days successively, at the rate of sixty or seventy miles a-day.'

From this sketch of the distracted and degraded state of the Persian empire, some idea may be formed of its political importance, with relation to the several powers of Europe, and more particularly to the British possessions in India. On this subject both the 'political assistant to General Sir John Malcolm, and the secretary to the mission of Sir Harford Jones' are equally silent. It would scarcely be supposed that France, with so many intermediate powers between her and Persia, and without one single point of contact, could possibly consider its alliance of any importance to her. But the political intrigues of this nation have always penetrated far beyond the bounds at which ordinary politicians would think it right to stop. She saw in Persia a powerful engine that might be played off to advantage, either against the Porte, or Russia, or the British possessions in India, as might best suit her purpose at the moment. If, in the event of hostilities with Russia, the friendly alliance of Persia could be secured as well as that of the

Porte,

Porte, an attack upon the two flanks of southern Russia would create a prodigious diversion in favour of her views against that power in her more northern regions. We have recently seen with what eagerness the emissaries of Buonaparte fomented the war of Turkey against Russia, and we have also seen the happy effects of their failure. But if Russia or Turkey, or both, were favourable to the ambitious views of France, the road, with the consent of Persia, would be so far open to her, for menacing, at least, an attack on the British territories in India.

Chimerical as such a project may appear, there can be little doubt that, at one period of the French revolution, it was seriously entertained. To ascertain with more exactness, than had yet been done, the precise political relations, the geography and the resources of the Ottoman and Persian empires, and of the intermediate countries in the possession of Turkish pachas, Arabian scheiks, and Tartar khans, the murderers of Louis XVI. dispatched Messrs. Olivier and Brugiere on a travelling expedition, with detailed and ample instructions for their guidance from the executive provisional council. Nearly at the same time, citizen Beauchamp was sent to survey the coasts of the Black Sea, as far as Trebisond, and to collect information on the geography and policy of Persia: of Egypt, Savary and others had afforded ample information. The successful rebellion of Paswan Oglou, encouraged by the weakness of the Ottoman Porte, and supported by the disaffection of the janizaries, was a circumstance too favourable to be overlooked by the revolutionists. The expedition to Egypt was accordingly undertaken, and this fertile province torn from a friendly power, for no other reason but that its situation and resources were favourable to their ulterior views. The possession of Egypt was a step to that of Syria, and Syria to the command of the Red Sea; and it required only a single movement of Persia against the Pacha of Bagdad, to open the navigation of the Persian gulph. With the coasts, and harbours, and shipping of those two seas, the most sanguine expectations were held forth, that, by an effectual and powerful co-operation with Tippoo, or the Mahrattas, the expulsion of the English from Hindostan was a certain and no very distant event. There are those, however, who maintain that the expedition to Egypt was unconnected with any view to ulterior operations in India; but we think that Buonaparte's intercepted letter to Tippoo Suldaun, dated at Cairo, is conclusive on that point. 'You have been informed,' says he, 'of my arrival on the borders of the Red Sea with an innumerable and invincible army, full of the desire of releasing and relieving you from the iron yoke of England.' But the skill and energy of a British sailor baffled the hopes of the captain of the 'invincibles,' and cast the first blot on his military renown.

The

The connection of England with Turkey has for ages been maintained by the occasional interchange of ambassadors; but Persia, the great resting-place, and convenient stepping-stone to her valuable possessions in India, seemed to be wholly forgotten or neglected. Accredited agents had formerly been sent thither chiefly on commercial purposes; but of late years this intermediate empire between Europe and India had been visited only by some casual traveller in his passage from one to the other. When it became known, however, in India, that Tippoo Sultaun had dispatched an ambassador to the present king of Persia, the Company's government employed an agent, of Persian extraction, to sound and counteract the designs of the former. The death of Tippoo Sultaun terminated that connection. Soon after this event, no little alarm was excited in India by the sudden irruption of Zemaunshah, king of the Affghans, and other northern hordes. As a check to the progress of this barbarian, Lord Wellesley lost not a moment in dispatching Colonel Malcolm, an active and expert officer, to solicit the assistance of Futteh ali Shah. A treaty was concluded, and the march of the Persian troops into Khorassan had the double effect of recalling the invader, and of adding part of this very extensive province to the Persian empire. In a word, the 'mission was completely successful in all its objects.' Treaties of alliance and commerce were concluded that were to be binding 'on race after race; while time endures and the world exists,' all the stipulations in those treaties were to remain 'a beautiful image of excellent union in the mirror of duration and perpetuity.' The Persians were ordered to 'disgrace and slay' every Frenchman that should pass their boundaries or attempt to settle on their coasts. This beautiful picture, however, had been reflected but a short time from the 'mirror of perpetuity,' when it was discovered that French agents had fixed themselves; not only on the 'coasts' of the empire, but had found their way to the capital, where one Jouannin had so far ingratiated himself at court as to prevail on the king to send an ambassador to Buonaparte, who proceeded to France in 1806, and, in the following year, concluded with that power another treaty which was also to last for ever.

Buonaparte was at this time engaged in a war with Russia, and a diversion on her frontier, on the part of Persia, could not be unimportant. General Gardanne was accordingly dispatched with a splendid retinue and several military officers to the court of Teheraun, where he was received with marked attention, admitted to the councils of the king, and employed to train a corps of Persians in the military discipline and tactics of Europe. In the mean time, two important events took place, extremely favourable to the views of Buonaparte, though not exactly to Gardanne's original mission.



The treaty of Tilsit, and the subsequent armistice between Russia and the Ottoman Porte, placed Persia at the mercy of the three allied powers. Nothing ever transpired as to the secret stipulations regarding Persia; but it was generally understood on the continent, that Oudinot had actually been selected to proceed with a corps of 12,000 men, with all the baggage and equipments necessary for such an expedition. Two routes from Tilsit were sufficiently commodious for such an enterprize—first, by descending the Volga to Astrachan, embarking at that port, and crossing the Caspian to some of the ports of Mazanderaun, near to the Persian capital. This province, with its impervious forests, rugged mountains, deep ravines and narrow passes, is so strong as to be capable of being held by a small European corps against the united armies of all Persia. The second route was by descending the Dnieper into the Black Sea, thence proceeding up the Kuban to Circassia, and joining the Russian head-quarters at Teflis in Georgia. Whether the object of this small corps was to unite with Russia, in order to subdue the northern provinces of Persia, or merely to ascertain the practicability of establishing positions, collecting magazines, and opening routes for a larger army, which was to follow, or whatever the design might have been, it was necessarily abandoned on account of the Spanish revolution of 1808, and the Austrian campaign of 1809, which left no spare forces to be employed on romantic expeditions of that kind.

About this time, the king of Persia, alarmed at the progress of the Russians, and seeing no prospect of support from Great Britain, threw himself completely into the arms of the French, who had promised a large military force to repel the Russians; but the peace of Tilsit falsified this promise. Gardanne then assured him of his successful mediation with the Russians, and, in consequence of it, the restitution of all the provinces taken from him during the war. This assurance, together with the appearance of a real negotiation, gave to Gardanne a commanding influence. The officers of his mission were employed in every quarter, surveying the country, and examining its resources; some were directed, at the request of the king, to cast cannon, others to discipline the Persian infantry in the military tactics of Europe, while the great and leading object of all, from Gardanne to his lowest agent, was to give an impression of the weak and ruined condition of England, and the inevitable destruction that awaited her both at home and in India.

Such was the state of affairs when Colonel Malcolm reached Persia, on his second mission from Bengal. To have proceeded to the capital, or to remain at Bushire in a representative character, without being able to support that commanding tone which the actual

tual state of affairs rendered it more than ever essential to maintain, would have confirmed all the calumnies of the French. He therefore returned to Calcutta, and proposed to the governor-general a plan for completely overawing the faithless and impotent councils of the Persian court. This was by taking possession of the island of Kismis in the Persian gulph, as an emporium of commerce, the seat of political negociation, and the depôt of military stores: by thus establishing a local influence and power, we might not only exclude the French from this quarter, to which they had long turned their attention, but be enabled to carry on negotiations or military operations with honour and security to any extent that might be required. This plan was readily adopted, and Colonel Malcolm arrived at Bombay in January, 1809, with a force amounting to 2000 men, to carry it into execution.

A great change however had taken place in his absence. The embassy of Gardanne had determined the British cabinet to send an envoy extraordinary from his Majesty to the king of Persia. Sir Harford Jones, who was selected for this service, hearing on his arrival at Bombay of the successful influence of the French and the failure of Colonel Malcolm, was doubtful what line to pursue, when the total failure of the French in their engagements to prevail on the Russians to evacuate Georgia, and the intelligence of the Spanish insurrection, determined him to proceed. On his arrival at Bushire he was met by accounts of peace between the Porte and Great Britain. This intelligence gave him additional confidence; and, not unacquainted with the character of the people with whom he had to deal, he exacted from the beglerbeks, scheiks, and khans, all due homage to his Majesty's mission; mounted his *catabee*, or shawl cloak, which princes only are allowed to wear; and paraded his Majesty's letter, his picture surrounded with diamonds, and other valuable presents to the amount of many thousand pounds, to such advantage, that the fame of his magnificence had reached Tehraun before he himself had advanced to Shiraz. Under all these favourable circumstances, the timid and venal government of Persia hailed his approach with joy, dismissed Gardanne before his arrival at the capital, and cheerfully accepted a pecuniary subsidy from a power from which they were very sensible they merited punishment rather than reward. The temper in which Gardanne and his suite quitted Persia may partly be collected from an inscription on the wall of a room in which Mr. Morier halted. 'Venimus, vidimus et malediximus Persidi, regique aulæque magnatibusque populoque.'

This short statement, which we know to be correct, will sufficiently explain the success of Sir Harford Jones and the failure of Colonel Malcolm—of the merchant of Bushire, a character not in

high respect among the Persians, and the soldier, whose profession they admire, and who, on a former occasion, was received and caressed with the utmost warmth by all descriptions of people.

The present situation of Sir Gore Ouseley, in Persia, is not very different from that of Gardanne. Under his sanction British officers have been employed to discipline Persian troops, and lead them against the Russians. This employment must of course now cease; and the natural step for our ambassador to take will be that of mediator. We imagine however there is little hope of success in the attempt to reconcile two parties, who, for the last fifteen years, have been at war, the one to acquire additional territory, the other to regain what it has lost. Russia considers it of the utmost importance to establish the Araxes as a frontier, which would leave her in possession of the line of the Kur and Rione, the ancient Cyrus and Phasis, by which would be opened a direct communication between the Caspian and the Black Sea. Persia is most anxious to retain Georgia, were it only for the supply of beautiful ladies with which the royal harems are stocked; but, in addition to Georgia, the establishment of this frontier would deprive her of Daghestan and Schirvan, which, to any other power, would be important from their situation along the western shore of the Caspian. If however France should succeed in bribing Turkey to renew hostilities with Russia, in order to distract her attention from the north to the south of Europe, the best service our ambassador could perform would be that of bringing about an alliance of the Russian and Persian arms, and turning them against the Turkish provinces of Asia Minor.

The alliance of Persia with England is worth preserving. As a controuling power to the numerous warlike hordes on the north-west frontier of India, it must at all times operate to our advantage. Far greater danger is to be apprehended from those hordes, confederated with the Mahrattas, than from any intrigues or efforts on the side of Buonaparte. If indeed he be not already cured of his predilection for 'Fontainebleau expeditions,' the internal tranquillity of India, the total extirpation of the French flag from the Indian seas, and the present state of Europe, afford him but little prospect of pleasurement in this quarter. There was a time when discussions on the probability of a successful invasion of India through Persia were not devoid of interest; and as that time, however unlikely, may again occur, we shall take the liberty to offer a word or two on the subject.

It is obvious that an alliance with Russia or Turkey would be necessary for the French to bring an army in contact with Persia. In the strong probability of the latter country being decidedly hostile to

to the entrance of such an army, it would be necessary, in the first place, to subdue it, so far at least as to obtain military possession of the country. That a regular and well disciplined army of no very great force would be able to effect this, we see no occasion to doubt. In the most brilliant periods of the Persian empire, her armies were formidable only from their numbers; like swarms of locusts they laid waste those countries over which they passed, but they rarely conquered in fight, or rallied after being dispersed. A million of men led by Xerxes made little impression on the small states of Greece, while thirty thousand soldiers under Alexander subdued all Persia. The numbers in the first instance may be exaggerated, but the decisive battle of Platea was won by 110,000 confederated Greeks against 350,000 Persians. The well known retreat of the 'ten thousand' was conducted in the face of several hundred thousand Persians. Alexander Severus overthrew the army of Artaxerxes, consisting of 120,000 horse, 700 elephants, and 1800 chariots, armed with scythes. In later times, the whole empire has been overrun by the Arabs, conquered by the Tartars, and split into fragments by rebellious khans. Constituted as their army is, each troop commanded by its own chief, and each chief jealous of his brother in arms, there can be no concert of action, so indispensably necessary in military affairs. The modern science of war is utterly unknown to them; they are ignorant of the principles of fortification, and of the arts of attack and defence. Their infantry are few and despicable. 'Their field artillery is chiefly composed of *zambarooks*, or small swivels, fired from the backs of camels.' They have no good officers; a civilian who never saw a shot fired, an eunuch who would shudder to see one fired, may command whole armies. Their cavalry act with rapidity and impetuosity, but it is the separate action of each individual, without that united and condensed impulse, which alone is capable of making any serious impression on a body of troops trained and disciplined in the European fashion.

But though a small and well disciplined army might obtain military possession of Persia, it would not be so easy to retain it for any length of time. Their magazines could not be replenished. The natives, of whom one-half have no fixed habitations, would withdraw to a distance from the military positions of the enemy. His foraging parties would invariably be swept off by the clouds of irregular cavalry, who live chiefly by plunder, and who are more formidable when broken and dispersed into small parties, than when united in large bodies. The strong holds of Persia, which he would necessarily occupy, are the provinces of Ghilan and Mazanderaun, and these are the most unhealthy. In short

we have no doubt that, in the course of twelve months, sickness, famine, and the sword, would destroy any army that France could send into Persia.

But supposing Persia to be favourable to the views of the enemy, and even to assist in the invasion of India, it would be necessary, in the first place, to obtain possession of all Khorassan, and open a passage to Herat. This is the route that Alexander took, and the only route indeed by which an army could have the least chance of entering India. The Great Salt desert, the marshes and rugged mountains of Cohestan, the arid and naked plains of Kirman, the moving sands of Mekran, and all the mountains and dreary wastes on each side of the Indus, and as far to the eastward of it as Agimere, render any attempt to march an army through the central provinces of Persia towards the lower part of the Indus utterly impracticable. The return of Alexander from Patula, the modern Tatta, near the mouth of the Indus, to Persepolis, was sufficiently wonderful, but by skirting the coast of Mekran, he avoided the more extensive sandy plains and arid deserts of the interior. Yet we are told by Plutarch, that his army suffered dreadfully; 'violent distempers, ill diet and excessive heats, destroyed multitudes; but famine made still greater ravages, for it was a barren and uncultivated country; the natives lived miserably, having nothing to subsist on but a few bad sheep, which fed on the fish thrown up by the sea.' To say nothing of the distance between Tehraun and Delhi, which exceeds 2000 miles, of the mountains, ravines, unfordable rivers, impenetrable forests; the uncultivated state of the country, the sandy plains, salt lakes and marshes, unwholesome winds which blow in places for several months in the year, and the scarcity of water, on almost the whole line of this march; to say nothing of the roving tribes which infest every part of the country through which it would be necessary to pass—there are several very powerful nations, as the Usbeck Tartars, the Turcomans, the Patans, and above all the warlike Affghans and the Seiks, all of whom must either be conquered or conciliated—the first of which is not to be expected, the second not to be depended on. For such expeditions Persia is not in a state to engage. She has no magazines, no treasures to support her own armies, far less a foreign corps, which the chiefs of every wandering tribe would be more ready to plunder than to assist. In short, so numerous are the obstacles that we deem it wholly unnecessary to pursue the subject.

Mr. Kinneir's book, on the whole, will, undoubtedly, be found useful to future travellers in Persia, from the great number of routes collected from various quarters; and we doubt not that, by means of them, he has adjusted the geographical positions of  
several

several places, and laid them down with more correctness than heretofore: but his map is still defective, and the whole province of Seistan, Kerman and Mekran are left almost a blank. One great fault in his memoir is the silence which he observes as to the authorities on which it is drawn up; and the reader is left entirely to guess what parts of Persia have been visited by himself, and those for the account of which he is indebted to others.

Mr. Morier's book is of that light desultory kind of writing which never fails to afford pleasure to those who read for mere amusement: the large portion of it, which is bestowed in praise of the good management of the mission, must be peculiarly gratifying to Sir Harford Jones.

ART. VI. *Correspondance Littéraire, Philosophique, et Critique, adressée à un Souverain d'Allemagne, depuis 1770 jusqu'en 1782, par le Baron de Grimm et par Diderot.* 5 tomes, 8vo. Paris. 1812.

WE have been brought very intimately acquainted, by several late publications, with the state of society at Paris, and with the characters and persons of those who formed its principal ornaments, during the middle and latter end of the last century. It seems to be agreed on all hands that the arts of social intercourse were never, at any period of the civilised world, carried to so high a pitch of refinement and polish; and there are not wanting those even among our less harmonised countrymen, who have been so captivated by the brilliant and seducing picture, as to appear content to fix in such a state the standard for the greatest possible quantity of human happiness. From all such opinions we widely differ, not in disputing the fact, but the inference. To the production of so perfect a specimen of society, it seems to have been necessary to make certain sacrifices; and we are by no means satisfied that the objects sacrificed were not often of much greater importance in the scale of real felicity than those acquired.

We have thought it necessary to explain so much at the outset, that the entertainment which we profess ourselves to derive from these accounts of Parisian society, may not be confounded with any supposed admiration of the principles on which it was established, or desire of seeing them reduced more generally into practice among ourselves. It would be a miserable exchange, that of the heart for the imagination, of the domestic affections for the social graces. After this, we shall have done with the subject, and, instead of moralizing, hasten to convey to our readers as large a portion

tion of the information and amusement with which the work before us abounds, as we can concentrate within the limits of the following pages.

M. de Grimm, who was a German by birth, and of obscure parentage, owed his introduction into good society at Paris to the capacity in which he travelled, of governor to the children of Count Schomberg. His earliest intimacy, among the wits and philosophists of the day, was with Jean Jacques Rousseau; and through him he became acquainted with Diderot, Baron Holbach, and the principal authors of the *Encyclopédie*. These connections, aided by what his biographer calls 'la souplesse de son esprit,' were not long in opening to him 'une carrière brillante.' During several years he was employed as secretary by the late duke of Orleans; and was applied to by several of the German princes to transmit to them, in the way of free and lively correspondence, all the literary and philosophical gossip of Paris. Of the mass of information and amusement which this miscellaneous correspondence must have contained, it was not known (says the editor of these volumes) that any portion existed, until the discovery of the MSS. from which this selection is made, and which, (we are told,) if printed entire, would have extended to three times the present quantity; but it was judged proper to curtail it, in the first place, of all the analyses of dramatic pieces with which the original appears to have abounded, and secondly of various jeux d'esprit, and indeed of some entire works of Diderot and others, which have since appeared in other forms before the public. These curtailments might have been considerably enlarged without injury to the book. Several pieces, which we ourselves know to have been published before, are republished now; and doubtless there are several others, of the previous appearance of which we are ignorant; and, though the long accounts of tragedies, operas, farces, ballets, &c. are very properly omitted, yet all the criticisms, even upon the worst and most insignificant of them, are retained; and, however lively and even just in their taste and spirit, might have been reduced, at least, two-thirds without prejudice (we should imagine) to any modern reader. The same may be said of the criticisms on the publications of the day, which we should have doomed to amputation in an equal proportion. After all these curtailments, enough would be left to fill two volumes out of the five which lie before us; and these would form a magazine of good sense, lively anecdote, spirited criticism, and laughable whim, such as no collection of *ana* or table-talk that we are acquainted with, exceeds, or even rivals.

Part of the correspondence, as we are informed in the Preface, was furnished by Diderot; but it appears to have been but a small portion

portion of it, and the philosophist seems only to have supplied the place of his friend occasionally, when prevented by illness or absence from completing his engagement with the 'sovereign prince' to whom it was addressed. Who this sovereign was, we are not informed: but we have been told that the late Margrave of Anspach was one of those to whom Grimm was in the habits of addressing his Parisian communications, and that the Margravine has still in her possession several volumes of his correspondence. A great deal of this may, in all likelihood, be merely a duplicate of that now published; as it surely formed no part of the Baron's contract with his illustrious employers to furnish different matter for each of them; but the treasure, at all events, would be worth the ransacking; and the *lacune* of two years, (1775 and 1776,) which the editor laments in the present publication, might be supplied if only ordinary good fortune attended the search.

We must bring our readers a little better acquainted with the author of the *Correspondence*, before we dive into the book itself.

'M. de Grimm,' says the editor, 'a été long-temps connu à Paris par la finesse de son esprit, la variété de ses connaissances, et surtout par ses liaisons avec les hommes les plus célèbres du siècle dernier. Quoique étranger, il sut prendre en France le caractère, les formes, et l'urbanité parisienne, et vengea l'Allemagne des épigrammes de nos petits-maîtres.'

This eulogium is borne out by the general tenor of the *Correspondence*. Among all the *bons mots* and witticisms of others which he details in profusion, there are few which exceed either in humour or in *naïveté* those which he occasionally intersperses of his own; and the freedom and manliness of his remark on books; on characters, and on passing events, are only equalled by the tone of good humour in which they are delivered. One fatal exception is, indeed, to be made to this general commendation. The good sense of the individual was not proof against the prevailing and overwhelming spirit of the age in which he lived, and of the society with which he was chiefly united. His religious, or, to use his own language, his philosophical principles, as far as this correspondence reveals them to us, exhibit an absence of all sound reflection, remarkable even in a Parisian wit of the 18th century. He seems to have been fixed in nothing but the habit of irreverent ridicule; and when he occasionally attempts to be serious, we have in one month a profession of sentiments amounting to downright atheism, which are disavowed in the next, and perhaps reassumed in the succeeding, but always with an air of indifference which forms a curious contrast to the zeal and enthusiasm with which he espouses



pouses the cause of a favourite actress, or defends the merits of an unpopular pantomime.

Though possessed undoubtedly of considerable talents, and a German, he was a most decided *petit-maitre*. Not long after his arrival at Paris, he fell violently in love with *une vertu d'Opéra*, named Mademoiselle Fel, who refused (*chose inouïe!*) to listen to his vows. This disappointment threw him into a sort of *cataplexy*, which lasted many days. 'Il restait étendu sur son lit, les yeux fixes, les membres roides, sans parler, sans manger, sans donner aucun signe de sentiment.' His friends thought him actually dead; and Raynal and Rousseau sat up several nights to watch by him; but his physician thought better of him; 'et en effet, un beau matin Grimm prit son parti, se leva sur son séant, s'habilla, et ne pensa plus à sa Lucrèce de l'Opéra.' This adventure gave him great éclat among the ladies, who adored him for the sensibility which he had so strikingly demonstrated; but their favours seem to have turned his head in good earnest; and he gave himself such airs that his friend Jean Jacques determined to break off all connexion with him. This is Rousseau's own account of the origin of the disagreement between them. Grimm, perhaps, told a different story. He did not, it seems, add to his other qualifications the charms of an agreeable person, and took incredible pains to supply his natural deficiency by the artificial resources of the toilet. No lady in Paris employed the brush to so much effect; and the quantity of ceruse with which he daily filled up the lines and wrinkles of his face, joined to the want of moderation which he displayed in the enjoyment of his *bonnes fortunes*, procured for him the appellation of *Tyran le blanc*. His various connections with the sovereign princes of Germany and the north, among whom Frederick, Gustavus, and Catherine are reckoned, procured him high honours as well as emoluments; and he has been accused of having recourse to low and unworthy practices to recommend himself to those favours and advantages; but his editor indignantly repels all these insinuations. With the exception of the important article of religion, he seems to have merited the farther encomium which is here passed upon his philosophy.

'Grimm était philosophe sans doute, mais de cette philosophie que tout homme de bien peut avouer; de cette philosophie qui éclaire et ne brûle pas; de cette philosophie qui sait respecter l'ordre et les lois sociales. Sa Correspondance prouve qu'il ne partageait nullement les excès de quelques enfans perdus de l'Encyclopédie, qui, en voulant servir la raison, la trahissaient tous les jours. Ce caractère de sagesse et de modération lui valut en effet des cordons et des dignités, mais il les obtint honorablement, sans intrigue et sans bassesse.'

Notwithstanding the moderation of his philosophy, he very narrowly

rowly escaped the Bastille for the ardour with which he defended the party of the *Coin de la Reine* (the advocates for the Italian Opera) against the *Royalistes*, who asserted the cause of the national music. Such were the factions which divided all Paris in those happy days! In 1776, he was appointed minister plenipotentiary for the Duke of Saxe-Gotha at Paris, and it was then he first assumed the title of Baron. He continued to reside at the French capital long enough to witness the commencement of disorders rather more serious than those of the Piccinistes and Gluckistes: his latter days were passed in literary retirement at Gotha; and he died there at a very advanced age about five years ago.

Attached as he was to the *parti philosophique*, we are not to expect much impartiality in those parts of his correspondence which relate either to the chiefs of that party or their principal enemies and antagonists. There is amply sufficient, however, in these memoirs, after making all due allowances for exaggeration, to confirm our former impressions, that the blind animosity of the advocates for religion and social order advanced an equal length with the Encyclopédistes, though in a contrary direction, towards the accomplishment of the terrible catastrophe. One fatal delusion appears to have involved all parties in the state, and all ranks of society: it was, however, at least as true of the philosophers as of their enemies, that when once the bandage was removed, and the precipice on which they stood revealed to their eyes, they would fain have retreated,—but it was no longer possible. We know not a more instructive lesson than is to be derived from the contemporary memoirs of the times immediately preceding the Revolution; and a reflecting man can hardly peruse them without frequently starting as he asks himself the question, ‘Am I not at this moment on the edge of a similar precipice?’ What are the signs of the times by which our danger may be made manifest, and how is it to be avoided? We have indeed a tremendous lesson before us; but who shall say that we are capable of turning it to that account without which it will be lost upon us, and the neglect of its warning only serve to render our fall less pitiable?

Voltaire is, throughout this correspondence, the hero of the song, the unfailing oracle in whose decisions the writer reposes with as much confidence as the most devout catholic in the Pope's infallibility,—except indeed when, now and then, the timidity of old age, or a partial gleam of futurity, may have induced the veteran infidel to profess sentiments foreign to the habitual current of his thoughts and expressions. In the light and irreverent language of the Encyclopédistes, the sage of Ferney is styled patriarch of the holy philosophical church; and his disciples are accustomed to meet together in frequent commemoration of their founder. It is no wonder

der if, at a time of unexampled rottenness both in church and state; such irreligious mockery, continually in the mouths of those to whom the French people looked up as the depositaries of all the wit, knowledge, and genius of the age, should have inspired the serious with even imaginary terrors, and given birth all those stories of anti-social, anti-monarchical, and anti-christian conspiracies, which subsequent events have fixed in the minds of many with a persuasion of their reality not to be shaken by any representation of their unlikelihood, absurdity, or manifest impossibility. We cannot expect these persons to be convinced that the questions agitated at these several meetings of Pandæmonium were, generally speaking, of no greater importance to the existence and welfare of society than the following.

‘Frère Marmontel fait savoir qu’il est allé loger chez Mademoiselle Clairon, et qu’il compte donner incessamment un nouvel opéra-comique; intitulé *Syltain*, dont la musique est de M. Grétry. Nous lui souhaitons le naturel qui lui manque, afin qu’il plaise aux gens de gout. L’église, faisant attention au rare génie dont le sort a doué M. Grétry, lui accorde les honneurs et droits de frère. En conséquence, nous le conjurons, par les entrailles de notre mère la sainte église, de ménager sa santé, de considérer que sa poitrine est mauvaise, et de se livrer moins ardemment aux plaisirs de l’amour, afin de s’y livrer plus longtemps.

‘Frère Thomas fait savoir qu’il a composé un *Essai sur les Femmes*, &c. L’église estime la pureté de mœurs et les vertus de frère Thomas; elle craint qu’il ne connaisse pas encore assez les femmes; elle lui conseille de se lier plus intimement, s’il se peut, avec quelques unes des héroïnes qu’il fréquente, pour le plus grand bien de son ouvrage, &c.

‘Sœur de l’Espinasse fait savoir que sa fortune ne lui permet pas d’offrir ni à diner, ni à souper, et qu’elle n’en a pas moins d’envie de recevoir chez elle les frères qui voudront y venir digérer. L’église m’ordonne de lui dire qu’elle s’y rendra, et que, quand on a autant d’esprit et de mérite, on peut se passer de beauté et de fortune.

‘Mère Geoffrin fait savoir qu’elle renouvelle les défenses et lois prohibitives des années précédentes; et qu’il ne sera pas plus permis que par le passé de parler chez elle ni d’affaires intérieures, ni d’affaires extérieures; ni d’affaires de la cour, ni d’affaires de la ville; ni d’affaires du nord, ni d’affaires du midi; ni d’affaires d’orient, ni d’affaires d’occident; ni de politique, ni de finances; ni de paix, ni de guerre; ni de religion, ni de gouvernement; ni de théologie, ni de métaphysique; ni de grammaire, ni de musique; ni, en général, d’aucune matière quelconque——l’église, considérant que le silence, et notamment sur les matières dont il est question, n’est pas son fort, promet d’obéir autant qu’elle y sera contrainte par force de violence.’

Such frivolity as this, however despicable, and however prejudicial to the interests of morality, was never, surely, the characteristic of ‘bloody conspiracy.’

Among

Among the élèves of Voltaire on the boards of the Comédie Française, was an actor named Paulin, who performed the parts of tyrants in tragedy and of peasants in comedy. M. Grimm says that 'il était paysan passable, mais mauvais tyran,' and that Voltaire was misled by his sonorous voice in imagining that nature had designed him for a Herod. 'Laissez-moi faire,' he used to say, 'je vous élève un tyran à la brochette, dont vous serez contents.' He instructed him to perform the part of Polifonte, in his tragedy of Merope; and once, while it was under rehearsal, waked his valet at three o'clock in the morning to fetch the actor to receive some new idea which he wished to communicate. The servant vainly remonstrated that M. Paulin was in his first sleep. 'Be-gone,' said the poet with great seriousness—'Va—cours—les tyrans ne dorment jamais.'

The appointment of Voltaire, by Pope Ganganelli, to the lay office of 'Père temporel des Capucins du pays de Gex,' gave rise to a variety of witticisms at his expense, and he appears to have been by no means averse to join in the pleasantries himself.

'They pretend,' says the Baron, 'that he has already written letters, signed with a cross, †, *Voltaire, Capucin indigne*. He says of himself "that those who foretold that he would die a Capuchin, have not been mistaken, and he should esteem himself very happy if, at his old age, he could hope to arrive at the *bonnes fortunes* of a Capuchin." A person, just arrived from Ferney, relates to us that the Patriarch said to him, at his first visit, "Vous me trouverez bien changé: on devient cagot à mesure qu'on vicillit; j'ai pris l'habitude de me faire faire quelque lecture pieuse en me mettant à table;" and that, in effect, they began to read to him a sermon out of Massillon's *Petit Carême*, during which the Patriarch frequently exclaimed, "Ah, que c'est beau! quel style! quelle harmonie! quelle éloquence!" but when they had got through two or three pages, he said, "tirez Massillon," upon which they shut the book, and the admiring hearer se livra, à son ordinaire, à toute la verve et à toute la folie de son imagination, qui aura bien de la peine à contracter la gravité nécessaire à un père temporel des Capucins.'

The following letter to the Maréchal de Richelieu proves the temper in which Voltaire himself received and treated his ecclesiastical promotion.

'Je voudrais bien, monseigneur, avoir le plaisir de vous donner ma bénédiction avant de mourir. L'expression vous paraîtra un peu forte: elle est pourtant dans la vérité. J'ai l'honneur d'être Capucin. Notre général qui est à Rome, vient de m'envoyer mes patentes; mon titre est; *Frère spirituel et Père temporel des Capucins*. Mandez-moi laquelle de vos maîtresses vous voulez retirer du purgatoire; je vous jure sur ma barbe qu'elle n'y sera pas dans vingt-quatre heures. Comme je dois me détacher des biens de ce monde, j'ai abandonné à mes parens ce qui m'est

m'est dû par la succession de feu Madame la Princesse de Guise, et par M. votre intendant; ils iront à ce sujet prendre vos ordres qu'ils regarderont comme un bienfait. Je vous donne ma bénédiction. Signé Voltaire, Capucin indigne, et qui n'a pas encore eu de bonne fortune de Capucin.

We have a long account of the original design of the famous statue of Voltaire, which was first proposed at the house of Madame Necker, on the 17th of April, 1770. The anecdote of M. Pigalle (the sculptor)'s visit to Ferney, is amusing and characteristic.

'Phidias Pigalle a fait son voyage de Ferney. The Patriarch granted him the honour of a sitting every day; but he was all the time behaving like a child, unable to keep himself still a single instant. The greater part of the time he had his secretary by his side, to dictate letters to him, while the artist was forming his model, et, suivant un tic qui lui est familier en dictant des lettres, il soufflait des pois ou faisait d'autres grimaces mortelles pour le statuaire. The poor artist was in despair, and seemed to have no other resource than either to return home or fall ill at Ferney of a burning fever. On the last day, however, the conversation, by good luck, fell upon Aaron's golden calf, and the sculptor having declared that he should require at least six months to cast such a piece of metal, the Patriarch was so delighted with the remark, that Pigalle was able to do whatever he pleased with him all the rest of the sitting.'

Voltaire's opposition to the atheistical principles of the '*Système de la Nature*' does not seem to have been expected or looked for by his philosophical friends at Paris. The reflections of M. Grimm on the subject, appear to us so remarkable as to deserve notice.

'Le patriarche ne veut pas se départir de son *récompensateur-vengeur*; il le croit nécessaire au bon ordre. Il veut bien qu'on détruise le dieu des fripons et des superstitieux, mais il veut qu'on épargne celui des bonnêtes gens et des sages. *Il raisonne la-dessus comme un enfant; mais comme un joli enfant qu'il est.* Il serait bien étonné si on lui demandait de quelle couleur est son dieu, &c. &c.'

We shall not sully our pages with any of the hacknied Epicurean arguments of M. Grimm which follow in this place, and which (we suppose) were adopted by him without any reflection, after the loose manner of Messieurs les philosophes, when worn from the perusal of the '*Système de la Nature*.' It will be a satisfaction to some to know how Voltaire spoke and reasoned upon the subject. In a letter to Madame Necker, he thus expresses himself:

'Vous me parlez, Madame, du *Système de la Nature*, livre qui fait grand bruit parmi les ignorans, et qui indigne tous les gens sensés. Il est un peu honteux à notre nation, que tant de gens aient embrassé si vite une opinion si ridicule. Il faut être bien fou pour ne pas admettre une grande intelligence quand on en a une si petite; mais le comble  
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de l'impertinence est d'avoir fondé un système tout entier sur une fausse expérience faite par un jésuite irlandais qu'on a pris pour un philosophe. *Les Français ont eu grand tort d'abandonner les belles lettres pour ces profondes fadaïses, et on a tort de les prendre sérieusement.* A tout prendre, le siècle de Phèdre et du Misanthrope valait mieux.'

We suspect that the following anecdote is already current; but it is worth repeating. An Englishman visited Voltaire at Ferney, on his way to Rome, and asked the patriarch's commands where he was going. Voltaire entreated him, at any risk, to bring him back the ears of the Grand Inquisitor. On his arrival at Rome the Englishman mentioned this commission in many different circles, and it was at last repeated to Ganganelli, who, when the stranger attended an audience of his holiness, asked him what commands he had brought with him from M. de Voltaire? The traveller could not avoid smiling at the question, and his holiness continued, 'I beg you will inform M. de Voltaire that, for a long while past, the inquisition has had neither ears nor eyes.'

The terrors of Voltaire's satire are well known, especially against all unfortunate poets, whose evil destinies led them to meddle with what he deemed his own peculiar provinces in literature. An unhappy being of this description, by name Clément, (whom Voltaire called Clément *Maraud*, to distinguish him from the old bard Clément Marot,) was induced to write a tragedy called *Méroe*, for which he endeavoured in vain to procure the honours of representation. A servant once offered himself to Voltaire, who said he came from the service of this Clément. '*Coquin,*' said Voltaire, looking him full in the face, '*tu m'as bien l'air d'avoir fait les trois premiers actes de sa Méroe.*'

The following anecdote is much more discreditable to him. He had conceived a mortal displeasure at the popularity of a young actress called Mademoiselle Raucourt, who valued herself on the purity of her reputation, which, it seems, had never been called in question. In a fit of ill humour, he wrote to the Maréchal de Richelieu, that this person had been formerly mistress to a gentleman at Geneva, and was even now ready to accede to the terms of the best bidder. It happened that the epistle was received by the Maréchal while at table with the very lady in question, and he immediately, without looking at its contents, put it into the hands of one of the party to read aloud for the benefit of the rest. The fair Raucourt fell senseless into the arms of her mother, and D'Alembert dispatched an indignant remonstrance to the guilty patriarch, who was obliged to submit to the shameful humiliation of retracting the whole invention. The only cause which M. Grimm is able to assign to this '*incartade tres-répréhensible*' of his oracle, is, that the intended representation of his tragedy of the '*Lois de Minos*,'

had been forced to give way to the fashionable novelty of *Mado-moiselle de Raucourt*. 'Cela suffit pour indisposer un enfant de soixante-dix-neuf ans contre un enfant de dix-sept qui dérange et trompe ses espérances.'

The Abbé Coyer, who is here characterised as being 'l'homme du monde le plus lourd, l'ennui personnifié,' kindly undertook to pay Voltaire a visit for two or three months at his Château de Ferney. The first day the philosopher bore his company with tolerable politeness; but the next morning he interrupted him in a long prosing narrative of his travels, by a question which appeared to embarrass him not a little. 'Savez-vous bien, M. l'Abbé, la différence qu'il y a entre Don Quichotte et vous? c'est que Don Quichotte prenait toutes les auberges pour des châteaux, et vous, vous prenez tous les châteaux pour des auberges.' This address effected the immediate disenchantment of M. l'Abbé, who took his departure within twenty-four hours afterwards. But the following letter, describing a somewhat similar visit made by an unhappy dramatic author, is still more characteristic.

'You wish to hear, madam, the true history of the pilgrimage lately made by M. Barthe, to Ferney; and you will see how it is possible to be damned in labouring after salvation. Imagine to yourself, then, madam, that he comes express from Marseilles, . . . . to see M. de Voltaire? . . . No; to read to him his new comedy in five acts and in verse, entitled, *l'Homme Personnel*. The whole business had been negotiated before-hand by M. Moulton, a great favourite of Voltaire, who had granted the favour desired with the most gracious good humour. Accordingly they came to Ferney together, and were received by the patriarch in the most civil manner possible: at last the reading commenced. Now you might behold Barthe, with one eye upon his MS. the other armed with a spy-glass, watching with the utmost anxiety every change in the countenance of the great critic. At the ten first verses, M. de Voltaire made such grimaces and contorsions as would have frightened any other reader than M. Barthe. When he came to the scene in which the valet relates how his master made him submit to have one of his teeth pulled out in order to make trial of the dentist's skill, he stopped him short, and with his mouth wide open, 'Une dent! là! ah! ah!' The whole act passed off without the slightest applause, not even a smile; and, as soon as he talked of beginning the second, M. de Voltaire was suddenly seized with a terrible fit of yawning—he finds himself unwell—is quite in despair—withdraws to his closet—and leaves poor Barthe in a state of positive distraction. It had been arranged that he should sleep at Ferney; but this he could not consent to after what had passed; so all his baggage was packed up again, and he returned, sad and disconsolate, to Geneva.—Next morning he received a most polite note from M. de Voltaire, containing a thousand apologies, entreating a continuation of the reading, and expressly promising that the accident of the preceding night shall not be repeated. *Quel pèlerinage!*

*ridage!* In spite of all they could say to him, M. Barthe was resolved to be the dupe of it. He returned to Ferney, and was received with still greater civility than before: but, having heard out the second act, yawning all the time, in the very middle of the third, Voltaire took himself off with all possible ceremoniousness; and poor Barthe was reduced to take his departure a second time without having finished his piece; and, what was perhaps still more mortifying, without having any body to fight with.

Voltaire returned to Paris, after an absence of twenty-seven years, on the 8th of February, 1778.

‘ Non l'apparition d'un révenant, celle d'un prophète, d'un apôtre, n'aurait pas causé plus de surprise et d'admiration que l'arrivée de M. de Voltaire. Ce nouveau prodige a-suspendu quelques momens tout autre intérêt, il a fait tomber les bruits de la guerre, les intrigues de robe, les tracasseries de cour, même la grande querelle des Gluckistes et des Piccinistes. L'orgueil encyclopédique a paru diminué de moitié, la Sorbonne a frémi, le parlement a gardé le silence, toute la littérature s'est émue, tout Paris s'est empressé de voler aux pieds de l'idole, et jamais le héros de notre siècle n'eût joui de sa gloire avec plus d'éclat, si la cour l'avait honoré d'un regard plus favorable ou seulement moins indifférent.’

‘ Whoever should undertake the history of French vanity during the eighteenth century, would go far towards explaining the causes of the revolution,’ is a very true saying. Vanity was evidently the spring of all Voltaire's actions and sentiments; nay, it had so incorporated itself with his very essence that, we are persuaded, the very inconsistencies and alterations which were remarked in him towards the close of his life, were owing more to that pervading principle than either to repentance or foresight. The extraordinary part which he took in the affair of M. de Morangiés, has been generally ascribed to the apprehensions which he latterly began to entertain of an approaching overthrow of the very foundations of society; and the philosophists of Paris appear, from the correspondence before us, to have been equally astonished and mortified at the desertion of the ‘ great defender of Calas’ from the popular cause which he had hitherto so successfully maintained. Nevertheless, if we consider what part his vanity would naturally have induced him to take in the business, we should be inclined to say that it was that which he in fact espoused. Where all the chiefs of the philosophical party, and all the rabble, were of one mind on the subject, little honour was to be acquired, or notice attracted, by taking the same view of it with them. It was quite otherwise in those earlier times when he so nobly attacked the parliament of Toulouse on the subject of the melancholy affair above alluded to. Besides, he was sick of the homage of those



whom he had taught to go far beyond himself in his philosophical career; and his vanity would fain have procured to itself new food in the applause and gratitude of the court, and, if possible, of the church also. The affair of M. Morangiés was, after all, very doubtful; and the final decree of the parliament in his favour does not appear to have excited, in dispassionate persons, any suspicion of partiality or corruption. This decision is, however, remarkable as having given rise to one of the earliest public demonstrations of the spirit and power of 'le souverain peuple.' In a play which was represented two nights afterwards, at the *Comédie Française*, there occurred the following expression,

Dans une cause obscure,

Des juges bien payés verraient plus clair que nous,

which the pit immediately applied; and the whole theatre resounded with applauses *si fous et si opiniâtres*, that it was deemed necessary to put a stop to the performance. M. de Grimm was certainly not endowed with the spirit of foresight which has been attributed to his oracle, or he would not have remarked upon such an occasion, after allowing the whole *parterre* to be worthy of the Bastille for their insolence, 'j'aime, je l'avoue, à me voir transporté un moment à Rome ou à Athènes, pour admirer combien le goût des arts et surtout celui du spectacle dispose les esprits à jouir de la liberté et à se livrer aux saillies d'une gaieté vive et petulante.' It required fifteen years longer experience to prove, that it is not quite safe to indulge the subjects of an absolute monarchy in acting the parts of Athenians and Romans.

The name of Rousseau naturally follows that of Voltaire; but we have already noticed his quarrel with the principal writer in these pages, and his name does not very often occur in the correspondence. There is great good sense, however, in the following remarks on his character and genius.

'Jean Jacques Rousseau n'a point d'admirateurs, il a des dévots: né avec toutes les qualités d'un chef de secte, il s'est trouvé déplacé dans son siècle, dont l'esprit tend à une association générale de culture et de philosophie, fondée sur une grande indifférence pour toutes les opinions particulières: on ne veut plus aujourd'hui se partager en sectes, ni faire pot à part: c'était la fureur des siècles précédens, elle est passée. Voltaire a senti la pente de son siècle, il en est devenu l'apôtre; Rousseau aurait joué un grand rôle il y a deux cents ans; comme réformateur, il aurait pu être l'âme d'une révolution générale: dans ce siècle, il meurt oublié en Dauphiné, sans avoir produit aucun effet mémorable.'

It is seldom that the characters and powers of men are estimated

mated with so much precision and accuracy while they are yet alive. His return to Paris in the year 1770, by the connivance of the magistrates, under the condition of not publishing, is described with a very allowable portion of ridicule.

'He has made a display of his person several times at the Café de la Regence in the Palais-Royal, and has attracted prodigious crowds to come and gaze at him. They were asked, what they were doing there, and answered, "que c'était pour voir Jean Jacques;" but when they were again asked "ce que c'était que ce Jean Jacques," they answered, that they knew nothing about the matter; but that he was going to pass that way.'

M. Rousseau was exhorted to put an end to this species of public exhibition without delay, and poor Jean Jacques sank very obediently and peaceably into his former retirement. Grimm, however, appears to have always entertained a very high, not to say extravagant, respect for the talents of this extraordinary man. He says, in another place,

'C'est le sort de Rousseau d'être réfuté par des gens qui n'ont pas voulu ou qui n'ont pas su l'entendre.' And again: 'It seems to me, that you have never caught the true character of J. J. Rousseau. This celebrated man, born with rare abilities to persuade others of all that he wished them to believe, has endeavoured, above all things, to render popular those truths which he himself believed to be of public utility. If the bodies of infants are no longer cramped by whalebone, their minds no longer oppressed by precepts, their earliest years exempted from slavery and torture, it is to Rousseau that they owe all this. As for the women, if they dare to act the nurse, or to become the real mothers of their children, or even the real wives of their husbands, this also is the work of Rousseau. He has awakened in young minds the enthusiasm of virtue which is so necessary to counteract the enthusiasm of the passions. Among modern philosophers, he is one of those who have produced the greatest effect on the human mind, because he possessed the talent of disposing the minds of his readers, as the orators of old disposed those of their auditors. Few have written better against us, and none have written so well in our favour.'

This is high colouring, and certainly presents only one side of the picture. The following anecdote is very characteristic.

'He had long lived on his fifth floor in Paris entirely forgotten by the world which he affected to despise, and from affectation really shunned, when an accident that happened to him, in one of his solitary walks, brought him once more, for a single moment, on the stage of the public. He was met in a narrow part of the street by M. de St. Fargeau, driving very fast in his carriage, and in his attempt to get out of the way, was pushed by a large Danish dog running before the horses, and thrown down in the road. M. de St. Fargeau immediately stopt

his coach and hastened to assist the person whom his dog had thus knocked down; but as soon as he recognised the author of *Emile*, he redoubled his apologies and his attentions, and pressed him, in the most polite manner possible, to allow him the happiness of conveying him back to his lodgings. The philosopher was inexorable, and returned alone and on foot. Next morning, M. de St. Fargeau sent to inquire for him. "*Dites à votre maître qu'il enchaîne son chien*" was his only answer. Could Diogenes have framed a better?

His unfortunate marriage was a butt for all the shafts of ridicule, which, however, he seemed rather to court than shun. His physician going to visit him at Ermenonville, a short time before his death, found him mounting his staircase with great pain and difficulty, after having been in the cellar, and asked him why, in his infirm state, he did not make his wife act the part of butler. "*Que voulez vous?*" he answered, "*quand elle y va, elle y reste.*"

The posthumous publication of that strange production, *Rousseau juge de Jean Jacques*, gives occasion to some good reflections both on the individual and on the extraordinary construction of the human mind exemplified in his conduct.

"On y verra le mélange le plus étonnant de force de style et de faiblesse d'esprit, tout le désordre d'une sensibilité profondément affectée, un ridicule inconcevable avec la folie la plus sérieuse et la plus digne de pitié. On ne peut douter qu'en écrivant ceci, Rousseau ne fût parfaitement fou; et il ne paraît pas moins certain qu'il n'y a que Rousseau dans le monde qui ait pu l'écrire."

We have here a very curious account of the démêlé between the Encyclopédistes and their printer and publisher, M. Breton, (who was also a joint proprietor of the work,) on occasion of a discovery, made too late for prevention or remedy, of the 'horrible' mutilations which this nefarious printer and his foreman had taken upon them to make in almost all the principal articles of the last ten volumes, as they went to the press. The utter dismay of the philosophers, on the first revelation of this act of barbarism, may be conceived by those who are at all acquainted with the impetuosity of a Frenchman's emotions upon every occasion where his vanity or self-love receives a wound, however trivial. Grimm, who was too much a man of the world to be a very ardent philosopher, manifestly laughs in his sleeve all the time that he is affecting to sympathize with his friends in their distress and indignation; and this tone of half banter and half earnestness contributes to render his whole history of the transaction remarkably amusing. His heroi-comic style of narration, however, falls short of the language used by poor Diderot in serious earnest; and the letter which he addresses to 'the sacrilegious printer,' on coming to the determination of continuing the management of the work for the

the sake of the remaining proprietors, and keeping secret from the world the fearful story of its wrongs, is calculated, at this distance of time, when all the actors of the melodrame have long since left the stage, to raise only a smile at the objects of human ambition and the ebullitions of human vanity. If the interests of the whole world had depended on the fatal scissars of M. Breton, this chief of the Encyclopedistes could not have used language expressive of deeper horror, or more incurable despair. Nevertheless, we would by no means be understood to think slightly of the provocation of the unfortunate authors, or of the atrocity of the act which M. Breton committed; and should be very sorry to be considered as inculcating the propriety of Messrs. Ballantyne, Bulmer, or Bensley, undertaking to interfere in a similar manner with the immortality of the present race of British philosophers.

There is a great deal of justice as well as of feeling in some of the following observations on the supposed advantages of a philosophical age over times of less illumination, but of less sophistry and more natural impressions and habits. Had M. Grimm been capable of continuing in such a train of reflection as this and other passages of his work exhibit, we do not think he would have long ranked himself among the *philosophes* of the school of Voltaire.

‘ Il me semble qu'on est presque toujours malheureux en écrivant sur quelque objet que ce soit, lorsque, même sans avoir discuté la question, on sait d'avance le résultat que l'on sera obligé d'établir. Prétendre que la philosophie éteint le génie, qu'elle a détruit le goût des arts et sappé tous les fondemens de la société morale et civile, c'est soutenir sans doute une calomnie atroce ou faire une déclamation ridicule: mais de bonne foi, peut-on nier que la philosophie n'ait fait quelque tort à nos plaisirs et à notre bonheur, en affaiblissant le ressort de l'imagination, en refroidissant l'âme, en nous ôtant de douces illusions, et en nous forçant à secouer le joug de plusieurs préjugés utiles à la multitude?—Se déchaîner contre le siècle parcequ'il est le siècle de la philosophie, c'est se déchaîner contres les arrêts de la nécessité, c'est se révolter contre la loi qui régla de toute éternité la marche et la conduite de l'esprit humain—tout cela ne nous persuade point encore que ce soit une chose si douce et si désirable que d'être d'un siècle philosophe. S'il est vrai que le monde ne devient sage qu'en vieillissant, comment nous applaudir de notre profonde sagesse, sans regretter un peu les douces erreurs du bel âge, sans craindre sur-tout d'approcher bientôt du terme où l'on ne fait plus que radoter?—Le seul sentiment qui nourrisse le goût de la philosophie, le seul qu'elle exalte, c'est la curiosité. Ce sentiment, tout froid qu'il est, exclut, absorbe, presque tous les autres: il donne à l'âme une sorte d'inquiétude et d'impatience qui ne paraît guère compatible avec cette chaleur douce, avec cette sensibilité profonde et recueillie que demande l'amour des arts et de la poésie. Le beau, qui en est l'objet et le principe, veut être senti. La philosophie n'aspire qu'à connaître à force de chercher et d'approfondir la source de nos plaisirs;

elle en perd le sentiment et le goût ; le charme qu'elle poursuit échappe aux efforts qu'elle fait pour le fixer. Se défiant trop des premières inspirations de la nature, elle imite le crime de Psyché, et en est punie comme elle.'

The language which follows would probably be admitted by the most orthodox divine without scruple, and can hardly fail to excite the astonishment of those who remember the doctrines elsewhere professed by M. Grimm, and alluded to in a former part of this article.

'Le même tort que la philosophie a pu faire aux arts, elle l'a fait sans doute aussi à la religion. En la rendant plus sage, plus raisonnable elle l'a rendue plus froide : et la dévotion s'est bientôt ralentie. Il est vrai que si la religion n'a jamais été attaquée avec plus de hardiesse, elle n'a jamais été mieux défendue ; mais pour la défendre avec quelque avantage, il a fallu se contenter de la réduire à ce qu'elle a d'essentiel.'

He says, in another place,

'Je suis loin de croire que la liberté avec laquelle on s'est permis de discuter les questions les plus graves de la métaphysique et de la morale, ait favorisé beaucoup les progrès du vice : le mal était déjà fait ; je soupçonne seulement que cette circonstance a pu enhardir le libertinage à se montrer avec un peu plus d'indécence. On n'a fait que ce qu'on faisait depuis long-temps, mais on l'a fait avec moins de gêne, et l'hypocrisie à presque passé de mode.'

But at the time when these passages were written, the philosophical party had already lost much of its credit with the literary world of Paris ; a circumstance which M. Grimm himself acquaints us with in another article written a few months before the death of Voltaire. 'This age,' he says, 'will always be an age of genius and illumination ; but we must not dissemble that philosophy and philosophers have lost a great deal in the public opinion, for some time past.' Much of this declension he seems inclined to attribute to the publication of that celebrated work, '*le Système de la Nature*,' concerning which he has this remarkable expression, 'sans compter que cet ouvrage a révolté le plus grand nombre des lectures, qu'il a déplu à beaucoup d'autres, qui ont été fâchés de voir qu'on prodiguait un secret qu'ils voulaient garder pour eux et pour leurs amis, il a eu le grand inconvénient de rendre toutes les recherches relatives à cet objet parfaitement insipides, parfaitement indifférentes.' But no inconsiderable share in the same consequences is ascribed to the disorder and anarchy which prevailed in the party itself, 'dépuis la mort de Mademoiselle de Lespinasse, et depuis la paralysie de Madame Geoffrin ;' and the mention of these two female regents serves to remind us that we promised, at the outset, more of anecdote than of grave reflection, and

and to recal us to the design which we may seem to have too long forgotten.

The following is the description of a Scotch gentleman, General Clerk, who, in the course of his travels on the continent, fell in with Madame Geoffrin's coterie.

'C'est un homme d'esprit, mais grand parleur, et même fatigant par le tic qu'il a d'ajouter à chaque phrase qu'il prononce un *hem* de sorte qu'il a l'air de vous interroger continuellement, quoiqu'il n'attende jamais votre réponse.' 'Notwithstanding this,' proceeds M. Grimm, 'we were all tolerably well reconciled to him, except Madame Geoffrin, who hates to rest long upon any one subject, and who, even at this day, can never think of General Clerk without a shuddering over all her frame. It was Baron Holbach who introduced this stranger to her, and, after the usual compliments and a visit of half an hour, rose to take his leave. M. Clerk, instead of following the friend who had presented him, as is usual on a first visit, remained behind. Madame Geoffrin asks him, if he often goes to the theatre?—Very seldom.—If he frequents the promenades?—Not much.—At court, or among the princes?—No man less.—How then do you pass your time?—Oh, why, whenever I find myself comfortably settled in a friend's house, I love to talk and sit still. At these words, Madame Geoffrin grew pale. It was six o'clock in the evening—she fancied that at ten o'clock M. Clerk might still perhaps find himself comfortably settled in her house; and the bare idea threw her into the cold fit of an ague. Chance brought M. d'Alembert to her rescue; Madame Geoffrin soon finds means to persuade him that he is far from well, and entreats him to suffer the general to take him home in his coach. The latter, charmed at an opportunity of rendering d'Alembert a service, tells him that he is master of his carriage, for which he shall have no manner of occasion till it comes to take him back at night. These words were a thunderstroke to poor Madame Geoffrin, who was now unable to disengage herself from our Scotchman all the evening, let who would come and go in the mean time.'

This lady was very severe upon all *provers*.

'M. le Comte de Coigny was one day at her table, telling stories which had no end. They set some dish before him, and he took a little clasp-knife out of his pocket to help himself, still continuing his tale. Madame Geoffrin, quite impatient, at last, said to him, "M. le Comte, il faut avoir de grands couteaux et de petits contes."

Some interesting particulars are here given of Madame Geoffrin's last long illness, which produced the effect of separating her from her friends the philosophists, and throwing her, in great measure, into the arms of the *parti dévot*. M. Grimm, in inquiring into the cause of this change, seems, however, to doubt the fact. 'This lady's religion,' he says, 'seems to have always proceeded on two principles; the one, to do the greatest quantity of good in her

her power; the other, to respect scrupulously all established forms, and even to lend herself, with great complaisance, to all the different movements of public opinion.' A stroke of apoplexy, from the effects of which she never recovered, left her, enfeebled both in mind and body, in the power of her daughter, Madame la Marquise de la Ferté-Imbaut, who immediately shut her doors against d'Alembert, Marmontel, and all her mother's old friends. 'This conduct,' he continues, 'has set the philosophical party against her; and the respective orders of *Lantuzelus* and *Lampons* are at open war with the whole *Encyclopédie*.' (These were names adopted in pleasantry by those who frequented Madame de la Ferté's house, in order to ridicule the two parties of the philosophers and the court.) 'All people expected that as soon as Madame Geoffrin came to herself, she would disavow her daughter's proceedings; but the world was mistaken. After having scolded a little, she pardoned every thing, and came to the resolution that '*le viatique et les philosophes n'allaient pas trop bien ensemble*. Elle a traité sa fille en folle, mais elle a loué son zèle. *Ma fille, a-t-elle dit en riant, est comme Godefroi de Bouillon, elle a voulu défendre mon tombeau contre les infidèles.*'

Madame Geoffrin outlived the remembrance of the world, and even of the society, of which for a long time she seemed to constitute the soul and essence. 'Never did any person with a middling fortune, in a private station, possess so many rights to the remembrance of society; yet, hardly had she disappeared from the stage of the world before she was forgotten in it, and, were it not for the homage lately rendered by three men of letters to her memory, the very existence of this singular and respectable woman would already have left no trace behind it; so true is it, that that which we call society is the most light, the most ungrateful, and the most frivolous thing in the world.' And this is the testimony of a man who always lived in the best society that the most social of all cities could yield, and who was himself one of its most brilliant ornaments! The works to which he alludes are three several essays on the life and character of this lady, by M. Thomas, the Abbé Morellet, and d'Alembert; and the anecdotes which are here selected from them of the uncommon goodness of heart, and princely generosity of her whom they are designed to celebrate, have tended to exalt her very highly in our estimation. She seems to have been really animated, as one of her eulogists expresses it, with *the passion of giving*, and yet we do not find that this passion led her into any acts of thoughtless and injurious profusion. She did all the good in her power, without impairing the sources of her benevolence.

'They have told us,' says d'Alembert, 'to what a degree of restlessness

ness and obstinacy she carried her goodness ; but they have not told us what adds infinitely to her praise :—that, as she advanced in age, that goodness continually increased from day to day. For the misfortune of human society, age and experience too often produce the contrary effect, even in virtuous persons, unless their virtue is of a very strong and uncommon character. The greater benevolence they have at first entertained for their fellow creatures, the more (as every day brings before them fresh instances of ingratitude) do they repent of having served them, and grieve that they have ever loved them. A more reflective study of mankind, more enlightened by reason and justice, had taught Madame Geoffrin that they are even more weak and vain than they are wicked ; that it is our duty to have compassion on their infirmities, and bear with their vanity, to the end that they may bear with ours. “I perceive with satisfaction,” she said to me, “that as I grow old, I become more benevolent, I dare not say better, because my goodness perhaps is, like the mischievousness of some, the effect of weakness. I have made my advantage of what was often said to me by the good Abbé de St. Pierre, that the charity of a worthy man should not be confined to the support and relief of those who suffer ; but that it should extend itself to the indulgence of which their faults so often stand in need ; and, in imitation of him, I have taken for my device two words, *donner et pardonner*.”

Some stories of the person who had the honour to be her husband may serve rather to divert us by way of contrast. He was in the habit of borrowing books of a friend, who, either of malice prepense, or from inattention, lent him several times following the same book, which happened to be a volume of the Père Labat's Travels. M. Geoffrin, with the most perfect good faith imaginable, read it over again and again, every time it was lent to him. ‘Well, sir, how do you like these travels ?’—‘Very interesting indeed ; but methinks the author is apt to repeat a little.’ A stranger who was much in the habit of dining at Madame Geoffrin's, without knowing her husband, asked her one day what she had done with that poor gentleman whom he used to meet there, and who always sat without speaking—‘*C'était mon mari, il est mort*.’

Madame la Marquise de la Ferté-Imbaut was never forgiven by the philosophers ; she was besquibbed and pasquined, week after week, and day after day, so long as the whim lasted ; and if we may believe the scandal of these exasperated enemies, her affectation of the honours of the blue stocking deserved their ridicule even more than her anti-philosophical spirit. We cannot afford room to any of these pleasantries, and shall now take our leave both of mother and daughter, and pay our respects, *en passant*, to another literary lady of a very different character.

‘Le bon président (M. de Hénault) avait été dans sa jeunesse l'amant  
de



de la Marquise du Deffant, femme célèbre à Paris par son esprit et par sa méchanceté. Elle a aujourd'hui plus de soixante-dix ans, et il y en a presque vingt qu'elle est aveugle ; mais son esprit a conservé toute sa fleur, et sa méchanceté, à force de s'exercer, est devenue, dit-on, beaucoup plus habile. Elle se pique de haïr mortellement tout ce qui s'appelle philosophe, et cela lui a conservé un grand crédit parmi les gens de la cour et du monde, aux yeux desquels les philosophes sont la cause immédiate de tout le mal qui arrive en France.'

The wicked portrait which she drew of her intimate friend, la Marquise du Châtelet, on the very morning after her death, has been given, in part only, in the publication of her correspondence with Horace Walpole. In this work, we have it entire, and a more flagrant proof of innate deformity of heart and execrable perversion of talent we do not recollect having ever met with. We shall be pardoned for directing our attention to subjects less disgusting ; and yet scarcely less so is the unfeeling but witty epigram which she made on the Maréchal de Belle-isle just after he had lost his wife, son, and brother, within very short intervals of each other, during the course of his administration.

' *Sur l'air de CONFITEOR.*

' J'ai perdu ma femme et mon fils,  
Et puis le chevalier mon frère ;  
Je suis sans parens, sans amis,  
Hors l'état dont je suis le père :  
Hélas ! je vais le perdre encor ;  
Dirai-je mon *confiteor* ?

' Madame de Lalande, Marquise du Deffant, née de Vichi de Chamru, vient de mourir à Paris le 23 du mois dernier (August, 1779) âgée de quatre-vingt-quatre ans. Ce fut sans contredit une des femmes de ce siècle les plus célèbres par son esprit : elle l'avait été long-temps par sa beauté. Ayant perdu la vue encore assez-jeune, elle tâcha de s'en consoler en rassemblant autour d'elle la société la plus choisie de la ville et de la cour ; mais la malignité de son esprit, dont il lui était impossible de réprimer les saillies, en éloigna souvent les personnes avec qui il lui convenait le moins de se brouiller.—' Ses meilleures amies, Madame la Maréchale de Luxembourg, Madame de Choiseul, Madame de Cambise, ne l'ont presque pas quittée dans sa dernière maladie ; par un excès d'attachement, même assez rare, ces dames n'ont pas cessé, dit-on, de jouer tous les soir au loto dans sa chambre jusqu'à son dernier soupir inclusivement. Elle n'a point voulu entendre parler ni de confession, ni de sacrement. Tout ce que le curé de sa paroisse, qui lui a fait une visite d'office, en a pu obtenir, après les exhortations les plus pressantes, a été qu'elle se *confesserait à son ami, M. le duc de Choiseul*. Nous ne doutons pas qu'un confesseur si bien choisi ne lui ait accordé, de la meilleure grâce du monde, l'absolution de tous ses péchés, *sans excepter le petit couplet impromptu qu'elle fit autrefois contre lui-même.*

Of

Of her friend the president, already mentioned, the report here given is not very flattering; but we must always remember that he was *anti-philosophe*.

'Born with amiable qualities, but not sufficiently remarkable to excite the envy or jealousy of others, he enjoyed the privilege of *les gens médiocres*, of being loved by all the world without having a single enemy. He was very frivolous; had nothing in him but what was superficial; but this very superficial was agreeable. Il faisait de jolis vers de société; il donnait d'excellens soupers; il avait été à la mode dans sa jeunesse, et avait conservé l'usage du grand monde dans un âge plus mûr. Pour satisfaire sa petite ambition, car tout était petit et joli en lui, il quitta de bonne heure le palais, et acheta la charge de surintendant de la maison de la feue reine, et ne laissa pas d'avoir aussi sa petite existence dans ce petit cercle.'

Of his *Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France*, M. Grimm is of opinion that 'si un pauvre diable relégué dans un quatrième étage avait publié ce livre, il n'auroit pas reçu la moitié des éloges qui ont été prodigués au Président Hénault.'

Those who know Helvetius only by the grave Latin termination of his name, and the serious and important subjects of the works which he composed, will be somewhat surprised to see him appear before them under the strange anomalous form of a dancing Dutchman. 'He was remarkably well made, and excelled most particularly in the dance. He even carried this passion to a great excess; and it is confidently affirmed that he has more than once performed in the opera ballet, under a mask, in the place of Dupré.' Very early in life he obtained the post of farmer-general, and spent the enormous wealth which that office procured in the most complete abandonment to his pleasures, but always kept up a considerable intercourse with men of letters to whom he was very generous and obliging. His ruling passion was that of women. He made his first essay in gallantry under the auspices of a certain countess, 'qui se piquait d'athéisme comme d'autres se piquent de Jansénisme ou de Molinisme.' In all his connexions, however, the heart had no share whatever; and his opinion of the female character necessarily partook of the depravity of his own taste and feelings. Thus admirably trained for philosophy, 'the love of reputation suddenly surprised him in the midst of his career of dissipation and voluptuousness. Maupertuis had just then brought geometry into fashion; and it became a mark of *bon ton* among the women to have a geometrician at their suppers. Helvetius one day saw Maupertuis (un des plus fiers charlatans de notre siècle) walking at the Thuilleries, in a most ridiculous costume, surrounded and cajoled by all the great ladies of the court, and all the brilliant women of the city. Maupertuis was all for effect; if he had been dressed like

like other people, his promenades on the Thuilleries would have attracted nobody. Helvetius was caught, and immediately set himself to study geometry; but his attempts must have been attended with little success, since he very soon renounced it.' He was then dazzled by the glory of Voltaire, and instantly conceived the project of partaking it, by throwing himself into the field of poetry. He composed a poem on happiness, which Voltaire himself approved; 'but from the specimens which I saw of it,' says M. Grimm, 'I doubt if it would ever have made its way in the world.' At last, the renown of *l'Esprit des Lois* completed the turning of his brain, and inspired him with the resolution of achieving the honours of a quarto and the immortality of a long philosophical treatise. This also was the epoch of an entire change of life. Montesquieu's book appeared in 1749, and in 1750 Helvetius resigned his place, married a girl of family but no fortune in Lorraine, and ran to shut himself up at his country-seat, where he divided his time between his book, the chase, and the society of his wife. The book '*De l'Esprit*' made its appearance just ten years after the *Esprit des Lois*; but was far from procuring the author all the consideration which he expected from it, and owed its subsequent celebrity entirely to the persecution which it excited against him. 'A la cour de la reine, et de feu M. le Dauphin, M. Helvétius fut regardé comme un enfant de perdition, et la reine plaignait sa malheureuse mère, comme si elle avait donné le jour à l'antichrist.' After all, says Grimm, Helvetius wanted nothing but genius—but it is that terrible want which renders so true what his friend Buffon used to say of him, 'qu'il aurait dû faire un bail de plus, et un livre de moins.'

M. Grimm does not seem to have entertained much respect or affection for Marmontel. If we are not mistaken, there had been some quarrel or dispute between them which was never reconciled: however that may be, we are somewhat inclined to join with the former in many of the censures which he casts on his good brother. In 1770, his opera of *Silvain* was represented at the Comédie Italienne, and the subject of it gave great offence to the court. The Duke de Noailles said that the moral it inculcated was *qu'il faut épouser sa servante et laisser braconner ses paysans*; and the generality of the courtiers were firmly persuaded that it was composed by virtue of an order issued by the Encyclopédistes for a sermon to be preached at the Comédie Italienne, 'par le révérend père Caillot et par notre chère sœur Laruette, De la Chimère des Naissances illustres et la Doctrine abominable de la Liberté de la Chasse.' 'Had they consulted me,' proceeds our author, 'I would have told them that what they attributed to a plot of the philosophical party was no more than a very natural effect of the weakness

ness of M. Marmontel's genius, and his want of dramatic talent; it is only that it is much more easy to be outré than simple, to imagine romantic manners and events, than to find out real subjects and paint manners such as they are.' In another place, he speaks highly of the effect of the *Zemire et Azor* at the representation, but adds, of the piece itself, 'Mais M. Marmontel est froid; il n'a point de sentiment; il n'entend point le théâtre, et sa pièce se ressent de tous ces vices.'

In his remarks on national taste, M. Grimm evinces a much more just and philosophical spirit than most of his contemporaries, whether of France or England. The attack of Voltaire on the reputation of Shakspeare had, about this time, turned the tide of popular opinion very strongly against the *Anglomanie* which had previously begun to infect all classes of dramatic critics, that is to say, all orders and degrees of society in Paris. Our candid and sensible German observes, upon much sounder principles, that it is a very bad sign of the times, when one nation is so passionately fond of imitating the fashions of another, as to forget that there are natural barriers of taste and feeling, which can never be altogether surmounted, and which to endeavour to level, is to enfeeble the powers of genius, to narrow the soul, to refrigerate the imagination, and ultimately to corrupt the purity of manners, and extinguish the national character. 'The theatre of Shakspeare,' he continues, 'may be excellent for the English; but only that of Corneille and Racine is good for us; and it seems to me that we have no need to complain of the part which is fallen to our lot. When the English took it into their heads to imitate the regularity of our dramas, they appeared cold and feeble. When we, in our turn, ventured to take them for our guides, we became only outrageous and extravagant, without energy or originality:' as La Fontaine says,

' Ne forçons point notre talent,  
Nous ne ferions rien avec grace.'

His reflections on the state of the stage about this period are not of a very complimentary nature to the Parisian dramatists.

'For several years,' he says 'M. Mercier the *dramomane* has predicted the approaching fall of French tragedy. We know the particular reasons which influence him to believe in it more than others; but it is possible to find better reasons for drawing the same conclusions, and, without being *dramomanes*, to agree that the accomplishment of the fatal oracle was never more to be dreaded. All the resources of our dramatic system seem to be used up; after two or three thousand pieces cast, as one may say, in the same mould, how should it be otherwise? where are we now to look for new subjects, situations, movements, and effects, while we attach ourselves to the eternal pursuit of the same method, the same course of proceeding?

The

The decay of dramatic talent is always sure to be accompanied, either as a cause or effect, with a proportionate declension in the histrionic art. 'We have seen disappear from the stage, by turns, Le Couvreur, Dufresne, Gaussin, Clairon, Dumesnil; and those great powers have not even left behind them the hope of ever being replaced. A single actor of this brilliant school yet remained to us; he had alone out-lived the glory of the theatre, and alone supported all its remaining lustre. He is no more.' The death of *Le Kain* is attributed to a cause which has always taken off a larger proportion of great men of the French nation, from *Louis Douze* down to himself inclusive, than of any other tribe under the sun:

'On attribue la maladie inflammatoire qui vient de nous l'enlever, aux efforts qu'il fit dans le rôle de Vendôme pour plaire à une certaine dame Benoît, dont il était éperdument amoureux, et dont l'excessive reconnaissance a bien plus contribué, dit on, à précipiter le terme de ses jours que les rigueurs d'Adélaïde. Il est fort à craindre que les charmes de Madame Benoît n'aient fait plus de tort à la tragédie que toutes les Phillippiques de M. Mercier.'

Nature had refused this great actor every exterior advantage of voice, person and countenance.

'One only gift supplied all these defects, c'était une sensibilité fort et profonde, qui faisait disparaître la laideur de ses traits sous le charme de l'expression dont elle les rendait susceptibles, qui ne laissait appercevoir que le caractère et la passion dont son âme s'était remplie, et lui donnait à chaque instant de nouvelles formes, un nouvel être.'

In the motion of his eyebrows, we are told, there resided a magical expression, entirely his own, *et dont il tirait un parti prodigieux*: he was an actor to the very tip of his nails; his smallest gestures and most indifferent attitudes were studied with a degree of painful minuteness of attention, which we are at first apt to imagine incompatible with the efforts of real genius, and destructive of all the finer qualities of conception and feeling. On this point, however, we have at least the force of authority against the general and most natural opinion. Mr. Kemble undoubtedly thinks with *Le Kain*. In another part of this work, we have a remarkably ingenious paper of Diderot's, expressly to prove, not, as might erroneously be inferred from it, that original taste and feeling are unnecessary to an actor, but that minute study and repeated practice, which must gradually wear out the original feeling of the part which is performed, tend in the same degree and proportion to refine and improve the performance; in other words, that a great actor seldom attains, in the representation of any part, that degree of perfection which most engages the sympathies and awakens the passions of the spectators, until continual practice has blunted his own feelings and rendered him really insensible in his own person to the

the passions which he excites in others. This metaphysical assertion is supported by many curious anecdotes, which apparently tend to confirm it.

At the first representation of the play of 'Inez de Castro,' some absurdity in the performance set the pit in a roar of laughter in the most pathetic part. Mademoiselle Duclos, who acted Inez, exclaimed in a transport of indignation, *Ris donc, sot parterre, au plus bel endroit de la pièce!* The pit was immediately silent; the actress as immediately returned from her real indignation to her fictitious grief, and the tears of the spectators began to flow in good earnest. Du Fresne was playing the part of Sévère in Polyeucte, where he confides to a friend his secret opinions respecting the oppressed party of the Christians; and, as is obviously right, he communicated this confidence in an under-tone of voice: the pit called out 'Plus haut!' the actor instantly answered, *Et vous, messieurs, plus bas!* If he had been really Sévère, (asks M. Diderot,) could he so immediately have fallen back into Du Fresne?

'Quant au philosophe, (this is a note of the Editor's on the little Essay above mentioned,) 'il n'aurait pas encore fini, s'il avait su le fait que je vais rapporter ici. C'est que Mademoiselle Arnoud, cette Sophie si touchante au théâtre, si folle à souper, si redoutable dans la coulisse par ses épigrammes, emploie ordinairement les momens les plus pathétiques, les momens où elle fait pleurer ou frémir toute la salle, à dire tout bas des folies aux acteurs qui se trouvent avec elle en scène; et lorsqu'il lui arrive de tomber gémissante, évanouie, entre les bras d'un amant au désespoir, et tandis que le parterre crie et s'extasie, elle ne manque guère de dire au héros éperdu qui la tient: *Ah mon cher Pilote, que tu es laid!* Quel parti notre philosophe aurait tiré de cette anecdote?'

Sophie Arnoud was a celebrated performer at the Opera, but still more celebrated for her native wit than her talents for the stage. Mademoiselle Clairon, for some offence on the stage, was once committed to Fort l'Evêque, and exclaimed in a tragedy strain, that the king was master of her life and fortune, but not of her honour. Sophie replied in a soothing accent, *Vous avez raison, mademoiselle; où il n'y a rien, le roi perd ses droits.* She once complained that her chimney smoked; and M. Thomas undertook to apply on her behalf to the minister to have some nuisance removed which caused the obstruction. When he came to inform her of the execution of his commission, he began in a formal manner, 'Mademoiselle, I have seen the Duc de la Vrillière, and took an opportunity of speaking to him about your chimney. I talked to him first, as a citizen, then, as a philosopher'—*Eh! monsieur*, interrupted the lady, *ce n'était ni en citoyen ni en philosophe, mais en ramoneur, qu'il fallait parler.*

Whether it was the cause or the consequence of the decline of  
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French tragedy, already noticed, the Opera, and most especially the corps de ballet, engaged much more of the attention of the good citizens of Paris during all this period, than the drama. The National Assembly might have taken the hint of many of their proceedings from those of the grand Congress (the denomination they themselves affixed to their meeting) of the *Vertus d'Opera*, who drew up manifestos and framed memorials to be presented to the manager, complaining of his encroachments on their rights, representing *qu'elles dansèrent beaucoup plus sous son règne que sous celui de ses prédécesseurs, et qu'il serait juste d'augmenter en conséquence leurs honoraires*. Mademoiselle Guimard sent to demand a new dress *pour danser les plaisirs célestes de Castor*; and the economical manager having hazarded a refusal, she, with a spirit of exalted patriotism, immediately tore her old dress into a thousand pieces and sent him the tatters. 'Scenes of this kind,' observes the Baron, 'renewed daily, might compromise a little the dignity of government; but could they have excited a general revolt, but for the spirit of independence with which this unhappy philosophy has infected all orders of the state—what do I say?—all kingdoms and nations of the earth?' This communication bears date, March, 1779.

The Congress of the rebel dancers was held in the dressing room of Mademoiselle Guimard, and Vestris, *le Dieu de la danse*, (as he stiled himself in his Provençal accent,) set up for the Washington. *Le ministre veut que je danse*, said Mademoiselle la Presidente, 'eh bien, qu'il y prenne garde, moi je pourrais bien le faire sauter.' At last government interfered. Among others the son of Vestris was condemned to fort l'Evêque. 'Nothing so pathetic was ever witnessed as the parting of father and son—*Allez*, said the *Dieu de la danse*, *Allez, mon fils; voilà le plus beau jour de votre vie. Prenez mon carrosse, et demandez l'appartement de mon ami le roi de Pologne; je paierai tout*.' How wise was the moderation, and how just the reproof, of poor Louis Seize when his ministers detailed to him the history of these theatrical commotions! 'It is your own fault, gentlemen—these opera girls would not be so insolent but for your encouragement. *Si vous les aimez moins, elles ne seraient pas si insolentes*.'

There are other anecdotes of extraordinary conceit and self-sufficiency of the *Dieu de la danse*, not a little amusing.

'Lorsque le jeune Vestris débuta, son père, le *Dieu de la danse*, vêtu du plus riche et du plus sévère costume de cour, l'épée au côté, le chapeau sous le bras, se présenta avec son fils sur le bord de la scène; et après avoir adressé au parterre des paroles pleines de dignité sur la sublimité de son art et les nobles espérances que donnait l'auguste héritier de son nom, il se tourna d'un air imposant vers le jeune candidat,

et

et lui dit: *Allons, mon fils, montrez votre talent au public: Votre père vous regarde!*

Young Vestris was reputed to be the fruit of the tender, but unsanctioned, loves of the *Diou de la danse*, and Mademoiselle Allard, also a dancer at the opera; and the public gave him the happily combined appellation of Vestrallard. He performed wonders one day at the ballet, while his father was looking on, who exclaimed in rapture, 'If he goes on thus, I have a great gift in store for him; I will allow him to bear my name!' Dauberval, another member of the corps de ballet, who divided with Vestris the favours of Mademoiselle Allard, was observed also eying the young prodigy with vast earnestness, and was heard to say, with a mixture of vexation and admiration, '*Quel talent! C'est le fils de Vestris, et ce n'est pas le mien! Hélas! je ne l'ai manqué que d'un quart d'heure.*'

A very few morsels of criticism are all that we shall permit ourselves farther to extract from this amusing publication.

Of Dorat, whose name is generally understood to stand high among the modern amatory poets of France, after saying that his 'Kisses' are a free imitation of those of Secundus, 'poète Latin du 16ème siècle, plein de graces et de volupté,' our Baron adds, 'il n'y a pas l'ombre de volupté dans les baisers de M. Dorat: cela est d'un froid, d'un vide, d'un aride, à dessécher le tempérament le moins inclin à la consommation.'—'Il n'a pu cacher sa surprise de la réputation que la Fare et Chaulieu ont conservée. C'est que, remplies de négligences, leurs poésies respirent la volupté; c'est qu'on y remarque cette douce flexibilité, cette tendre mélancolie, d'une âme passionnée et philosophique, dont on ne trouve aucun vestige dans les poésies de M. Dorat.'

'En revanche, je ne ferai pas relire, avec les insipidités de Messrs. Dorat et Desfontaines, la *Première Nuit d'Young*, traduite en vers française par M. Colardeau. Dans toute notre jeunesse poétique, il n'y a que M. de la Harpe et M. Colardeau qui aient quelque idée de l'harmonie, de cette douceur de versification qui dispose insensiblement l'âme à une douce et tendre mélancolie, de cette poésie imitative qui, par je ne sais quel prestige secret, établit une liaison entre telle sensation de l'âme, et tel choix de mots ou telle suite de sons.'

Of the original poem which M. Colardeau undertook to translate, he expresses himself in the following terms; and however we may despise the censures of critics so prejudiced as Voltaire, the judgments of a candid and judicious foreigner, like M. Grimm, are always worth attending to.

'Ce genre ne peut réussir en France; nous ne sommes pas assez recueillis, assez solitaires; nous ne pouvons lui accorder le temps dont il a besoin pour affecter. Un reproche plus réel que je fais à cette



espèce de poésie, c'est le vague dans lequel elle fait nager son lecteur. On remarque dans Young et ses pareils plutôt une tête échauffée, une imagination exaltée, effarouchée, qu'un cœur profondément affecté; on ne sait proprement de quoi il se plaint, quels sont ses malheurs; on ne connaît pas les objets de sa douleur, quoiqu'il vous y ramène sans cesse. Il y a dans tout cela trop de cloches, trop de tombeaux, trop de chants et de cris funébres, trop de fantômes; l'expression simple et naïve de la vraie douleur ferait cent fois plus d'effet que toutes ces images; il s'agit de faire couler mes larmes, et non de m'effrayer comme un enfant par des images imposantes et terribles en apparence, mais qui n'offeu-  
rent pas mon âme, et n'y laissent aucune trace, aucun sentiment durable.'

Besides Colardeau, however, one M. de Tourneur also conceived and actually executed the project of translating Young's Night Thoughts into French verse. The last named author was likewise known by a translation of Johnson's Life of Savage, to which were added memoirs of Thomson, the author of the Seasons. Grimm's remarks on this publication, are, at least, lively and curious.

'Rien à dire de celui-ci, (the life of Thomson,) sinon que c'était le revers de l'autre; aussi son histoire est-elle très-fastidieuse à lire. Il faut, pour le bonheur de ceux qui ont à traiter avec un homme, qu'il ressemble à Thomson; par l'intérêt et l'amusement du lecteur, qu'il ressemble à Savage. Je ne dirai qu'un mot des Saisons de Thomson, comparées aux Géorgiques de Virgile; c'est que la muse de Thomson ressemble à Notre-Dame de Lorette, et la muse de Virgile à Vénus: l'une est riche et couverte de diamans, l'autre est belle, nue, et n'a qu'un simple bracelet. Virgile est un modèle de bon goût; Thomson serait tout propre à corrompre celui d'un jeune homme.'

Those who incline to consider man as a mere machine, says our critic, will find themselves singularly confirmed in that opinion by observing Piron.

'C'était une machine à saillies, à épigrammes, à traits. En l'examinant de près, l'on voyait que ses traits s'entrechoquaient dans sa tête, partaient involontairement, se poussaient pêle-mêle sur ses lèvres, et qu'il ne lui était pas plus possible de ne pas dire de bons mots, de ne pas faire des épigrammes par douzaine, que de ne pas respirer.—Voilà pourquoi M. de Voltaire craignait toujours la rencontre de Piron, parceque tout son brillant n'était pas à l'épreuve des traits de ce combattant redoutable qui les faisait tomber sur ses ennemis comme une grêle.'

Very early in life, he narrowly escaped being massacred in his native village for a bon mot, accompanied, it is true, by a somewhat scurvly practical joke.

'Il s'était associé à une compagnie d'arquebusiers à Beaune. Messieurs de Beaune ne sont pas fameux par leur esprit, et ils ont le faible de ne pouvoir entendre parler d'ânes. Piron fit habiller un âne en arquebusier,

busier, et le conduit à sa suite dans le lieu de l'exercice. Heureusement on ne le soupçonne pas de cette mauvaise plaisanterie. Le soir, il va à la comédie avec son honorable corps. On lève la toile. Les acteurs parlent un peu bas. Les spectateurs se mettent à crier, *Plus haut! on n'entend pas.* "*Ce n'est pourtant pas faute d'oreilles,*" s'écrie Piron; et voilà tout l'auditoire qui lui tombe sur le corps, et il a toute la peine du monde à se sauver.

Materials for a most amusing biographical dictionary of all the men of letters and beaux esprits of Paris might easily be collected from this correspondence; and Piron, Dorat, le Gentil Bernard, La Harpe, Marmontel, Arnaud, Thomas, Linguet, Condorcet, would form prominent articles in the miscellaneous compilation.—But time presses, and we must part abruptly. Should we once venture to look back, we shall find so many objects still left unnoticed; and reproaching us with neglect, that our only safety seems to consist in immediate flight.

ART. VII. *An Introduction to Medical Literature; including a System of Practical Nosology: intended as a Guide to Students, and an Assistant to Practitioners.* By Thomas Young, M. D. F. R. and L. S. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and Physician to St. George's Hospital. 8vo. pp. 602. London. 1813.

**A**T a time when so much discussion has been provoked, and such activity displayed in pursuit of the best method of instilling the rudiments of grammar and arithmetic, we cannot but persuade ourselves that a proportionate ardor will be excited by every endeavour to improve the higher branches of knowledge, and to diffuse the elements of more exalted science. In this latter class medicine holds a distinguished rank—whether we consider the enlarged field of information on which it is raised, the numerous subjects for reflection which it comprehends, or the beneficial application of its powers to the comfort and continuance of life. Under these impressions, we are confident that we are performing an acceptable service in accommodating ourselves to the prevailing taste, and in calling the notice of our readers to Dr. Young's recent work on the literature and study of medicine. A brief description of the object and execution of this publication will be no less interesting than useful, and we shall exhibit the author's views and intentions in his own words.

“In a science so complicated and obscure as that of physic, the want of some direction for the assistance of a student has been the more felt, as the difficulty of the execution of such a work has been greater.”—“In no department of human knowledge is the work of literary discrimination more necessary than in physic; in none is it more difficult, and in

none has it been more neglected, at least in this country.—The non-existence of any work in the English language, resembling that which is now offered to the public, while the subject is of the most undeniable importance, must be admitted as an apology for its appearing with many imperfections in some degree inseparable from the nature of the undertaking.—‘The collection of literary information, and of references to various authors, is a step which ought always to be preliminary to the execution of a detailed treatise on any department of science. Having completed this collection, I have been principally induced to lay it separately before the public by the approbation which has been bestowed on the second volume of my lectures on Natural Philosophy, consisting principally of a similar methodical catalogue of the literature of all the subjects which had been explained in an elementary manner in the first volume.’—‘To assist in furnishing the student with a sufficient direction for cultivating any particular department of his profession, in the most advantageous manner, is the principal object of this work.’ Pref. pp. 3—8.

Medical education amongst us is carried to the highest perfection, as far as regards the assistance to be derived from lectures and hospitals; but there has always been wanting a guide in the closet, a director in literary research. It is no less true than strange, that no attempt to supply this deficiency should have been made before; and that while the acquirement of the other learned faculties, as well as of moral and political, metaphysical and natural philosophy, has been facilitated by the aid of the most distinguished ornaments of those professions and sciences, physic alone should have been suffered to remain unassisted, in this respect, by any of its professors, in a country so justly celebrated for its medical attainments.. The work before us will remove the stigma, and complete our system. It is not, however, to the student alone, that this introduction will be found of use, it will prove equally serviceable to those far advanced in knowledge. The mere perusal, indeed, of the catalogue of references will often be alone sufficient to awaken recollection by reviving the trains of interrupted impressions, through the association of system, or the influence of names; and of such an auxiliary, practitioners, from the nature of the science, are continually in need.

Preparatory to directing the student in his medical studies, Dr. Young has with great propriety called his attention, in a preliminary essay, to the general education upon which those studies must be engrafted; to the professional expectations which may reasonably encourage his pursuits, and to the moral and intellectual qualifications required to attain the objects of his ambition. The principal part of this essay consists of an elegant translation of a work by Professor Vogel, enlarged and illustrated by the reflections of the author. This dissertation abounds with useful instruction and strong sense. The character of the science and profession

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of physic here delineated inspires us with exalted notions of their excellence, when carried to the perfection thus prescribed.

‘Medicine not only comprehends so very extensive a range of knowledge, but its truths are often so profound, and so much concealed from a cursory inspection, so intricate, so much disguised, distorted and obscured by a multitude of delicate and invisible causes, that nothing less than the all-commanding eye of the most enlightened understanding, than the all-penetrating and all-searching power of genius, can possibly recognise that which is hidden in darkness, can follow that which is remote into the last traces that it imprints, can distinguish certainty from opinion and probability, can separate the essential from the accidental, and finally, can analyse and develope any subject of investigation so completely as to leave no further doubt respecting any of its properties which are cognisable by human means.’—Prelim. Essay, p. 7.

‘Perhaps there is no science which requires so penetrating an intellect, so much talent and genius, so much force of mind, so much acuteness and memory, as the science of medicine. For the full attainment of its proper and ultimate object, it requires also indispensably the possession of stability of judgment, rapidity of decision, and immovable firmness and presence of mind, readiness of recollection, coolness, flexibility of temper, elegance and obsequiousness of manners, and a profound knowledge of mankind, and of the secret recesses of the human heart.’ p. 9.—‘These qualifications can only be obtained by means of a good education, united with opportunities of becoming acquainted with the world, and habits of intercourse with society.’

The course of general and of medical education here laid down, as necessary to be pursued, coincides so nearly with the present general practice that it will be readily admitted to be right. In conclusion we are furnished with a demonstrative refutation of some opinions published by Dr. Brown, in discouragement of our reliance upon the efficacy of medical practice.

‘This discussion appeared essential, since if it were true that the medical science of the most celebrated professors could effect so little, under circumstances so favourable as he has supposed, the public would have scarcely any motive left for encouraging a pursuit so fruitless, nor an individual for devoting himself with zeal and enthusiasm to the attainment of knowledge, where nothing further than doubt and difficulty could reasonably be anticipated.’ p. 25.

We come now to the body of the work. Medical literature is very extensive; and to render so large a collection manageable by a student, it requires to be reduced and distributed into systematic order. Here peculiar difficulties occurred, ‘since there is no science in which selection is so important and so difficult.’ p. 43. One cause of this difficulty is the state of medical literature, which for the most part is either desultory and detached, or involved in artificial and erroneous combinations. To com-

bine the one and disunite the other requires infinite labour and research. The author appears to have been very attentive to the difficult task of selection, 'having inserted no books but such as he conceives to be necessary to a complete medical library.' Pr. p. 11. These have been chosen for their reputation, authority and usefulness. To the titles of the most important is often adjoined a concise critique upon the merits of the work, a short account of its contents, and a distinguishing mark expressive of its relative value in a course of study. Having finished the selection, the next proceeding to fit it to use was the arrangement of the subjects into their respective parts. Without the employment of a philosophical method, the collection, however ably selected, would have continued inaccessible to a student, and the catalogue have conveyed no further information than those of the same kind which have been published on the continent. The greater part of these, which profess to be guides to medical literature, scarcely answer this purpose better than the digested catalogue of a medical library as disposed for sale. What was required was a dictionnaire raisonné; and this the author has furnished. We find his ingenuity here applying a precision almost mathematical to an extensive yet minute classification; so that the inquirer is enabled, by the natural dependence of the distribution, to obtain information upon any single point of medical science. The force of this arrangement may be regarded in the same light as the geometrical aids employed in geography, which empower us to lay our finger upon the most insignificant spot upon the surface of the globe; and thus facilitate our investigations into its history and nature, its relations and its use.

The first department of this distribution is allotted to works on medical literature in general, and is divided into eleven sections. The plan then breaks into certain general classes disposed according to their natural sequence. 1st. Those works which treat on the properties of matter in general, or on chemistry. 2d. On the arrangement of matter in the structure of the body, or on anatomy. 3d. On the functions or intentions of that structure, or on physiology. 4th. On the disorders of that structure, and of those functions, or on pathology. 5th. On the removal of those disorders, or on therapeutics.

In the system, or rather systematic nomenclature, of chemistry, the author has availed himself of all the new lights which have been thrown upon this branch of philosophy by the discoveries and arrangement of Sir H. Davy, in his late illustrations of electrochemical science. This compendium contains a brief abstract of the objects, laws and combinations of chemistry in its most improved state.

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The divisions of anatomy have been always fixed and certain, being determined by the different component parts of the body, and are distinguished here by the usual titles of osteology, myology, splanchnology, dermatology, angiology, and neurology. To assist the memory upon these points, tables of their respective subjects are introduced.

Physiology, having for its object the explanation of the functions of the parts enumerated in anatomy, divides itself, of course, into similar heads, and is distributed into classes relating to the office of the nerves, bones, muscles, vessels, and viscera.

The division which succeeds, as it is the largest of the whole, and most applicable to medical instruction, seems also to have most engaged the author's attention; and to bear, in consequence, the strongest marks of the exertion of industry and genius. After a few sections upon points connected with general pathology, we are presented with a new system of nosology. For this innovation, satisfactory reasons are adduced in the Preface. The necessity of departing from the system of Dr. Cullen, which has been most generally received, is there made apparent; and the omission of every other which has since appeared is sufficiently justified. In the construction of a new system, the author has conformed himself 'to the strict rules of Linnæus, notwithstanding the irregularities which embarrass the classification of diseases.' Pref. p. v. To enable the reader to ascertain the preciseness of this accommodation, and at the same time to put him in possession of a treatise of much general application to philosophical arrangements, the author has furnished him with a translation of great part of the *Philosophia Botanica* of Linnæus. Notwithstanding the ability manifested in this part of the work, Dr. Young does not arrogate to it any undue importance. He seems sufficiently aware that systems of nosology are little better than technical aids. He will not dissent from our opinion, that they afford but little elucidation to pathology, and are most serviceable in assisting the memory and facilitating research. How little applicable the distinctions of systematic arrangement are to the varieties of disease, in comparison with other objects of science to which they have been attached, is evident from the following declaration:

'It is true, that we must not expect the same rigid accuracy in medicine, that may be obtained in some of the departments of natural history, since, in fact, many of the distinctions which are required in a nosological system, are rather established for the sake of practical convenience, than strongly and immutably characterized by nature.'—Pref. p. iv.

The body is not composed, like the objects of chemistry, natural history, or abstract science, of independent forms and members—  
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it is one whole; it lives and suffers as a whole, and cannot be separately and unconsciously injured in any part. It is impossible therefore, strictly speaking, for any part to sustain an individual disease. If one member be disordered, the rest will be reciprocally affected. A sympathetic connection unites all divisions and systems of the human frame. Like joint-tenants, all the component members hold a communion of interest, and affection and power, not separately and individually, but 'per my, et per tout.'\*

For the particulars of this reformed system of nosology, we must refer our readers to the work, as it is too extensive for recital, and yet too concise for abridgment. We shall content ourselves with enumerating the titles of the classes and orders.

Class I. Paraneurismi. Nervous diseases. (Consisting chiefly of the Neuroses of Cullen.)

Class II. Parhæmasiæ. Sanguine diseases.

Order 1. Phlogismi. Flushes. (Chiefly simple inflammations.)

Order 2. Pyrexia. Fevers.

Class III. Pareccrises. Secretory diseases.

Order 1. Epischeses. Retentions of various kinds.

Order 2. Apocenosos. Effusions of secreted fluids.

Order 3. Cacochymia. Cachexies, or vitiated secretions, (as dyspepsia, podagra, diabetes.)

Class IV. Paramorphiæ. Structural diseases.

Order 1. Paraphymata. Local changes, (for instance, tumours.)

Order 2. Epiphymata. Eruptions, (chiefly cutaneous.)

Class V. Ectopiæ. Displacements, (including surgical and obstetrical cases.)

The genera, species, and varieties, are equally extensive and defined. From a due examination, it will appear that this is the most exact and practical nosology which has hitherto been submitted to public attention. The merit of this system consists not merely in the absence of the objectionable parts of that of Dr. Cullen, but in the incorporation of Dr. Willan's valuable nosology of the skin, and in the addition of a great variety of diseases hitherto confined to surgical collections. That imperfections should still remain amidst so much improvement, is not altogether chargeable to the author. 'Many are inseparable from the nature of the undertaking,' others depend upon the progressive and defective state of the science, and some will give way under more favourable circumstances than a first essay, to future correction. We have an earnest of this last expectation in the numerous amendments introduced by the author into his present system, since it was first published in his syllabus of a course of lectures, for which it was prepared: and we will even venture to

\* Blackstone, Vol. II. p. 182.

suggest to him, that a little more equality in the allotment of his references would be a material improvement in a future edition; several diseases of considerable importance being dismissed with very slight notice, while others, comparatively insignificant, are almost overwhelmed with a profusion of authorities. The author has arranged the different accounts which have been given of the yellow fever, under three different genera, cauma, synochus, and anetus; we are rather disposed to believe that the disease is always essentially the same, and dependent on paludal effluvia. He has followed Dr. Crichton in suppressing the order of the exanthemata; an innovation, which has produced some difficulty in the arrangement of scarlatina, measles, and small-pox; diseases which certainly do vary in the type of the fever attending them, in such a manner as to require some other generic character, than can be derived from the nature of that fever alone: we do not deny that some of these difficulties are almost unavoidable; but we trust that something more may hereafter be done for overcoming or diminishing them, than our author has hitherto effected.

The remaining division of the work, referring to the means to be used for the removal of disorders, differs but little in its arrangement from that which is usually admitted into all later systems of therapeutics. The sub-divisions are established upon the acknowledged agency of pharmaceutical means. Posology has been usefully annexed to this part of the subject; and there are added, as intimately connected with pharmacy, the very ingenious tables of chemical affinities, constructed by Dr. Young, and already published in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

The extensive range of the author's literary attainments has enabled him to give us a translation of some of the Swedish works of Professor Berzelius, upon animal chemistry, and the laws of chemical combinations. This compendium contains the chief of what has been discovered upon the subject so interesting and important to a medical philosopher. The authorities upon which the facts and opinions rest are historically detailed, together with the corrections afforded by the arguments and experiments of the professor, and the discoveries which he has made in this department of chemistry. The name of Berzelius is a sufficient surety of the value of this treatise.

Two essays, by the author, close the volume, the first containing remarks on the measurement of minute particles, especially those of blood and pus, and the last on the medical effects of climates.

The observations and discoveries in the former are not only relevant and subservient to physiology, but, in a more especial manner, to pathology, by the suggestion of an easy mode of distinguish-  
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ing morbid from natural secretions. It has always been a desideratum with medical practitioners to obtain some test of the difference between pus and mucus; as being the products of different states of the discerning vessels. Most of the chemical methods, which have been pointed out, have been found in practice insufficient or inconvenient. Dr. Young, however, has invented an optical test of a decisive power, and of easy application. The optical discoveries which led to this invention, and to the present observations, were read before the Royal Society in July, 1802, from a paper by the author, entitled, 'An account of some Cases of the production of Colours, not hitherto discovered.' Having given a test, 'applicable to all cases of minute particles held in suspension in transparent fluids,' he proceeds to observe, that

'Where the greater number of the particles are nearly equal in dimensions, a luminous object, viewed through them, is surrounded by rings of colours, somewhat resembling those of the rainbow, but differently arranged, and often beautifully brilliant. The blood, a little diluted, always exhibits them in great perfection, and they afford a very accurate criterion for the distinction between pus and mucus. Mucus, containing no globules, affords no colours, while those which are exhibited by pus exactly resemble the appearance produced by the blood, the rings being usually of the same dimensions.' 'A minute quantity of the fluid, to be examined in this manner, may be put between two small pieces of plate-glass, and if we hold the glass close to the eye, and look through it at a distant candle, with a dark object behind it, the appearance, if the globules are present, will be so conspicuous, as to leave no doubt respecting their existence.'—P. 547.

This discovery he has further improved, by rendering it applicable to the measurement of the fibres of wool, hair, and other substances employed in manufactures; the construction of an instrument for this purpose is next described, and its uses explained. These principles and optical observations are employed also for the solution of some microscopical, optical, and meteorological phenomena.

The essay on the medical effects of climates will be read with equal eagerness and advantage by medical practitioners, and by those whose health requires them to consult the means of obviating the effects arising from the variableness of the weather. It contains all that can be said for their information in a medical point of view, and is replete with judicious remarks. These are grounded on philosophical observations, and are urged with much force.

The style throughout is clear and polished; refined without affectation, and easy without the sacrifice of dignity and correctness. It may be regarded both as an example and incitement to the introduction of a more finished mode of writing in medical compositions. We are not pronouncing too favourably of this work,  
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when we express our confidence that, stored with such valuable learning and information, and enriched with such advantages of method and composition, it will not only be resorted to as a direction to students, but will find its way, as a book of reference, into the hand of the enlightened physician. It is no less a guide to youth, than a staff to age; and both descriptions of practitioners are under great obligations to the author for this productive effort of talent, labour, and erudition.

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ART. VIII. *The 'New Art of Memory,' founded upon the Principles taught by M. Gregor Von Feinaigle, illustrated by Engravings.* 8vo. London, Sherwood. 1812.

Dr. R. Grey's *'Memoria Technica,' or Method of artificial Memory. To which is subjoined 'Lowe's' Mnemonics,* 9th Edit. 8vo. London. 1812.

TWO years have elapsed since we first heard of Mr. Feinaigle's lectures upon 'Mnemonics and Methodics' in this country; but the treatise which professes to explain the principles of his art, has but just appeared. There is a general disposition in the public to suspect some latent quackery even in the best parts of such systems; and it would be difficult to avert the scepticism of those, who are impatient of means, as well as of effect. It has been frequently remarked that the characteristics of memory, are, susceptibility, readiness, and retention. The palpable inequality with which these properties are meted out to different individuals, would encourage the hope that the deficient qualities may be materially supplied by the intervention of mechanical aid, founded upon philosophical principles. Those who have susceptible and ready memories, but whose minds are indisposed to habits of method and classification (so favourable to the retention of acquired knowledge) should impose upon themselves the adoption of philosophical arrangement. Those, on the other hand, whose minds are only inclined towards abstraction and arrangement, should not hesitate to supply the want of a susceptible and ready memory, by those helps which ingenious men have invented for the purpose. No method of assisting the memory can be popular, unless its object be to direct and apply those faculties, whose exercise appears to be involved in every effort of memory; nor should we doubt that as the body may be trained to extraordinary feats of strength and agility by the pursuance of a system adapted to give free scope to the powers of muscular action, so the judicious direction of those mental faculties, by whose agency the mind is competent

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to perform certain offices, cannot fail to give superior efficiency to its powers. The most approved philosophy asserts the dependence of memory upon two leading principles, attention, and the association of ideas; it follows, therefore, that whatever tends to concentrate attention, and to command and direct associations, may very essentially contribute to its improvement.

Objects perceived by the eye are remembered more easily than by any other of our senses, in proportion as the impressions of sight are more rapid and numerous. We comprehend the infinite variety of a prospect in a momentary glance, and the imagination can revive the picture; but a verbal description of it would be tedious, and the impression faint: on this principle geography is taught by maps, geometry by diagrams, and architecture by drawings. The most casual observation was sufficient to prove the constant association of ideas with sensible objects, and the effect of these objects in recalling to the mind former ideas. This naturally suggested the hint of a topical memory, which should encourage an association of ideas with visible objects, arranged in order; and as these objects were at will summoned before the imagination, they would naturally bring with them the ideas with which they had been previously associated, and without confusion, as we shall presently demonstrate. We find in Quintilian the following minute account of the topical memory\* in use among the ancients:

‘ They (the students of topical memory) become intimately acquainted with the arrangement of particular situations of considerable extent, for instance, of a spacious mansion divided into many apartments; every marked object contained in this building is attentively impressed upon their mind, that the memory may recur to the individual parts of it, without the smallest delay or hesitation.

‘ In the next place, whatever they have written, or reflected on, they connect with a *casual* association, by which they may be reminded of it. This association may either relate to universals, as for example, to navigation or war, or to particular words; for if they lose the train of their ideas, they are enabled to recover them, by the prompted suggestion of one individual word, whether this be the type of navigation, as an anchor, or of war, as a particular weapon; they therefore arrange these objects of association in order, and assign the first place, or the first idea, which they wish to remember, to the portico, the second to the hall; then they go round the inner courts: nor do they only commit these associations progressively to the bed-rooms and anti-rooms, but even to their furniture. When they have performed the

\* Many interesting remarks on this subject occur in Cicero, who describes the application and advantages of this artificial mode of assisting the memory, with great neatness and perspicuity.—*Rhetor.* lib. iii. 16.

circuit, and are anxious to recollect the associations, they recur mentally to those places in order from the beginning, they regain every sensible type which they had entrusted to each particular spot, and this type at once suggests the idea connected with it.'

In considering this scheme of topical memory, we must advert to an extraordinary property of the mind, viz. that without a certain degree of volition, these associations will not operate. If we were unconsciously to revisit a scene, which had once been familiar to us, but of which we only retained a general impression, we should probably pass by a number of objects, to which our attention might be partially or even earnestly directed, without experiencing the revival of any ideas; but if at last we discovered where we had been, and retraced our steps with anxious curiosity, those objects which in the first instance had not awakened any ideas, would inevitably arouse our dormant associations, when the mind was exerting a particular act of volition. We were induced to remark this property, with the view of anticipating an objection, that the association of an infinite variety of trains of thought with the same series of objects, would be liable to generate confusion; whereas the volition of the mind to pursue a particular train of thought, of itself awakens the ideas belonging to that train, and this without confusion or mistake. It is from this principle in the constitution of our minds, that we are enabled to recollect an infinite number of lines in poetry, of the same measure and subject, or to remember distinctly a variety of tunes, which are in the same time and key, and which correspond in general effect of harmony. If an orator had associated a series of arguments upon a particular question of law, with a series of apartments, and at the same time had also associated a series of arguments upon a political question, there would be no danger of confusion. The volition which the mind would exert in the first instance would suggest the first train of associations, distinct and separate, and equally so in the second case; in fact, if the two arrangements were both upon legal points not essentially different, the train would not even then be confused.

We have long been disposed to think that it would be impossible to convey in writing an adequate and practical explanation of the system of mnemonics arranged by Feinaigle.\* The present publication, which is illustrated by plates and diagrams, and is not deficient in merit, tends to confirm our opinion. If we attempted to define this system, we should call it, a method of re-

\* We could not say 'invented,' for a reference to a work published in 1617, entitled, '*Ravellini Ars Memoriae*,' will convince the reader that he has few claims to invention.

calling to the mind certain past trains of ideas, by varied associations of sight succeeding each other in preconceived order, and of employing consonants as the type of numerals. The first method is to divide an apartment into fifty ideal squares: any four sided room is fitted for the purpose, and the more applicable as it approaches to the form of a square. In arranging these squares, it will be necessary to place yourself in one uniform position; for instance, with your back towards the window: you then conceive the floor to be divided into nine squares. No. 1, being the square on the floor in the left hand corner opposite to you, No. 10 is placed upon the ceiling above the wall on your left hand, and No. 11, 12, 13, up to 19, are placed in threes upon the left or first wall, in the same manner as the numbers from 1 to 9 were arranged upon the floor. No. 20, or the twentieth square, is placed *above* the second wall, or the wall immediately before you, and from 21 to 29 on that wall. The same process is pursued on the two remaining walls, viz. the third wall on your right, and the fourth wall behind you. No. 50 is placed in the centre of the ceiling. When the precise positions of these ideal squares are imprinted on the mind, which will not require many minutes, it will be easy to ascertain the facility of associating the ideas of objects with given proportions of space, of which the order and position are intimately familiar to the mind; and here the imagination is called into action, and whatever object you wish to associate with each of the squares in succession, you have only to create a picture in your mind of that object in the particular square to which your attention is directed.

We shall now endeavour to explain the nature and application of certain hieroglyphics, a part of this system the most analogous in principle to the topical memory of the ancients. It is this part which appears most ridiculous to those who are ignorant of the method, and which is in fact the most ingenious portion of it, the most susceptible of extended application, and the basis of all the details connected with it. Two rooms are divided each into fifty compartments, in the manner which we have detailed. The first room contains hieroglyphics from one to fifty, the second from fifty to one hundred. These hieroglyphics, which might be more correctly called pictures of numbers, consist of the representation of certain animate or inanimate objects, the outlines of which are intended to bear a resemblance to the number of the square in which they are placed. The principle of this resemblance arises from the facility given to recollection, by the number exciting the idea of the picture, and the picture that of the number. Nothing can appear more absurd than one of these prints of hieroglyphics  
engraved

engraved in the order in which they are to be associated on the walls. They may, however, in a very short time be committed to memory, and the mind turns as it were to the scite of each, with intuitive readiness. There is no necessity that a person should be in the room where these hieroglyphics are supposed to be arranged, or indeed, after some time, that he should mentally recur to any particular room, as the absolute order, number and subject of them would be spontaneously suggested to him. We shall now give some idea of their application.

If a person succeeded in repeating one hundred unconnected words in regular succession, upon their being once read to him, it would be considered as an extraordinary effort of memory; and if indeed it was an effort of natural memory, deservedly. Any person however who was conversant with the hieroglyphics, would be able to repeat them with very little effort of memory, and with almost a moral certainty of success; nay, more, after having repeated them; if he was asked which was the eighty-fifth word that had been given him, he would immediately repeat it, or any of the other numbers, in the most complicated order. From the description given of the hieroglyphics, it will appear evident that every person acquainted with them will have one hundred places, or 'Τοποι,' in recognised and familiar order: supposing the two first words of the series to be chair, and imagination, he would at once associate the word 'chair' with the tower of Babel, which picture belongs to No. 1, from the supposed resemblance of a lofty insulated building to the figure 1. He might make this association by imagining that he saw a chair upon it; or in any other manner, however incongruous; he would then discard from his mind that association, and proceed to No. 2, the hieroglyphic to which is a swan, from the resemblance of that bird to the figure 2; he would then associate the word 'imagination' with this picture, which might be done in various manners, by supposing that he saw a swan in imagination; or by associating some sensible object with the swan, which he might conventionally consider as the type of imagination: having finished that association, he would discard it from his mind, and proceed with the rest, till the hundred words were quartered in succession upon each hieroglyphic. Having concluded, his mind would not be the least on the stretch, there would be no necessity of keeping the links of the chain together, as in an effort of natural memory; he has the talisman for uniting them together at will. If required to repeat the words, he summons to his mind the first hieroglyphic, and the instant that it is presented to him the idea of a chair is suggested: he then recurs to No. 2, and the word imagination is also suggested to him. If called upon to mention the forty-second word, he recurs to the forty-

second hieroglyphic, which picture may be said immediately to prompt the word associated with it. The operation of these hieroglyphics upon the mind may be compared to that of a prompter, with this advantage, that the associations of sight are in general more vivid than those of sound.

Mr. Stewart, in his admirable work on the Philosophy of the Human Mind, has remarked of the topical memory of the ancients, that it might be applied to the prejudice of truth and justice. Certainly the absolute command of preconcerted arguments in prepared succession, in the flow of apparently extempore debate, might occasionally make the worse appear the better cause; but the abuse of an improvement can never be fairly urged against its utility, and granting the efficacy of the application, it may be made subservient to the best and holiest purposes.

The next part of Mr. Feinaigle's system is the substitution of letters for figures, which was practised both in the ancient and middle ages. He employs consonants *only*, as representatives of figures; his alphabet is as follows: and the facility with which it may be committed to memory by certain familiar associations, is no bad test of their utility.

t,	n,	m,	r,	l,	d,	c g k q,	b h v w,	p f,	s x z.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0

To fix this conventional alphabet in the memory, it might be said t is employed for the figure 1, because it has only one stroke; n, for 2, because it has two strokes; m, for 3, because it has three strokes; r, for four, from some supposed analogy in shape; or because r is the fourth letter of the word four, &c. &c. Associations like these might be readily multiplied, and however absurd they may appear, the point is, whether a person not disdaining to adopt them, would not be able to commit such an alphabet to memory in a shorter space of time, and with greater certainty of retention: in fact, as philosophical relations cannot exist between arbitrary signs, we have only to trust, in recollecting them, to fanciful associations, or to mere strength of memory. Perhaps the ingenious person who exclaimed, 'Well may this place be called Stoney Stratford, for I never was so bitten with fleas before,' had formed some arbitrary association in his mind abundantly competent to suggest the idea. It will be at once evident that the adoption of consonants for the expression of numbers, and the exclusion of vowels, gives a facility of employing any words, in any language, for the expression of a number, provided that the word contains exactly the consonants, which are the representatives of the figures to be denoted, unless the nature of the numbers to be expressed convinces us that they could not be extended beyond units of tens, as in the case of pence and shillings

in an item of English expenditure; when the first and last may be understood to designate the number, if the word contains more than two.

The application of this art to chronology is effected by quartering the kings of each dynasty, or historical epochs of events, upon the hieroglyphics, and afterwards connecting a short story with each, in which the most prominent words shall express the date. A great part of the ridicule attached to Mr. Feinaigle's system, arises not from his proceeding to explain the '*obscurum per obscurius*,' but from his constant practise of teaching the '*facilius per facile*.' He has arranged the dynasty of the kings of England from the Conquest to the present time: it is probable that the names in our royal list are not familiar to him, as a foreigner; he has therefore proceeded to pun upon them in succession. Thus, with the first hieroglyphic, he associates a 'willow tree,' which is to prompt the name of William the Conqueror; a 'dead' soldier is lying by the willow, who might have more naturally lain at the feet of the conqueror; the consonants of the word 'dead' translate into sixty-six, to which if we add one thousand, we have the date of the conquest. If we were desired to learn by heart the dynasty of the Otaheitean or Abyssinian monarchs, we might find it more convenient to associate some familiar words with each, correspondent in sound, than to trust to mere strength of memory. This alphabet may be evidently employed to facilitate the remembrance of dates, independent of all locations or associations with visible objects; for example, Louis the Fourteenth came to the throne at the sound of a '*drum*;' here we translate d-r-m=648=1648. Louis the Fifteenth came to the throne *quietly*: translate q-t-l=715=1715. There is no necessity for any real analogy in such associations.

It would be impossible to explain practically the ingenious application of this art to geography, without reference to diagrams; and even with their assistance, we doubt whether the account given in the volume before us, will appear intelligible. We shall only offer the most general outline of it. Two rooms are employed, one immediately over the other, the upper room is called the northern, the lower the southern hemisphere; the floor in the upper room, the equator; and the centre of the ceiling, the North Pole; the arrangement is reversed in the lower room, and the centre of the floor is called the South Pole. We must then conceive a map of the world on Mercator's projection, on the scale of ten degrees of both latitude and longitude, painted on the four walls of both rooms, the ceiling of the upper, and the floor of the lower. The hieroglyphics are associated in a *certain* order with each square of ten degrees; and by an ingenious arrangement, the



*number* of each hieroglyphic denotes the general latitude and longitude of that given portion of the world to which it is attached; and *vice versâ*, any longitude or latitude being given, we are enabled, by a short arithmetical process, to recur to the hieroglyphic belonging to those parallels, which will suggest the locality. This system, which vividly affects and excites the imagination, is calculated to impress very correct ideas of the relative situation of countries, though we think it rather too refined and complicated for general adoption. This mode of associating visible objects with certain degrees of space is adopted in the celestial globe, and may have suggested the hint to Mr. Feinaigle. We must again protest against the miserable horde of puns employed to fix the names of the most *familiar countries* and places in the memory, which are equally superfluous and disgusting. Mr. Feinaigle's principles of arithmetic are omitted in this treatise: there is a long unsatisfactory chapter upon the analogy of languages, as presenting an additional facility in acquiring them. The mode of committing systematic tables to memory is literally borrowed from Quintilian—it is to form a mental picture of some real or arbitrary type of the character or quality to be remembered, and to localize these pictures on the furniture of a room. We shall wave the mention of many minor details; it is the spirit of the system and not the discretionary variety of its application, which is really valuable.

Nothing can be more opposite in principle, than the 'mnemonics and methodics' of Feinaigle, which, for the most part, depend upon associations of sight, and the 'Memoria Technica' of Dr. Grey,\* which depends entirely upon associations of sound, and is utterly distinct from a topical or artificial memory. His system may be defined to be a method of translating things difficult to be remembered, into an abbreviated, and conventional language, (aided by the associations of metrical cadence,) which operates upon the mind as short-hand upon the eye; and, but for the abuse of Greek etymologies in the present day, might be termed 'mental stenography'. It is remarkable that this work should have gone through nine editions, without the least attempt at improvement. The present edition inherits all the failings of its predecessors; it is evidently edited by a person utterly ignorant of the spirit of the system, and even unacquainted with the rhythm of hexameter verse. Nothing can be more unconnected and unphilosophical than the form in which the greater part of these memorial lines are arranged: they were probably composed at successive periods, and with no view to publication; the key to their connection was in the

\* Dr. Richard Grey was born in the year 1693, he was a divine of the Church of England, a graduate of Lincoln College, Oxford, and the author of several able treatises on ecclesiastical law, divinity, and the Hebrew language.

doctor's head, he had abundantly fulfilled his task; but it was for the editors of subsequent editions to have modernized, improved, extended and arranged his system on principles of philosophical and casual association, which find no place in the method of Dr. Grey, who thus states the object of his invention. Introduction, p 2.

'The design is not to make the memory better, but things more easy to be remembered, so that by the help of it an ordinary or even a weak memory, shall be able to retain what the strongest, and most extraordinary memory could not retain without it; the whole art being in effect nothing more than this, to make such a change in the ending of a name, place, person, planet, coin, &c. without altering the beginning of it, as shall readily suggest the thing sought, at the same time the beginning of the word being preserved, shall be a leading, or prompting syllable to the end of it, so changed. Thus in history the deluge happened in the year B. C. 2348, this is expressed by the word *Del-etok*, *Del* standing for deluge, and *etok* for 2348.'

The following is the alphabet of letters to be substituted for figures.

<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>oi</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>ou</i>	<i>y</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>z</i>

Here *a* and *b* both signify the figure 1, *e* and *d* the figure 2, &c.

Dr. Grey appears to have appreciated the value of casual associations, in imprinting arbitrary relations upon the memory, by his directions for learning this alphabet, p. 2; but we would suggest what appears to us an easier method, viz. to select ten words, of which the initial letters should be the vowels and diphthongs representing the figures in the upper line; these ten words should have sufficient connection to carry on a degree of signification, no matter how incongruous; the same plan might be pursued with the consonants. When this alphabet is perfectly impressed on the memory, the next step will be the practice of forming figures into words, and of resolving words into figures. It is obvious that the same date, or number, may be expressed by different words, according as vowels or consonants are employed in the composition; thus the date of the deluge instead of being written *Del-etok*, might be written *Del-difk*, or *Del-difei*, or *Del-etfei* or *Del-diok*, all of which, by a reference to the key, will be found to signify the number 2348. In pronouncing any words that may be thus formed, it will be necessary to pronounce the letter *y* as a *w*, thus, James I. came to the throne in 1603, and the date might be written *Jam-syt*, (one thousand being understood,) which must be pronounced *Jam-swit* to distinguish it from *sit*, which would represent 633. Dr. Grey has omitted to observe that *a*=1 should be pronounced broad to distinguish it from *ei*=8, or perhaps the word *abei*=118 might be

mistaken for *eiba*=811; *z* signifying the cypher 0 should also be pronounced very broad whenever it is met with in a technical line, to distinguish it from *s*=6.

As a specimen, we subjoin the English dynasty from William the Conqueror to George III; the change of termination in the name of each sovereign denotes the year of his accession, but we have altered many chronological inaccuracies in it, which are less pardonable, as the figures expressing the date are correct, but the letters remain unaltered.

Wil-con-sax,	Ruf-koi,	Hen-pr-ag			
66	87	100			
Steph-bilet	Hen-sec-buf,	Ric-bein,	J-ann,	He-th-das et	Ed-doid
135	154	189	199	216	272
Ed-se-tyr,	Ed-ter-tep,	Ri-se-toip,	He-fo-toun,	He-fi-fat-que	
307	327	377	399	413	
Hen-si-fed,	Ed-quar-faub,	E-fi-R-okt,	Hen-sep-feil,	Hen-oc-lyn	
422	461	483	485	509	
Ed-sex-lop,	Mary-lut,	Els-luk,	Jam-syt,	Caro-prim-sel	
547	553	558	663	625	
Car-sec-son,	Jam-seil,	Wil-sein,	Anne-pyd,	Geo-bo-doi-pauz	
649	685	689	702	14 27 760	

It will be observed that as Edward V, and Richard III, ascended the throne in the same year, 1483, the technical word is *E-fi-R-okt*, and as the three Georges succeeded each other, their names are not repeated, but each syllable expresses the date; after 1700, it is not necessary to express the 7 by a letter.

We shall offer a few hints to those who are desirous of composing verses for themselves, and of becoming accurate chronologists by this system. Chronology has only a relative object: it has been named, and justly, one of the eyes of history; as a moral lesson, the observation of a few years presents all the intricate variety of human passions; as a political lesson, the whole chain of history is fraught with valuable instruction, but its value is in precise proportion to the degree of chronological accuracy with which the events are recorded. It is of the utmost moment to ascertain the precise time when the operation of certain causes conspired to produce certain effects; and it is the induction of these effects, which constitutes the essence of the philosophy of history. Hence that analogical prescience, which should be the first aim of the practical politician. A constant reference to chronological tables is frequently inconvenient, and sometimes impossible; it always consumes much time, and yet to omit it is to forego the principal advantage resulting from historical study. It is perfectly easy by the system above described, to commit to memory the regular gradation, and exact date, of all the principal events from the crea-  
tion

ation of the world to the present time, and if we are enabled to recollect the precise order in which a series of events succeed each other, we possess a kind of clue to their minute details, as well as to those connecting transactions of minor importance, which fill up the interstices of the historical scale. The object in forming such a system of chronology should be to select leading events at relative distances; this should be regulated by the degree of interest excited by each individual era of history; thus it might be sufficient to record very early events, at the distance of one hundred years, and to multiply them at more interesting periods. Hexameter verses are employed as a general medium for memorial lines, from the facility which the varied uniformity of that metre allows to the composer, and the advantage which the faculty of recollection derives, from being habituated to the same measured cadence. In composing them, no attention need be paid to the niceties of quantity, or even to the numbers of feet; provided they will READ into measure.

When these chronological verses are fixed in the memory, it will be perfectly easy to remember any other historical event by observing its relative position to those recorded dates. In each page there should only be a certain number of memorial lines, comprising a defined period of time, whether two or more centuries, or one or less, according to the ratio at which the interest of that particular period has induced us to record the dates. To each page, that is, to each series of memorial lines, what may be called an acrostic sentence might be attached, consisting of any words that could be strung together into sense, or even intelligible nonsense: there would be as many words in this sentence as lines in the page; of each of these words, the first syllable should resemble, in fact or in sound, the first syllable of each memorial line in succession. Every one who has repeated verses by heart, must be aware of the advantage of having the leading syllable prompted in each line. The acrostic, by binding together certain series of memorial lines, will be found to supply the place of a prompter; and to give a considerable degree of accuracy to the knowledge attained by the medium of technical verses. The geographical memorial lines are composed on the principle of abbreviated words, and occasionally initial letters only are employed to denote the names of places; it is a waste of time to commit these to memory. Dr. Grey, in 1746, apologizes for their not being sufficiently modernised, and yet they are for the ninth time palmed upon the public in 1812, and are about as valuable as a catalogue of past snow-storms.

The method of denoting the latitude and longitude by technical words, is extremely ingenious and apposite; but in this edition they are almost all incorrect. To the beginning of the name of the place is subjoined a technical ending, consisting in general of

two syllables, the first of which relates to the latitude, and the second to the longitude. Thus Lisbon, whose latitude is  $38^{\circ}$  N. l. and  $9^{\circ}$  W. long. would be written *Lis-tei-ou*. But if the latitude of Lisbon had been nearer to  $38$  than to  $39^{\circ}$ , the syllable expressing it would have commenced with a vowel, and the word would have been written *Lis-ik-ou*; again if the longitude of Lisbon had approached nearer to  $10$  than to  $9^{\circ}$ , the same substitution would be made, and the word written *Lis-ik-n*. By observing this rule we are enabled to denote the longitude and latitude of any place within thirty minutes, and by taking the mean, that is, by conventionally adding fifteen minutes, we gain it within fifteen. In the ancient geography the selection and arrangement are injudicious throughout; we have not space to offer an extended comment upon the execution of this part of the work; it will be sufficient to point out the manner in which the system, as applied to geography, may be modified and directed with the most beneficial effect. It cannot be difficult to compose memorial lines for ancient, sacred, and modern geography, upon the principle which we have already explained. The infinity of elementary books upon the subject will simplify the task, and leave nothing but the very easy process of composition.

These memorial lines should be committed to memory with constant reference to maps, so that the inspection of the map will at once suggest and prompt the lines belonging to it; and, vice versa, the recital of the lines suggest to the imagination the map with which they have been associated. In the selection of plans, of which we may wish to know the *precise* longitude and latitude, it is necessary to attend strictly to the principle which we have pointed out in our remarks upon chronology, viz. to select places which bear a relative distance to each other upon each map, and when these are perfectly familiar to us, we shall with ease be enabled to recollect the position, and almost the latitude and longitude of any place upon the surface of the globe, by ascertaining its relative position to those places which will be thus deeply imprinted on the memory and imagination.

The application of this art to astronomy, which is the subject of the fourth section, is precisely similar to that employed in chronology. In the fifth section it is applied to coins, weights, and measures.

There is great ingenuity shewn in this section; and though it is confined chiefly to ancient coins, weights, and measures, with a useless minuteness of detail, and many inaccuracies, yet it demonstrates satisfactorily the advantage of employing letters for figures; it also points out the manner in which the system may be applied to modern arithmetic, and to the value of modern coins, weights, and measures,

measures, which it is extremely desirable to retain with accuracy, without the necessity and waste of time by constant reference. The concluding section explains the possible application of this art to miscellaneous subjects. To this edition of Dr. Grey's *Memoria Technica* is subjoined 'Lowe's Mnemonics.' Dr. Watts in his *Essay on the Improvement of the Mind*, says, that 'Mr. Lowe has improved Dr. Grey's scheme,' but it is evident that he was very imperfectly acquainted with that scheme. In short we are of opinion that he has deteriorated the plan pursued by Dr. Grey, whilst he can lay no sort of claim to originality.

There is a notice given in this edition, that 'the publisher would be happy to treat with any gentleman able to correct and modernize this work against a future edition.' For any practical purpose nineteen twentieths of the original lines must be omitted in a future edition; we therefore do not consider it worth while to enter into any verbal or typographical criticism upon the present. It is much inferior, in execution, to the one printed by the same editor in 1806, and, as we before observed, is, with some slight alterations, a literal copy of the one published in 1746. In the present edition it is proposed to employ a double set of consonants to represent the numerals, in which *g*, *r*, and *m* shall be introduced, though they are already mortgaged by Dr. Grey, *g* to the value of 100, *r* to that of a fraction, *m* to that of a million. If we met with 'm' in many technical words, how would it be possible to ascertain whether it signified a million, according to Dr. Grey, or a cypher, according to the proposed extension by the present editor?

We have already pointed out the manner in which this system may be extended and improved in reference to the attainment of historical, chronological, and geographical knowledge. We will farther remark, that it is peculiarly apposite to assist the recollection in commercial and financial details. There is no extension of figures in the fearful estimate of funded debt, no minuteness of fractional expression in the economizing tone of public audits, which, by being translated into letters and embodied in hexameter verse, may not be remembered with accuracy; for example, the path of Mr. Huskisson's pamphlet upon the bullion question, and the financial details of the two sets of resolutions, moved upon that occasion, might be comprised in about five and thirty lines, or if it was not thought necessary to remember the fractional parts they might be comprehended in ten or fifteen lines. By employing acrostic sentences to bind together the natural divisions of the subject there would be no possibility of mistake, and the lines when once committed to memory would be easily retained by occasional recurrence.

By

By dividing a series of technical words into a certain number of syllables, or by writing them with marked subdivisions, and by deciding to apply the first syllable in each series of words to one part of a subject, the second to another, &c. we think much accurate information might be gained with very little exertion of the memory; for example, if we were anxious to recollect in general terms,

1806,	1. The official value of imports from	} 24,000,000
	Europe, Africa, and America	
	2. Ditto from China	6,000,000
	3. The official value of exports of	} 9,000,000
	foreign and colonial merchandize	
	4. The official value of exports of	} 25,000,000
	British produce and manufactures	

The word *au-do-s, ou-du* would express the estimate for the year  
6 24 6 9 25

1806. We must remark that, though pronounced as four syllables, it is divided into five parts, the first denoting the year, the second the official value of imports from Europe, Africa, and America, and so on; of course millions must be understood. It is necessary in such a case, that the sums to be expressed should be of one common denomination; thus, from 1806 to 1812, inclusive, the official value of exports and imports might be expressed in seven words, to remember which would surely require no extraordinary effort of memory.

We trust that we have succeeded in explaining the two systems of Feinaigle and Grey; it is not possible to draw a parallel between them, but we think they might be partially combined to produce a better effect than could result from the individual adoption of either: by employing invariably the alphabet and technical lines, according to Dr. Grey's method, when figures are to be remembered, and committing these lines to memory by associating them with the hieroglyphics or *τομα*, (for there is conciliation in a Greek term,) this combination will supersede the necessity of acrostic sentences, and is, indeed, far preferable to them. No one, who has not made the experiment, can appreciate the facility and exactness with which memorial lines can be retained and referred to by this method, and, as we have demonstrated in the former part of this article, without danger of confusion; in fact the multiplication of trains of ideas, however different, with our habitual objects of association, whether those objects are ideal pictures upon a wall or the rooms and furniture of a house, will strengthen our power of recollection, as increased weight is known to strengthen an arch constructed upon sound mathematical principles.

We have no doubt that the misapplication of these systems will  
again

again render them ridiculous and consign them to a temporary oblivion. Dr. Beattie in his *Elements of Moral Science* expresses his scepticism of the possible advantages of any art of memory, having remarked, that those who possessed them were never distinguished for readiness of recollection or multiplicity of attainments; but our readers may be assured, that there always have been persons who have applied them with considerable effect, but who have never had the indiscretion to confess the nature of that assistance, of which the effects were debited to the score of their natural abilities.

If our limits had permitted we might have been disposed to enquire how far it would be possible to interweave any part of these systems with the present plan of public classical education; but fortunately we have no space for the discussion. We are well aware that the classical ear of our young students would startle at the uncouth and unpoetical metre of a technical line; yet if there be any who have some arrears of information to bring up, and who are not very conversant with the principles of law, political economy, &c. to these persons, if any abbreviated method could be suggested of mastering their multifarious details, the effect, if adequate to our expectations, might form, we should think, a sufficient apology for the apparent degradation of the means. We do not recommend the experiment to those who find their unassisted powers fully adequate to their purpose. If Briareus had been a stocking manufacturer, he would probably have despised the aid of frame-work, which, however, is no despicable auxiliary to the two-handed artisan.

ART. IX. *Comedies of Aristophanes, viz. The Clouds, Plutus, the Frogs, the Birds. Translated into English, with Notes.* London. 1812.

WHILE the tragic writers of Greece have been cherished by us with an eagerness bordering on enthusiasm, the only perfect remains of that celebrated country in the opposite walk of comedy, have been consigned to comparative neglect and obscurity. Tragedy, indeed, as speaking a more general language than comedy, and uttering much the same kind of sentiments, whether by the mouth of a Medea, or a Lady Macbeth, might naturally be expected to be more popular than her sister muse, whose allusions must necessarily be more local and confined; yet it still appears unaccountable, that a people, possessed with so decided a taste for humour, as the English, and keenly susceptible of personal satire, should



should have done so little for an author, who yields to few writers either ancient or modern in both these qualifications.

More than three centuries have elapsed since the first edition of Aristophanes was printed; and during that period, the continent has produced a succession of commentators on his text: the Italians have made themselves masters of him by the translation (a very miserable one, we own) of the \*Rositini, and the French by that of Poinsinet, while in England we have little more than the London edition of the *Plutus* and the *Clouds*, the Oxford edition of the *Knights*, the *Acharnenses* of Mr. Elmsley, enriched with the notes of Bentley, and different translations of one or other of the four plays, which are here collected. This is the more surprising, because the scholia on Aristophanes are reckoned among the most valuable of this species of writing; the poet himself too, we should think, presented a most inviting harvest to the philologist and the commentator: there were many words to be traced to their roots, many customs to be elucidated, many difficulties to be explained; various passages to be restored, dialogues which had escaped from their right owner, to be returned; verses out of number, which required the hand of a metrical Procrustes; and an abundance of those delicious passages, at which commentators are accused of running riot. Had no specimen of the Greek comedy come down to us, there are few things, we believe, which would have excited greater regret. The scenical representations of a nation present us with so lively and exact a picture of the people themselves, that we can scarcely be said to possess *data* sufficient for forming a decided opinion upon the character of any nation, unless we have the exhibitions of their stage, both serious and comic, to assist our judgment.

The eagerness with which the octavo edition of Brunck, unsatisfactory as it is, has been purchased, is a sufficient proof, that it is not from a defect of taste in this country, that the works of Aristophanes have been so much more talked of than read, and so much more read than understood. That he will ever be very generally popular here, we cannot undertake to say. When the drama of a country is poor, they are frequently content to borrow amusement from their neighbour; the Roman was for a long time diverted with Athenian customs in Roman language, and the Frenchman laughed at Spanish phrases and habits which he scarcely understood: but when their own literature affords dramatists of the highest excellence, few people will feel much indulgence for the elementary exhibi-

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\* The editor of Terucci's Italian translation of the *Plutus* and the *Clouds* says that the Rositini made their translation from a wretched transfusion of Aristophanes into Latin. We have no doubt that this was the case, for the translation itself is utterly unlike the original. Terucci has succeeded better, and his translation is enriched with some excellent notes.

tions of a foreign nation. This locality, which belongs so particularly to comedy and satire, must necessarily abate the relish of the unlearned reader for the writings of Aristophanes; and after every assistance, the difficulty of the original text must prove a great bar to all but finished scholars. Comic writers are the last authors, to whom the student of a foreign language has recourse. There is necessarily so much idiom in them, the elliptic mode of speech is so continually recurring, and the transitions are so rapid, that the mind is startled at every turn, instead of sliding with ease into the subject, and catching the little niceties of the dialogue. A maxim in ethics does not lose its force, while we are consulting Hederic or Scapula. Even the sublimer emotions, excited by the writings of Euripides and Pindar, are not so likely to evaporate, while we pause to ascertain the precise meaning of a word, or a phrase, as the lighter shades of feeling excited by comedy. To be consulting the scholiast, when we ought to be carried away by the wit and spirit of the dialogue; to be searching in Bisetius, or Geraldus, whether we may laugh 'by authority,' soon exhausts the patience, and fatigues the imagination.

There is one thing, on which we are particularly anxious to put the reader upon his guard, who is not familiar with the Grecian stage, and that is, not to come to the perusal of these plays with English feelings and English ideas about him. If he come fresh from his own drama, and expect a similar exhibition in that of the Grecian poet; if he look for intricacy of plot, for gradual development of character, for a leading story with a subordinate one attached to it, which at the same time shall help forward the main story and form a relief to it; above all, if he look for the delineation of that universal passion, whose innumerable varieties of tenderness and gaiety, of whim and caprice, it is the delight of modern comedy to exhibit, he will find himself sorely disappointed. He will meet with characters, marked, it is true, with strong humour, but exhibiting few lights and shades; he will find a story that has no intricacies in it; and for love—he will see but little of it indeed, and that little he will wish to have expunged. The correct refinement of modern times, the considering of love as a sentiment and not as an appetite, with all the light *badinage* and amiable gallantry which this feeling engenders, the 'dolci durezza, e placide repulse,' were unknown to the ancients. Nothing, in fact, can be conceived more gross than the old comedy as exhibited in Aristophanes and the small remains of his contemporaries, which have come down to us. The worst of things are called by the worst of names; and the meanest of our appetites and grossest of our necessities are perpetually called in to make sport for the audience, who, if we are to judge of them by those exhibitions, (and they certainly

certainly took a singular delight in them,) can have been little better than semibarbarians.\* The plot of the *Lysistrata* turns upon a proposal so gross, that we shall not insult our readers with it; and though the effects of it upon the *dramatis personæ* are ludicrous in the extreme, the poet deserves no indulgence for his shameless and unparalleled effrontery. The marginal references of some of our old moralities, and even mysteries, are sufficiently significant; but they are purity itself when compared with the licentiousness of the Athenian stage.

The grossness of the comic theatre of Greece forms a singular contrast with the gravity, the decorum, and the sustained elegance of the tragic poets of the same period; and we can scarcely conceive it possible that the same people who had listened with the warmest enthusiasm to the wild sublimities of *Æschylus* and the moral pathos of *Euripides*, could have not only endured, but encouraged and insisted upon the buffoonery and ribaldry of the comic writers. We can ascribe this depravity of taste to no cause so much as the little intercourse which subsisted between the two sexes, and the partial exclusion of women, that is, women of virtue, (for the restriction did not extend to the profligate part of the sex,) from entertainments of the theatre. Mr. Dunster has suggested, that the grossness of *Aristophanes* was merely an artifice, and that it served him as a sort of battery for making his assaults upon the vices of his countrymen with more effect. True, indeed, it is, that the higher the object which he has in view, and the greater the danger of bringing it before the audience, so much the lower frequently is the ribaldry to which he descends. When by the most ridiculous buffoonery he has put his audience entirely off their guard, then it is that he suddenly strikes the deadliest blow. To the better part of his audience his admonitions might have the ludicrous appearance of a *Bacchus* preaching sobriety from a tub; but to the vicious no reproof comes so home as that which they hear from persons who appear to think as little of virtue as themselves. After all, this post is scarcely tenable; the poet seems voluntarily to wallow in his filth; and if his muse is not an absolute prostitute, she at least seems always willing to meet the public half-way.

Besides the embarrassments to which we have alluded, the unlearned reader will be encumbered with a new set of *dramatis personæ*, called the chorus, whom he will find possessed of a most persevering attachment to the stage, never forsaking the performers, and diving into every thought, which is within the conception and intention of the actors. To add to this seeming absurdity, he will

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\* We must not, however, conclude too generally. It is well known that the philosophers rarely frequented the comic theatres, and their example, no doubt, was followed by the more respectable part of the citizens.

find this exalted post allotted to creatures of a very inferior situation, in the comic poets; to Frogs, to Wasps, to Birds, and even to Clouds. We might enlarge upon this topic; but enough, we think, has been premised to make it clear that Aristophanes was not a comic poet according to our ideas of that character: he may rather be termed a writer upon criticism, ethics and politics; and unless the reader come with these impressions to the perusal of him, he is not likely to make a fair estimate of his merits, or to imbibe that relish for his writings, which all true scholars feel.

Having endeavoured to throw some light upon the character of the dramatist, we shall add a few words on the materials from which he had to draw his comic pictures. There is no source of humour so fertile as vanity; in other words, as the affectation of pretending to be what we are not, and assuming a part for which we are not fitted either by fortune or nature. The endless subdivisions of employment in modern life must, from this cause, produce a never failing succession of fit subjects for the dramatist and the satirist. But in the earlier days of Greece, when Aristophanes wrote, this plentiful crop of pretenders did not exist. The Athenians had, it is true, like other people, their artisans, their hinds, and their merchants; but the collective character of the nation was that of soldiers and statesmen. They had no standing army, for which they paid their quota, nor a militia, for which they provided substitutes: every man was in his turn a soldier. Again, the Athenians did not express their political opinions once in seven years, and then leave them to be promulgated by the mouth of a representative; but every man was called upon continually to give his voice in the deliberative assembly himself. Such were the two great and leading occupations of the Athenians; upon these would all their ideas mainly turn, and to these would the productions of the stage, which always follows the public feeling, be directed. Accordingly, we find the plays of Aristophanes perpetually turning upon one or other of these topics, and more particularly upon that part of their civil jurisprudence which allotted the judicial situation to all ranks indiscriminately, and paid them a certain salary for their trouble. After the feelings more immediately connected with these pursuits, the Athenians were distinguished by a predominant passion for the amusements of the stage. The bounty of nature had bestowed upon them a triumvirate of tragic poets, whom it has been the pride of modern times to own as their masters; and a crowd of comic writers, whose wit seems to have been as powerful in exciting the gayer feelings, as the pathos and sublimity of the former, in raising the grander emotions. These productions were *got up* with all the magnificence of which the age could boast. The whole expenses of the Peloponnesian war, it is said, did not cost more than the exhibition

exhibition of three of the tragedies of Sophocles. The emulation of the writers kept pace with the generosity of the managers. Plays were not then contracted for, as at present, by the gross; neither was the successful candidate rewarded merely by a benefit. The applauses and distinctions, which accompanied success, were so flattering, that some of their writers expired under them. Such were the people to whom the drama of Aristophanes was submitted, and we ought to have a proper idea of his audience, in order to judge of his merits. We are apt to view the Athenians, as they did themselves, through the magnifying glasses of Marathon and Plataea; but a more odious people, as to their internal economy, never existed. They were open to the grossest flattery; they were credulous, not like Englishmen, from an unsuspecting honesty, but like Frenchmen, to whom their character is very similar, from vanity and self-conceit. They were fickle and inconstant in their tempers, melting one night into tears over the tragedies of Euripides, and the next, dying with laughter at the parodies of his incessant persecutor, Aristophanes. Of a high-wrought susceptibility, they set a fine upon Phrynicus, because his dialogue was too pathetic, and starved Anaxandrides because his invectives were too severe. Too acute to be insensible of high talents, and too envious to allow them their due sway, they persecuted the virtue which they could not but admire, and exalted the vice, which they ridiculed and contemned: the vilest tyrants where they dared, and that was chiefly with the meritorious and the virtuous; and the meanest slaves to the bullies and blockheads, who ruled them by consulting their tempers, and administering to their favourite passions—praise of themselves and abuse of others. Such are some of the traits of the incomprehensible Athenians; the people who deserted Alcibiades, in the midst of a grave oration, to run after a bird; who erected a monument to Cratinus for his talents, and recorded nothing upon it, but that he was a drunkard; who drove Aristides into banishment, because he was just, and rewarded the children of Chœrphilus with the freedom of their city, because their father sold excellent salt-fish; the people, in short, who first listened with admiration to the precepts of Socrates, then allowed him to be made a public jest, then murdered, and last of all deified him. Such, we say, were the people whose amusements, morals, and politics, Aristophanes undertook to criticise, to amend and to direct. It was a hazardous task; but of this he seems well aware. To arraign them seriously and severely was dangerous; to bend, and crouch before them scarcely less so. Whenever, therefore, he has any important object in view—a sophist to expose—a public defaulter to arraign—a war to condemn—a peace to recommend, he generally commences with a scene of low buffoonery, or introduces some of their great people  
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in a ludicrous situation, such as was peculiarly acceptable to the levelling disposition of the Athenians. Having thus prepared his audience, he opens his battery; and the boldness with which he directs his assault, when we consider the powers of those subjected to his lash, places him on very high ground indeed. It is here that we feel the character of sublimity in our author, which Longinus applies only to the apt collocation of his words and sentences. His undaunted denunciations of public villainy; his bold appeals in favour of his own patriotic intentions; his sudden and unexpected turns of wit, drawn from new and peculiar sources; his pointed, short and resistless sarcasm, are among the finest specimens of moral reprehension. The addresses of Dicæus and Adicus in the *Clouds*, are both grand in their display; the cutting satire with which the former gives up the contest, and throws himself upon the audience as an universal mass of villainy, is more than grand; it is a stroke of true sublimity.

Of those who suffered from this writer's ridicule, there are three so conspicuous, that we cannot avoid saying a few words on each; —we mean Socrates, Euripides, and Cleon. His motives for attacking the former are not sufficiently clear. The idle story of his being suborned by Melitus, to write the comedy of the *Clouds*, and thus to pave the way for the death of Socrates, is refuted by the dates of his pieces, from which it appears that that event did not take place till more than twenty years after the performance of the play in question. Besides, though Aristophanes had a strong turn for the ridiculous, he does not seem to have had much malice in him: his satirical strokes are in general short and pointed; he sometimes fastens, indeed, upon the tender parts, but he exhibits none of the marks of a determined and cold-blooded satirist; he does not coolly gaze upon the wound which he has laid open, nor watch the agonies which he has excited. To a man who, like Aristophanes, saw things on the side of ridicule only, Socrates might easily appear little more than an officious meddler. The nature of his discourses too, which regarded ends more than means, and not unfrequently pleaded what was fallacious, in order to elicit what was true, laid him very open to witty mistake and misrepresentation. The aphorism of *Donne* respecting scriptural texts may not unaptly be applied to the *Socratici sermones*: 'sentences in scripture,' says he, 'like hairs in horse-tails, concur in one root of strength and beauty; but being plucked out one by one, serve only for springs and snares.' We have the greatest veneration for the name of Socrates; but we cannot see that personality in the *Clouds*, which some have ascribed to it. It appears to us that the play was principally intended to retort the indignity thrown upon the comic stage by the sophists, in restraining its exhibitions; and that the character of Socrates, (how-

ever petulantly and unjustly assumed,) was little more than a name for the whole body of them collectively. The audience, who knew the men, appropriated the respective charges, and while they appeared to be amused with the buffooneries of the great philosopher, were, perhaps, laughing at the follies and impieties of Hippo of Thrace, Democritus, Protagoras, &c.

The character of Euripides we must imagine to have particularly excited the spleen of Aristophanes. He is the cushion, on which his wit reposes at all times.

The poet seems to have considered him as a piece of private property, always at hand. The warmest admirer of Euripides must be amused with the attacks of his witty and unwearied assailant. This mighty master of the drama, inferior to Shakespeare only in those powerful touches which go at once to the heart, and to Racine for knowledge of his art, had yet points, that laid him very open to ridicule. He was at times languid and affected; finical in his expressions and conceited in his ideas: he seemed to write too with a lofty contempt of his audience, and to demand their acquiescence as a master, and not their suffrages as a candidate for favour. His perverse morality, and diseased state of religious sentiment; his prolix, though eloquent messengers; his interminable prologues, preventing curiosity and anticipating surprize; his affectation of deep thinking, (visible even in the lowest of his dramatis personæ,) together with the occasional meanness of his phraseology, and the snip-snap of his dialogue, which is sometimes continued for a page or two together, all become in their turn the property of Aristophanes, who puts them in a thousand ridiculous lights. He is not, indeed, blind to his merits, but he is more than eagle-eyed to his defects; and he that has not Euripides at his finger-ends, must be content to lose a great share of the wit of Aristophanes.

Of all the characters whom our author brought upon the stage, none seems to have excited his detestation so sincerely as Cleon; and the glee with which he records his victory over this turbulent demagogue, comes from his very heart. The following picture of him seems to have pleased Aristophanes, for he has repeated it in two of his comedies, the Wasps, and the Peace.

When first your poet undertook this trade  
Of dealing out instruction, men were not  
His game, but monsters; huge leviathans,  
That ask'd the mettle and appliances  
Of Hercules, to quell them: first, he grappled  
With that fell portent, that huge, saw-tooth'd beast,  
Lick'd in fashion by the slaving tongues  
Of sycophants accurst; whose eyes shot fire,

**Fierce**

Fierce as the flames of Cynna, and whose voice  
 Rose hoarser than the raging whirlpool's, when  
 The birth-pains of the coming storm are on it:—  
 A whale's ill-savour, loins, that, Lamia-like,  
 Had never known the luxury of water,  
 These, with a camel's hinder parts, made up  
 Th' uncouth, distasteful compound, &c.—*WASPS*. 1030.

The comedy which our poet composed for the express purpose of bringing this obnoxious but dangerous demagogue before the people, is called the *Knights*. It is a strain of coarse but very powerful humour throughout, and will remind the English reader of the facetious history of John Bull by the dean of St. Patrick. There is in fact a very close resemblance between these two writers; and had Swift turned his thoughts to the stage, and been allowed the privileges of the 'old comedy,' we are of opinion that the Greek poet would have been his model. The two writers are alike distinguished by their bitter satire; they have the same love for homely imagery, the same tendency to revel in those ideas which most people sedulously exclude from their thoughts: the Attic bard too possesses a slight portion of that misanthropic contempt for his species, which so strongly marks the English wit, and both evince the same public spirit, and the same talent for pointing out the true interests of their country by comparisons so familiar, that the meanest understandings cannot mistake them. The character of Demus, by which the poet collectively characterised the Athenian populace, is so evident a prototype of Swift's John Bull, that our readers, we think, will not be displeased to see a translation of it. The play opens with a ludicrous dialogue between the two distinguished Athenian generals, Demosthenes and Nicias, who complain bitterly of the miseries which they had undergone since the introduction of a Paphlagonian tanner (Cleon) into the service of their common master, Demus. They talk at first of going over to the enemy; upon second thoughts, however, they determine to lay their case before the spectators; and Nicias having first begged the audience to shew by their looks whether the subject was agreeable, and they, we suppose, assenting, his companion begins as follows:—and never, surely, was 'the sovereign people' depicted with greater force and humour.

With reverence to your worships; 'tis our fate  
 To have a testy, crossgrain'd, bilious, sour  
 Old fellow for our master; one much giv'n  
 To a bean \* diet; somewhat hard of hearing:

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\* Alluding to the beans which the Athenians, who were a nation of judges, made use of in their courts. The poet continually ridicules the fondness of his countrymen for attending these courts.



Demus, his name, Sirs, of the parish Pnyx, here.  
 Some three weeks back or so, this lord of ours  
 Brought home a lusty slave from Paphlagonia,  
 Fresh from the tan-yard, tight and yare, and with  
 As nimble fingers and as foul a mouth  
 As ever yet paid tribute to the gallows.  
 This tanner-Paphlagonian (for the fellow  
 Wanted not penetration) bow'd and scrap'd,  
 And fawn'd and wagg'd his ears and tail, dog-fashion;  
 And thus soon slipp'd into the old man's graces.  
 Occasional douceurs of leather-parings,  
 With speeches to this tune, made all his own.  
 ' Good Sir, the court is up—you've judg'd one cause,  
 'Tis time to take the bath; allow me, Sir,—  
 This cake is excellent,—pray sup this broth,—  
 This soup will not offend you, tho' crop-full—  
 You love an obolus;\* pray, take these three—  
 Honour me, Sir, with your commands for supper'—  
 Sad times meanwhile for us! With prying looks,  
 Round comes my man of hides, and, if he finds us  
 Cooking a little something for our master,  
 Incontinently lays his paws upon it,  
 And, modestly, in his own name presents it!  
 Then, none but he, forsooth, must wait at table;  
 (We dare not come in sight;) but there he stands  
 All supper time, and, with a leathern fly-flap,  
 Whisks off the advocates; anon the knave  
 Falls to his oracles, and, when he sees  
 The old man plunged in myteries to the ears,  
 And scared from his few senses, marks his time,  
 And enters on his tricks. False accusations  
 Now come in troops; and, at their heels, the whip:  
 Meanwhile, the rascal shuffles in among us,  
 And begs of one, brow-beats another, cheats  
 A third, and frightens all. ' My honest friends,  
 These cords cut deep, you find it—I say nothing,  
 Judge you between your purses and your backs.  
 I could, perhaps'—We take the gentle hint,  
 And give him all: if not, the old man's foot,  
 Plays such a tune upon our hinder parts,  
 That flogging is a jest to 't, a mere flea-bite.

It would lead us too far to enter into the humorous scenes which follow; suffice it to observe, that in consequence of this play, Cleon was condemned to pay a fine of five talents: and the poet thus records his victory, in the *Acharnians*.

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\* This is bitter. The Athenian populace were paid three oboli, every time they attended the court to sit as judges. This drew them thither in crowds, and together with their fondness for litigation, forms, as we have just observed, an inexhaustible source of satire for Aristophanes.

Out, out, upon it: I am sick, heart-sick:  
 My joys are few, heav'n knows! some three or four:  
 But for my plagues, they come in whole battalions,  
 In numbers numberless, like ocean's waves.—  
 Yet, I have had my touches too of joy,  
 Pure, genuine joy—when was't it stay, stay—'twas when  
 I saw those same five talents, dropping from  
 The full gorg'd maw of Cleon. Oh, the sight  
 Was milk and honey to me!

Let it be remembered to the poet's honour, that his vengeance  
 ceased with the life of Cleon. In the *Clouds*, he observes with  
 honest pride,

I struck the living Cleon to the heart,  
 When all his pomp of greatness was upon him;  
 But never spurn'd I at his lifeless corse.

It is more than time to turn to the volume, which has called  
 forth these remarks. We have reason to think that the writer of  
 the preface is mistaken in saying that excepting the duplicate  
 versions of the *Clouds* and *Plutus*, by White and Theobald, no  
 other translations of Aristophanes have been attempted in Eng-  
 land, besides those before us. A translation of the *Plutus* was  
 published by Thomas Randolph, the author of the *Muse's Looking  
 Glass*, in 1651, under the quaint title of *Hey for Honesty! Down  
 with Knavery!* This was succeeded by another quarto transla-  
 tion in 1659, with the signature of H. H. B. A folio translation  
 of the *Clouds*, by Stanley, may be found, we believe, in the  
*History of Philosophy*, Lond. 1708. Our wishes, we frankly con-  
 fess, incline us to hope, that the writer is also somewhat incorrect  
 in saying, that Aristophanes 'begins to form a prominent part in the  
 lecture books of our Universities.' We doubt whether it be so at  
 Oxford; we are quite sure that it is not so at Cambridge. The  
 fact is, that Aristophanes, though a great wag, is, at times, also  
 a very wicked one; and it is not every one who plunges into mire,  
 that has the good fortune, like the 'essayist' in the *Dunciad*, to  
 'bear no tokens of the sable streams,' on emerging from it.

The present volume contains poetic versions of the *Clouds* and  
 the *Frogs*, by Mr. Cumberland and Mr. Dunster; and prose trans-  
 lations of the *Plutus*, by Fielding and Young, conjointly; and of  
 the *Birds*, 'by a member of one of the universities.' They are  
 of such different degrees of merit, that the compound reminds us  
 of the tyrant in Virgil, who bound together the living and the  
 dead. Mr. Cumberland's is infinitely superior to the rest; it  
 has naturalized Aristophanes among us, as far as it goes, and we  
 question whether any other language can boast a translation, at  
 once so easy and so spirited. Mr. Cumberland never made a

more fortunate hit than when he undertook the remains of the comic poets: it settled his reputation upon a firmer basis, than any of his original works; and his version of the *Clouds* formed an excellent finale to his smaller attempts of the same kind. To say the truth, he seems fully sensible of the value of what he had done; for he is very careful to mention the length of time which the undertaking required, and to hint that, after soliciting the assistance of many learned men, he was left to accomplish it single-handed.

The whole of this play is a master-piece of dramatic skill, wit and effect;\* the translation is so well supported throughout, that we might pitch upon any passage indiscriminately, and produce it as a specimen of the inimitable skill of the translator. If Mr. Cumberland fail any where, it is in the odes or chorusses, for he was not a very successful rhymers. We could produce a few instances where he has translated rather too freely, and a very few where he has either mistaken, or not quite equalled his original; but we will not lessen the general excellence of his performance by any remarks upon smaller errors.

The plot of the *Plutus* is, we presume, familiar to the reader, having been given in one of the papers of the *Spectator*. It is translated with a close and servile adherence to the text, and will be the farthest of all things from reminding the reader of the author of *Tom Jones*. It is singular, that Fielding's humour, which shone so powerfully in the prose epic, should desert him whenever he attempted the drama. There is scarcely one of his comedies that does him credit, but the *Miser*; and this play, with the exception of the character of Marianne, is taken from the *Avare* of Molière. Next to a literal translation of the text, Fielding's aim seems to have been to expose the mis-translations of

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\* It has been attempted in the enlarged edition of Brumoy's *Greek Theatre*, to prove a close resemblance, both in the subject and the conduct of the pieces, between the *Clouds* of Aristophanes and the *Lettres Provinciales* of Pascal; but we do not think with much success. Both writers, it is true, combat the sophists and false philosophers, of the times, and their compositions are both models of writing in their respective ways. The '*Probalisme*' of Pascal may also be compared with the *Dicaeus* and *Adicus* of Aristophanes. But here we think the comparison must end. If the two writers dress their weapons from the same armory, they were at least of a very different temperament. Aristophanes applies to one person, what were the scattered opinions of many. Pascal ascribes to the Jesuits collectively, tenets which, according to Voltaire, were maintained only by a few. The light raillery of Aristophanes cannot be compared with the powerful irony of Pascal, nor the open scoffs and undisguised effrontery of the Athenian, with the bitter humility and stinging reserve of the Frenchman. We disbelieve Aristophanes, and are amused; we place implicit confidence in Pascal, and are shocked. Aristophanes, in the true spirit of comedy, touches chiefly upon points of behaviour which are to be avoided; Pascal mixes with his ridicule of what is wrong, the sublimest exhortations and persuasions to what is right; the former therefore excites unmixed gaiety, while even the laughter of the latter inclines us to be serious.

Mad. Dacier,

Mad. Dacier, and her faithful copyist, Theobald. The lady certainly mistakes her author very frequently; and Theobald, as his witty persecutor remarks, shews that it was much easier to translate from the French than from the original. The notes are in general good, and evince that the translators had a keen perception of the beauties of their author, though they have done little towards making the reader partake of their feelings of enjoyment. The *Plutus* is a proof of what we advanced above,—that Aristophanes might be considered as an ethic writer. Whoever will turn his thoughts to the various effects which the want, or the attainment of wealth has upon the human mind in its several situations, will find them here thrown into action; and instantly recognize them in the person or the conduct of the living *Plutus*, and those more immediately about him.

'The *Frogs*' was written, according to Frischlinus, with a view of averting the popular odium which had been drawn upon our poet by the tragedy of *Palamedes*, in which Euripides had covertly reproached the Athenians with the unjust murder of Socrates. To relish thoroughly the wit and humour of this diverting comedy, it is necessary that the reader should be fully master of the plays of *Æschylus* and Euripides, the two contending poets. This can hardly be acquired by a perusal of the translations of Potter and Woodhall; for though these versions, and more particularly the former, are highly respectable, the wit of the parody is entirely lost, while the mind is kept wavering by a language, which is the exact property of neither *Æschylus* nor Potter, and where the standard of comparison (which must be a death-blow to parody) is entirely changed. The English language too seems hardly equal to that sustained tone of elegance in which the ancient dramas are generally written. Indeed no modern language that we are acquainted with, seems equal to this, but the Italian, which by the distinctness of its poetic diction, and power of altering the collocation of its words, is capable of producing much of that tension of the mind, to which no small part of the charm of the Grecian drama is owing. The tragedies of Alfieri are noble imitations of the Greek tragedy, and exhibit a considerable portion of that cold stateliness and *sostenuto* movement, which distinguish the latter, but which, when transfused into our language, generally wear an appearance of stiffness or feebleness. We cannot bestow those praises upon the performance of Mr. Dunster, which the merits of Mr. Cumberland demanded from our hands. His translation is respectable, never sinking very low, nor ever rising to any extraordinary height. His chorusses we think equal, if not superior, to those of his compeer: but his performance, in general, appears tame and cold, after the vigorous and spirited copy of Mr. Cumberland. Mr.

Dunster possesses neither the force nor the delicacy of hand of his rival, nor has he his skill of catching the nicer features of his original, and expanding them, as his Attic conciseness sometimes requires, upon his own canvass. The one exhibits the very face, and life-blood, and animation of his original; the other shews but the features of his author. We recognise, indeed, the man, but it is a waxen impression, cold and cheerless—not a transcript of the warm and living face, instinct with motion and intelligence.

The 'Birds' is a singular performance, even among the eccentricities of Aristophanes, into which the poet has contrived to weave an innumerable quantity of ingenious allusions, quaint fancies, and pleasantries, such as no person but himself, we think, could have furnished. It is, however, among the least pleasing of the poet's performances, because it wants a central object, and notwithstanding what the commentators say about Decelea, the *scopus dramaticus* is rather uncertain. We have but little applause to bestow upon the translation. The most disagreeable feature in it, is its colloquial coarseness. We can never imagine, that if Aristophanes had written in English, he would have used such expressions as 'dash me'—'you've got to thank me for that'—&c. &c.—In the midst of these and similar vulgarisms, the translator frequently catches himself up, with an air of stiffness and decorum, which produces a most ludicrous effect. It is like harlequin seized with a fit of the vapours in the midst of his buffooneries. The leading feature of Aristophanes is an irresistible propensity for seeing every thing in a ridiculous light; but in the hands of his translator he resembles a *thinking* gentleman, seduced into the amusement of a dance, who *crosses hands* with a sombre vivacity, and *goes down the middle* with a merry air of despondency. We doubt, besides, whether any prose translation can do justice to an author, whose writings breathe every grace and every variety of rhythm, whose harmony is of the most complete and perfect kind, and whose choral odes not unfrequently take a flight, which even Sophocles and the Theban swan might be proud to follow. The translator has been rather unfortunate too in his choice of the *Birds*, for this specimen of the *comico-prosaic*, as he calls the style in which the translation is attempted; because it contains some very beautiful specimens of choral harmony. He deserves credit, however, for the diligence with which he has consulted the authorities for explaining his text; and there is an occasional vigour in the translation, which leads us to argue more favourably of his future attempts. He has sometimes mistaken his text, for which the extreme difficulty of his author forms a very fair excuse: we shall remark upon one instance only, and that for the sake of our own respectable fraternity. The word *αἴτια* (page 470) does not mean the audience, but the judges, the critical

critical over-seers, who were to decide upon the merits of the respective performances, previously to their being selected for the prize of public exhibition. The translator, on any future occasion, will do well also to be aware of a familiar practice of Aristophanes; viz. that of making his names of places carry a double meaning with them. Thus (p. 498) the words Phanæ and Clepsydra are not only the names of towns, but have a reference to the water-glass used for regulating the speeches of the orators, and to the action of informing.

A name which, like that of Aristophanes, admitted all the varieties of wit, buffoonery, indelicacy, and personal satire, was almost sure to be applied to any who might tread nearly the same path of literature. Accordingly we find Molière sometimes called the Aristophanes of France; and learned men have traced an occasional resemblance between his writings and those of Ben Jonson. We have already given our own opinion, that of all the moderns, Swift comes nearest in his style of humour to the Athenian; not but there are certain strong marks of resemblance between him and the writers we have just mentioned. We beg, however, first to observe, that in mentioning such mighty masters of the drama, as Molière and Ben Jonson, it is by no means our wish to set our author upon a level with them. Aristophanes is a great and a surprising genius; but he could not boast of that exquisite delineation of character, that chaste and varied humour, which give Molière one of the highest places in the modern drama; nor does he possess that full-drawn power of portraiture, that masculine vigour, that voluptuous revelry in his own ideas of magnificence, those rich overflowings, and, as far as mixed passions are concerned, those inimitable flights of invention and poetry, which belong to our immortal Ben: flights which generate a species of literary *freethinking*, and occasionally draw us from the exclusive worship of our dramatic idol, Shakspeare. There is no point in which the French and Grecian poets so closely resemble each other as that character of *bon-homme*, which they delight in giving to their *dramatis personæ*, that mixture of good-nature and drollery, of shrewdness and credulity, which alternately excites our kindness, pity, and contempt. The Dicæopolis, the Strepsiades, and the Taygetus of Aristophanes are very much of the same school, as the Monsieur Jourdain, and the George Dandin of Molière. The Carion of the former is undoubtedly the prototype of the busy, meddling, loquacious Sganarelles and lackeys of the latter. Many of the scenes in the *Malade Imaginaire*, the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, and the *Mari Confondu* might be quoted as proofs of the use which Molière has made of Aristophanes. The pleasantry (in which the Frenchman so much delights) of turning a succession of biting remarks upon the head

head of the first utterer, is also a favourite piece of sport with the Grecian. The exquisite talent of the French wit for pushing the same idea to its furthest point of giving pleasure, was possessed in no small degree by his great predecessor.

It might have been expected that Foote, who has been professedly styled the English Aristophanes, and whose writings bore much the same relation to the 'old comedy' which those of Molière did to the school of Menander, would come still nearer to the poet whose works we are considering. The flow of Foote's dialogue, which forms so easy and happy a medium between the flippancy of unpolished pertness and the nicer elegancies of gentlemanly refinement, may almost be compared to the Attic terseness of his predecessor. His characters, more detailed than those of the Grecian, are hit off with the happiest pleasantry and truth. His dramatic personæ, though not so indelicate as those of the Athenian, exhibit not a whit more of the tenderness and warm feeling of that passion, which has become the soul of modern comedy; and they seem to live in an equally heathenish atmosphere with those of his great master, where no checks of conscience intrude, where to be gay is to be reasonable, and to be ingenious in quavery is a sufficient apology for dealing with it. But Foote wants the whim, and the wit, and the poignancy of his rival; he has neither the variety nor the invention of Aristophanes; his command of language is great, but he has it not under that entire subjection which Aristophanes possessed, who compels it to minister to every change, and shade, and inflexion of his mind. Foote travelled rapidly, but his step has not the bound and elasticity of the Grecian; he has none of those bursts of poetry which his master frequently pours forth, nor any of those striking appeals which the more elevated objects of Aristophanes enabled him to make, and which, amid the lowest scenes of buffoonery, stamp a dignity upon his performances, and recal to the reader the great purposes to which his dramas were subservient.

The comedy of the 'Wasps' furnishes a ground of comparison with the drama of modern times, as it has been selected by M. Racine for the model of his only comedy, '*les Plaideurs*.' M. Racine has transplanted many of the Attic bard's witticisms with great success, and substituted, with admirable dexterity, the terms of the French bar for those of the Athenian. His trial of the dog is exceedingly well done: it wants, however, the merits of the original, in which, besides its actual adaptation to the business of the play, it has an allegorical reference to some passing events of that time. The dog Labes was evidently intended to be applied to Laches, and the cheese to the bribe which he had received. The scene between the Countess and Chicanneau is equal to any thing  
in

in the whole range of French comedy: still we must confess that the copy does not please us so much as the original. There is a charm in the carelessness and freedom of the Grecian's dishabille, which is wanting in the full-dress of the Frenchman. There is a mechanic air too in the studied breaks and balances of the latter's versification, which, though pleasing at first, becomes at last fatiguing. It appears as if the poet had composed the air and the music of his verses first, and put the words to them afterwards.

The committal of the dog, in this humorous comedy of the 'Wasps,' has been imitated by Jonson in the *Staple of News*, and indeed no writer seems to have had Aristophanes more directly in his eye than our learned Ben. One great point of resemblance which we find between them, is Jonson's imitation of the Grecian poet in the continual introduction of himself upon the stage, the sarcasms upon his fellow-writers, and his praises and dispraises of the actors. These were topics which the Greek comedians never failed to present, and indeed particular parts of the chorus, called the *Commattium* and the *Parabasis*, were appropriated to these very purposes. These diatribes are exceedingly entertaining and curious, and exhibit a striking picture of the keenness and acrimony with which the writers of them pursued each other. The interludes of *Censure*, *Mirth* and *Tattle*, serve much the same purpose in Jonson's *Staple of News*. His witty introduction to that singular exhibition of low humour, *Bartholomew Fair*, with many other passages, might be produced as specimens of the same kind. Another point of resemblance is their love of allegorical persons, and a sort of metaphysical wit, where the same thing that is predicated of the person, will also apply to the passion or affections of the mind, of which the character is the predicament personified.

Our article has reached a great length, but we shall not be thought to have done justice to our author, if we do not exhibit some of those reflections on the female sex, from which a celebrated father of the church is said to have drawn his own invectives on the same subject. It must, however, be acknowledged, in justice to the gallantry of the poet, that he very seldom particularises any of the female sex, as he does those of his own, but arraigns their vices in the gross. The *Ecclesiastusæ* is a burlesque upon Utopian forms of government, and may be safely recommended to the wild lovers of reform. It turns upon a project concerted by some Athenian dames, who accoutre themselves in the habiliments of their husbands, and who, repairing in this disguise to the ecclesia, or parliament-house, vote that the administration of public affairs should be put into the hands of the women. In a previous meeting, one of the lady-speakers supposes herself to be a man addressing the assembly, and she assigns the following humorous reasons for



for the propriety of expecting a better government of the state, when managed by females.

In all things they excel us ; chief in this,  
A reverence of old fashions : To a woman,  
They dip their fleeces in hot water,—'twas  
The mode in former days ; fry their fish, sitting,  
'Twas so of yore ; bear weights upon their heads,  
'Tis a most reverend custom. Here's no change,  
No innovation, no new-fangled doctrine ;  
And well was it for Athens, when old ways  
Were yet in vogue ! We, fools, must needs, forsooth,  
Turn theorists, experimentalists ;  
And what's the consequence ? the city's ruin !  
They run to festivals,—so did their grandams ;  
Ill-treat their husbands,—'tis an ancient practice ;  
House a gallant,—it was their mothers' use ;  
Keep the tid-bits for him,—'tis an old fashion ;  
Love a brisk glass,—antiquity is for them ;  
Another thing—tut ! they have precedent.—  
What need of more ? Commit the reins to them ;  
And question not th' event : my life upon't,  
You'll find yourselves the happiest men on earth.

In the Thesmophoriazussæ he is not less pleasant upon the sex. The thesmophoriæ were festivals held in honour of Ceres, at which none but freeborn women were allowed to be present. It had been intimated to Euripides, that the ladies, irritated by his reflexions upon the sex, intended to consider, during this festival, what revenge they should inflict upon him. The poet, aware that these were enemies not to be despised, goes in a great fright to Agatho the poet, to consult what should be done. Mnesilochus, his father-in-law, accompanies Euripides, proposes to borrow a woman's garb of Agatho, and engages, in that disguise, to join the women who are celebrating the mysteries, and to speak stoutly in defence of his son-in-law. The scheme is approved, and the following scene admits the readers to the sitting. The meeting is conducted with all the mock solemnity of a general Athenian assembly. The herald proclaims silence by the sacred expression of *Εὐφημείη, εὐφημείη!* prays that the meeting may turn out to the benefit of the state and the parties concerned, and wishes that whoever of the lady-speakers should deserve best of the Athenian people, and her own sex, may be rewarded with the prize of victory. The chorus follows with a grave hymn ; and the business commences with the usual interrogation, ' Whose pleasure is it to speak ?— Upon this Sostrata rises, and, after a short preface, observes that there was no crime of which the poet had not accused them. No thing can be conceived more truly comic than the medley of humour

and satire in which the long string of offences is brought forward to justify her accusation. A second speaker follows with fresh complaints, when Mnesilochus, who sees the storm rising, gets up, as he had promised, to mitigate or avert its fury. He begins,

Sad tales these, by my troth ! I marvel not  
That they have touch'd you to the quick, and rous'd  
All that is woman in you. I profess,  
As I'm a mother, and regard my offspring,  
I hate the man to madness :—and yet, ladies,  
Now we're alone, and none can overhear us,  
'Twere not amiss, methinks, to check our spleen,  
And view the matter calmly. He has brought  
A scantling of our faults upon the stage,  
Such as might reach his hearing, or his knowledge,  
No peccadilloes, neither : what of that !  
Are there not others that he wots not of ?  
For my part, ladies, I'm no innocent.  
My slips have not been one, nor two, nor three :  
That which sits heaviest on me, is the trick  
I play'd my spouse, when but three days a bride—  
Euripides ne'er said a word of this ;  
Nor how, when better men are not at hand,  
A slave or muleteer will serve the purpose.  
He said, I grant ye, Phædra was a wanton ;  
But what is that to us ? He never told,  
How Pornè spread her cloak before her husband,  
Bad him admire the colour, and the texture,  
While the gallant avail'd him of the screen,  
And slept away unnoticed ! I could mention  
A matron here, who feign'd a pregnancy,  
And bought a child, while her good man was trotting  
From street to street, kind heart ! to fetch a midwife !—  
Home comes a pitcher, with a chopping boy :  
The signal given, “ Retire ! ” the lady cries.  
The child, 'tis true, was kicking ripe, but then,  
The pitcher's belly was the sufferer.  
The proud and happy simpleton pack'd off,  
The pitcher's mouth is open'd, and the child  
Raises a lusty squall : with that, the beldame,  
(Malicious hag !) purveyor of the bantling,  
Runs out, and with a grin upon her face,  
“ Joy, joy, sir ! you've a giant to your son !  
So like papa ! eyes, lips,—then, such a nose !  
A fir cone 's nothing to it.” Not a word  
Of this, dropt from the poet.

The two remaining plays of Aristophanes, the *Acharnians* and the *Peace*, will serve to illustrate what we have advanced of the political purposes to which his comedies were applied. They were

were both written during the Peloponnesian war; the *Acharnians* in the sixth, and the *Peace* in the thirteenth year of that calamitous period, and both contain the strongest exhortations to a general pacification.

The plot of the former, which is sufficiently improbable, turns upon a separate treaty of peace, which *Dicaeopolis* makes for himself, exclusively, with the Lacedemonians, and the indignation thereby excited in his townsmen. *Aristophanes* does not forget his old friend *Euripides*; but humorously introduces *Dicaeopolis* to him, with a request that he would lend him the beggarly dress of *Telephus*, or some other tragic character, that he may plead his cause with more effect before the enraged *Acharnians*. The *parabases* of this play are written in a high style of patriotic virtue; they pourtray with much humour the *claptraps* of the theatres and other public assemblies of the day, and boldly ascribe the origin of the war to the resentment of *Pericles* at an indignity offered to his favourite mistress *Aspasia*.—The same object is pursued in the *Peace*, though with more dramatic effect. *Trygæus*, a worthy citizen, being much troubled with the afflictions which the Peloponnesian war had brought upon Greece, determines to go to heaven and expostulate with *Jupiter* upon the subject. For this purpose, after some ineffectual attempts by other means, he procures an enormous beetle, which he had been informed from *Æsop's Fables*, was the only winged creature that had ever reached the skies, and on the back of this new steed, he mounts up to heaven. There he meets with *Mercury*, who at first treats him rather scurvily; but being softened with a little present of butcher's meat, informs him, that *Jupiter* was not at home, and that the other gods had also quitted their apartments, which were now occupied by the god *Polemos*, who had thrown the *Lady Peace*, of whom he was in quest, into a deep pit, the mouth of which was covered with large stones, that no one might get to her. Two allegorical personages, *War* and *Tumult*, are then introduced upon the stage, with a prodigious mortar, in which, it seems, it was their amusement to pound the cities that fell under their resentment. One of them goes out to fetch a pestle, and *Trygæus* takes advantage of his absence, to collect a band of clowns and artisans, and drag up *Peace* from her place of confinement. This scene furnishes the poet with some sarcastic observations upon the different states of Greece. *Trygæus* then descends with his prize to earth, meeting with nothing by the way but the souls of a few dithyrambic poets, who were taking the air in search of food for their effusions. The remaining part of the play is employed in laughing at the soothsayers, armourers and others, who had an interest in continuing the war. There is a quaint homeliness, a rude but heartfelt joy, in the exultation

exultation of the Chorus at the recovery of Peace, which is far from unpleasant.

Happy I, that know no care,  
Helm, nor shield, nor coarse camp-fare!  
Wars to me, no pleasure give:—  
Then alone, I seem to live,  
When, a merry day to make,  
My fire-side seat, at home, I take:  
There, with friends, the hours to pass,  
Brimming high the sparkling glass;  
On the hearth a beech-log lying,  
On the embers chick-pease frying,  
While the crackling wood betrays,  
The drying heats of summer days.—  
Then, if Thratta's cheek I press,  
While my wife retires to dress,  
If her rosy lip I touch,  
Oh, Jove! 'tis rapture over much.—

In troth, it is a super-dainty thing,  
When seeding time is o'er, and rain, thank heaven,  
Falls without stint, to see a friend drop in,  
And in a frank, and hearty way, salute us.  
' When shall we make a day, Comarchidas?  
There's nothing like a cup of chirping liquor,  
When Jove, as now, takes care to drench our fields,  
And set our crops a-growing. Bustle, maids;  
Fry us some beans,—three bushels, do you hear?  
And add a little wheat; 'twill mend the compound.  
And let us taste your figs, dame. Run to Manes,  
He's in the vineyard, tell him 'tis no time  
For pruning now, when every thing is dripping.  
Step you, girl, for some thrushes. There should be,  
Unless the cat have trick'd us, (and I heard  
A strange, suspicious noise, among the dishes,)  
Some beastings, and a slice or two of hare—  
Beg a few myrtle boughs of Æschines;  
And, in your way, call on Charinades,  
Inform him, 'tis a holyday with us,  
And that the glass is waiting.—

O 'tis sweet, when fields are ringing  
With the merry crickets' singing,  
Oft to mark, with curious eye,  
If the vine tree's time be nigh:  
Hers is not the fruit whose birth  
Costs a throe to mother earth.  
Sweet it is, too, to be telling,  
How the luscious figs are swelling;  
Then to riot, without measure,  
In the rich, nectareous treasure,

While

While our grateful voices chime,  
 ' Happy season! blessed time!'

The length to which our remarks have run, prevents us from enlarging upon several minor topics, which might be drawn from the perusal of these comedies; such as the state in which Aristophanes found the drama, the improvements which he made in it, &c. We should have wished also to shew a little more at length this poet's manner of mixing with his audience, and connecting them with the business on the stage. That species of humour too, by which he guards against pleasantries at his own manner of writing, would not have been undeserving of attention, nor the freedom of remark which he exhibits upon the religion of his country, and the toleration which his sarcasms on that point experienced from his audience. Enough, however, has been done to shew that Aristophanes was not merely a punster, as Plutarch would have it, nor, what Voltaire, with at least as much ignorance as wit, describes him; a Greek comic poet, who was deficient in comedy, and had no notion of poetry. The nation which possesses a Molière or a Sheridan, may be content to do without an Aristophanes: but still the latter is no contemptible genius. He stands alone; he is a writer *sui generis*: he can be judged by no modern tribunals: the laws of the drama, under which he wrote, were different from ours; the audience to whom his plays were addressed, was different; the manners, and the customs, and the ideas, and the purposes for which they are written, were different. Human nature, however, does not so entirely differ, but that enough is still left for us to understand, to relish and to imitate. His pictures are highly curious and entertaining, and, as fac-similes of the times, are more valuable than more general delineations; possessing much the same degree of point and faithfulness, we should imagine, as the one-act comedies of the Spaniards, mentioned by the noble author of the Life of Lopez de Vega. If the general definition of wit be true, that it is the unexpected combination of distant resemblances, nothing can more deserve the name, than the dialogue of Aristophanes. He finds allusions in things seemingly the most incongruous, and in scenes apparently least susceptible of them, and we can easily conceive the roar of laughter which accompanied their application, and the surprise and confusion with which they must have covered the objects of them. His characters are rather sketches than portraits; but they discover the hand of a master, and they are written *as painters write their names at Co.*

His knowledge of human nature is strong, though not diversified. It is almost all embodied in that one aggregate idea, which he had formed of his master, the people; and he appears to value his acquisitions merely as they aid him to soothe the vanity, awaken the  
 jealousy,

jealousy, or soften the irritability of this idol, whom he has set up. His writings take a stronger hold upon us from the strange combination of present delight, and the momentary fear of some offensive intrusion which the perusal of them enforces upon us. Hovering for ever upon the brink of what is disgusting, we yet do not lay him down; his wit redeems his indelicacy, his language covers the homeliness of his sentiments, while the execution of his dramas excuses the improbable fictions upon which they are frequently founded. If we feel pity and contempt for the low buffooneries to which his dependence upon the mob subjected him, we also admire the ingenuity with which he escapes from them; nor can we but be struck by the beautiful and moral effect, with which he frequently rises from his grovelling, and starts like the chrysalis from instant filth and deformity, into spirit, symmetry and loveliness. But Aristophanes must be read through: no extract will give a correct idea of his versatility, his side-stroke satire, his curvettings, and multiplied pleasantries. He must be read through too in the original; for no language but his own can do justice to that continual play upon words which he indulges. The parodies too, in which he so eminently excels, whether of passages from the poets, or the proceedings of their political assemblies, cannot be well relished without a knowledge of the originals to which they refer, and on which they form so valuable a comment. We agree with M. Dacier, that the scholar, who is not master of Aristophanes, can never have felt the full excellence of the Greek language. For harmony no poetry can compare with that of Aristophanes: and it sometimes forms a singular contrast with the homeliness of the dialogue. Breaks which produce the finest effect, and pauses more varied than those which enrich the *Comus* of Milton, or its exquisite prototype, the *Faithful Shepherdess* of Fletcher, occur for pages together. The gaiety of his measures is most delightful. The eye dances amid anapæsts, and all the light and airy varieties of Greek metre. It is music absolutely painted to the eye; and we can conceive that to the susceptible ears of the Athenians, the language alone of Aristophanes, heightened by those modulations and inflexions which are lost upon us, must have created a fascination that was perfectly irresistible. The most varied metres of English versification will bear but a faint comparison with the richness, brilliancy, and ever-changing modes of Aristophanes. If the poet had invented nothing more than the anapæstic tetrameter which bears his name, we should have hailed him as a mighty master in his art, and considered him as deserving the encomiums which the taste of Plato, and the penetration of the Persian king are well known to have bestowed upon him.

**ART. X.** *Travels in various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa.* By Edward Daniel Clarke, LL.D. Part the Second. Greece, Egypt, and the Holy Land, Section the First. 4to. Cadell and Davies. London. 1812.

ONCE more, like Xanthias in the ancient comedy, we resume our critical burthen in the suite of the lively and interesting traveller whose active curiosity we have already extolled, and the bitterness of whose prejudices we have sometimes had occasion to blame with an impartiality which should render our praises of greater value. But we recommence our task with better spirits, and with a fairer prospect of agreement with our author during the future stages of his narrative. We no longer follow him through the hard measure he met with from the Russian government, and the still harder names which he dealt to both government and people in return;—we pant not now after his rapid wheels through the regions of ‘filth and fraud,’—the wretched country

Εἶτα ὁρῶμενος παχὺς  
Καὶ σκυρ αἰὲν ὄντ', ὃ δὲ τέτυκται χεῖμασι  
Εἰ τοῦ ΞΕΝΟΝ ΤΙς ἠδίκησεν πτωχότα.—

The frogs of the Kuban are passed, as well as the surly Æacus who kept, during the reign of Paul, the Russian frontier; Dionysus is at length arrived in those fields, which have, in every age, been the Elysium of the scholar and the antiquary;—and we may hope, under his guidance, to be introduced to the pageants of ancient mythology, and the ghosts of poets and philosophers.

The former volume landed Dr. Clarke at Pera, Nov. 6, 1800. That to which it is now our duty to introduce the reader, contains his observations during his first residence in that place, his progress by the coasts of Asia Minor to Egypt, and two short excursions from Alexandria to Cyprus and the Holy Land. It is scarcely too much to say, that we have followed him in his narrative with a pleasure only inferior to that of actually viewing the scenes which he delineates. The characteristic faults of the former volume are still, indeed, discernible. We have still to complain of a reliance on first impressions, which is not altogether compensated by an acuteness of observation undoubtedly more than common; we encounter, not unfrequently, a blindfold hurry of inference, which, had our author been of Milesian origin, would be considered as a national infirmity; that stumbles on its conclusions as if by accident, and is often right in defiance of its own chain of arguments. Even on his most favourite topics we have sometimes perceived a want of that previous knowledge, without which, to travel is but to wander, and we have suspected that he has rather read to illustrate his tour, than journeyed to illustrate his reading. We are not yet, perhaps, arrived at that period of his work, where  
we

we may expect any discussion on the moral and political state of the Ottoman empire, though we confess that we would have gladly bartered for a little fresh information on this inexhaustible subject, the whole detail of the Sultan's procession to St. Sophia, (in spite of our satisfaction in learning that the same ceremonies are observed by the gentlemen ushers of his present highness, as had been detailed at large by De La Mottraye and Thevenot,) and have curtailed a little, for a few questions as to the present state of Cyprus, that hunting after intaglios, which Rousseau somewhere calls the distinctive mark of an English traveller, and which was prosecuted with so much perseverance as to leave little leisure for other inquiries, in one of the most interesting and least known islands of the world.

With all these draw-backs Dr. Clarke is a tourist of no common stamp. His own discoveries are numerous, and where others have preceded him he has set their information in the clearest point of view; he is eminently gifted with that 'thirsty eye,' as old Tom Coryat calls it, which is perhaps the most important qualification of a traveller; he has, lastly, a power of selecting objects, and a raciness in describing them, which cannot be better described than as the antipodes of Chandler; and which are, we think, more conspicuous in the present volume than in that with which our readers are already acquainted. There is another circumstance, which we have in part anticipated, and which has made our progress with Dr. Clarke in the Archipelago and Mediterranean more agreeable than over the steppes of Russia. He no longer labours under the influence of that feeling, whether political, personal, or purely bilious, we know not, which not only soured the temper, but jaundiced the visual organs of its victim: which, by a magic more potent than the cup of Circe, transformed some thirty millions of human creatures into 'two-legged pigs,' and selected, as a specimen of the brave and hardy followers of Suvorof, the unfortunate invalid who keeps guard at the beginning of the 21st chapter of his former volume. In the present, we have no such bitterness of complaint, no such violence of invective; nor does the tyranny of Djezzar Pasha at Acre, or of the *Flea-king* at Tiberias disturb the good-humoured pleasantry of the narrator.

The first symptom of this amendment we discovered in his account of Constantinople; the peculiarities of which place, and of its suburbs, had prepared us for some of that strong *encaustic painting* in which their northern neighbours had been represented; and which could hardly, we thought, escape the chastisement of the same 'gravis thyrsus' which had visited Mosco with so much rigour. Here, however, our traveller experienced the mock beatitude pronounced on those who expect nothing; and so far from



being disappointed, was agreeably surprised to discover that the ancient capital of the Cæsars retained, at the present day, so many traces of its former possessors. It is not, indeed, for us to inquire what literary traveller besides himself ever visited Constantinople with an impression so singular as that which he describes:—‘expecting to behold but faint vestiges of the imperial city, and believing that he shall find little or nothing to remind him of “the everlasting foundations” of the master of the Roman world.’ But we feel, it must be owned, considerable curiosity to learn from what course of previous study, what published account of Constantinople or its history, he had arrived at conclusions so unusual, and so contrary to the probability of the case: for, as he himself sensibly remarks, the time which has elapsed since the Turks obtained possession is so comparatively short, that little subsequent change was to be expected; and it is altogether false that the conquerors were occupied in works of destruction, or that they had a pride in defacing the monuments of the race whom they had subdued. Whatever havoc has taken place among the works of ancient art at Constantinople, ‘was begun by the Romans themselves, even so early as the time of Constantine the Great, and renewed at intervals, in consequence of the factions and dissensions of the inhabitants.’

‘The city, such as it was, when it came into the possession of the Turks, has been by them preserved, and undergone fewer alterations than took place while it continued in the hands of their predecessors. It does not however appear, that the changes produced, either by the one or the other, have in any degree affected that striking resemblance which it still bears to the ancient cities of the Greeks.’—pp. 8, 9.

It is, however, certainly true, and Dr. Clarke, we think, has the credit of being the first to notice the circumstance, that it is not only in the Hippodrome, in St. Sophia, or in the other more striking vestiges of its former masters that ancient Constantinople is to be sought or found; but that those very circumstances which strike a careless visitor as the effects of Grecian degeneracy, or of Turkish despotism, are often in themselves aboriginal, and afford the best existing studies of the private life of the ancients. Of Greece, we know, the splendour consisted in its public buildings only; and the narrow streets, the unglazed shops, the gloomy bazars, and the small and obscure apartments of modern Constantinople differ, in few respects, from the remains of similar objects in Herculaneum, or from the descriptions furnished by the ancients themselves of Athens or of Corinth. But the Doctor runs riot in his parallel, when he extends it to every particular of manners or of furniture, and when (without fear of the avenging ghost of Winkelman) he identifies the graceful folds of the ancient pallium with the cumbrous  
trousers

trowsers and pendant sleeves of the modern Osmanli. He is, indeed, altogether unfortunate, both in the circumstances which he selects as instances of this similarity, and the manner in which he endeavours to account for them. The Turks, he supposes, at the taking of Constantinople, had all their domestic habits to learn; 'their former habits had been those of Nomade tribes; their dwellings were principally tents; and the camp rather than the city distinguished their abode: hence it followed that, with the houses, the furniture, and even the garb of the Greeks would necessarily be associated.'—Chap. 1. pp. 4, 5.

Now this is about as accurate as if a Frenchman should remark, (by way of accounting for the general adoption of his country fashions by the English under Charles the Second,) 'that the British previously had no clothes at all, and that their naked bodies were painted sky-blue, till the ministers of Louis the Great taught them to wear wigs and put on rouge.' Four hundred years (is it really necessary to remind Dr. Clarke of this?) had elapsed since the Turks had abandoned their pastoral habits: at the time he mentions, they were, as he has himself elsewhere observed, little less civilized than the Greeks or any other nation of Europe; and the Sultans of Prusa and Adrianople are no more to be confounded with the original wanderers of the Altai, than Charles the Fifth with Ariovistus or Arminius. But the instances which he mentions of this supposed imitation are all strangely inaccurate. The vignette of Michael Palæologus which he subjoins, is no more like the coiffure of a modern Sultan than Macedon is like Monmouth.—There are beards, indeed, to both the potentates, but the papal tiara of the former has no imaginable resemblance to the red cap and snowy turban of the present 'sovereign of Roum.' It was the ancient *Persians*, not the *Greeks*, whose long sleeves are mentioned by Herodotus and Xenophon. The veils worn by the Theban women were a fashion peculiar to that city, derived, perhaps, from very early times, and from their oriental ancestry. The Greeks sate (except at meals) on chairs, *δισσοί* and *καθέδρσι*, not couches; even the triclinium, which was high and insulated, had little resemblance to those low divans which range against the walls of a Turkish apartment; nor was the German baron, in Peregrine Pickle, more astonished at the arrangement of a classic cænaculum, than the Agha of Samaria would have been had Dr. Clarke lain down at full length in his presence, to banquet after the manner of the ancients.

These little blunders, proceeding, as they do, not from ignorance, but from carelessness and impetuosity, provoke us the more, because they materially shake our confidence in Dr. Clarke's observations on the trophies in the imperial arsenal, a collection of in-

interesting reliques which he has been the first to notice. If, as he assures us, the form of those antique pieces of armour corresponds with those represented on the gems and medals of the early Greeks and Romans, a very curious fact is established, namely, that in the 15th century, the Constantinopolitans retained the military costume of their ancestors at a time when we should have rather expected a similarity to that of the Turks or Genoese. We need not say, if this were ascertained, how invaluable such a repertory would prove to the artist or the antiquary; how many existing difficulties as to the nature, use, and weight of several parts of the ancient panoply might be solved: nor need we observe on the probability that by the interest of any ambassador, the hall which contains them would not be found inaccessible; nor can we answer that Mr. Hope has not already dispatched an artist to enrich from these undoubted originals his next edition of *Costumes*; but we cannot repress a suspicion, that the same fancy which could wreath a *sash* round the head of Michael Palæologus, and transmute the pallium of Demosthenes into a modern *benische*, has adorned in like manner the plate jacks and cushions of chivalry with the semblance of the classical thorax and knemides.

But Dr. Clarke's researches into the curiosities of the Seraglio were not confined to its outer courts. The haram itself, with all the real and imaginary terrors which defend it, was not sufficient to baffle his ardent curiosity. By the assistance of the Sultan's head gardener, a German, he obtains admission to that supposed impervious sanctuary, and is conducted, not only through the gardens, but through the private apartments of the Sultan, and through those which, though then empty, were tenanted during the summer by the Houris of the imperial Paradise. The survey, however, was effected amid fear and trembling, and the discoveries which he made in this Paphian prison-house hardly appear a sufficient compensation for his alarms. The gardens are paltry, and the apartments present that strange mixture of splendour and meanness, irregular beauty and bad taste, which we naturally associate with the idea of an eastern palace: but his story is well told; nor, when we consider the confused and mysterious notions which prevail respecting the interior of a Turkish haram, can we fail to sympathize in the triumph of those daring adventurers who looked down upon Constantinople from the very den of its own imperial lion, whose 'chamber of repose,' adorned with pillars of verde antico, is so tantalizingly conspicuous among the buildings on the Seraglio Point. Dr. Clarke is, however, mistaken in supposing himself to be the first that ever passed this hallowed boundary. De La Mottraye, a century before, had been almost equally fortunate, and Dr. Pouqueville, a few months only previous to Dr.

Clarke's

Clarke's visit, had, by the assistance of the same German, surveyed most of the same apartments which are here described. Nor do we apprehend that so great a risk was incurred in the adventure, as their guide, by way of enhancing the obligation, was willing to make them believe. *He* was undoubtedly in more danger than they were, and would scarcely have twice incurred the prospect of death or confinement, to gratify a mere travelling acquaintance.

Yet we are not quite sure that the confidence reposed by the honest German in his friends has met with a very grateful return; or that either the French or English scavant has done well in publishing a piece of complaisance, which, if its rumour should penetrate to 'the garden of hyacinths,' would, at least, exclude the gardener from all further exercise of his functions there. We know not whether the present Sultan be a man of literary habits, but some of his predecessors have been so; and a Turkish translation of a popular English work would not be so great a phenomenon in the imperial cabinet as many of our readers may imagine.

The rest of our author's notices respecting Constantinople may be comprised in a narrow compass. He gives some useful hints to future travellers for the collection of oriental manuscripts and classical reliques:—he speaks candidly and favourably of the modern Greek nobles: he sees the Sultan ride in state to St. Sophia's church, and gives a very lively description of the two sects of dancing and howling Dervishes. The former had been previously described by De La Mottraye, who illustrates his narrative with a good engraving. Dr. Clarke is perhaps not aware that their absurdities differ only in a slight degree from a sect of fanatics in Wales, known by the name of *Jumpers*. It is indeed a very curious inquiry to trace the similarity of superstitions or crazy practices all over the world. The horn, which is the insigne of an eastern Santon, was, till lately, the usual companion of those real or pretended maniacs who wandered over England, under the name of *Abram-men*; and the phrase *horn-mad* is a vestige of the ancient custom. Nor is there any improbability, as Dr. Clarke observes, that the frantic rites of the worshippers of Baal may be preserved in these mummeries of Islamism. Such practices, indeed, have no necessary connection with any religion, true or false; and the vagabonds who live by them are only studious to render their craft not obnoxious to the reigning faith. For the rest, the howling Dervishes are no contemptible jugglers, and Messrs. Moritz and Ingleby might reap considerable improvement were they to study a while under these magi, and take their degrees at the academy of Scutari.

An American frigate, commanded by Captain Bainbridge, arrived

rived at Constantinople a short time previous to the author's departure. The good order of his ship, and the healthy appearance of the crew were the theme of general conversation in Pera; but this brave man and his fine vessel were degraded by the wretched policy of their government into a carrier of lions and tigers, as presents from the Dey of Algiers to the Sultan. The Turkish officers were at first considerably perplexed to determine the locality of America, but this apparent ignorance arose, as most other stories of Turkish barbarism will be found to arise, only from the difference of nomenclature in their books and ours; and when they learned that America was synonymous with *The New World*, they bid Captain Bainbridge heartily welcome. The Capudan Pasha who sent this message, was not only well informed as to the situation of the new world, but a perfect master of the courtesies of the old. Understanding that Dr. Clarke had a brother (Captain G. Clarke, of the Braakel) with the fleet at Marmorice bay, he assigned a Turkish corvette for his conveyance thither; and in the presence of our travellers, gave orders to stow the vessel, not only with provisions, but with wine, knives, forks, chairs, and other conveniences not in common use among the Turks. Of this vessel, however, Dr. Clarke and Mr. Cripps availed themselves only so far as the Dardanelles, where they wisely abandoned it for a humbler skiff, which would afford a longer time for the investigation of the interesting coasts they were about to traverse. In this part of his work Dr. Clarke receives very essential assistance from the manuscript journals of Mr. Morrit and Mr. Walpole, who, following the laudable example of Mr. R. Heber in the first volume, have enriched his notes with a variety of valuable information given with much candour and clearness, and supplying, in many instances, those points which our author was himself prevented from exploring. It would not, indeed, surprize us, if a practice should become fashionable, which, with so little trouble and so little appearance of responsibility, enables those minor tourists to appear in print, who formerly shrunk from the ordeal of criticism, or were unable to eke out their scanty memoranda to the legitimate standard of a quarto. We are really grateful to Dr. Clarke for the amusement and information which these contributions of his friends have afforded us, and it must be owned that he is himself a planet whose course no satellite need be ashamed to follow. But, as reviewers, we cannot conceal our fears that the example portends us no good; nor can we contemplate with an equable mind the possibility of Sir John Carr revolving round Mr. John Galt, or a whole German institute girding in frigid ring the Saturnian bulk of Professor Lichtenstein.

Our travellers set sail from Constantinople March 2, 1801: but before

before we attend their farther progress, we must rescue the industrious, and (with Dr. Clarke's good leave) the *accurate* Thevenot, from the charge of literary imposture, p. 58.—This charge has entirely arisen from confounding Jean Michel Thevenot with Jean Melchisedek his uncle, the latter of whom undoubtedly was no eastern traveller, and only professed, like Purchas and Hakluyt, to collect the labours of other men; but had Dr. Clarke referred to the Bibliotheca of Meuselius, (Analecta, tom. x. part 2, p. 171,) or the Memoirs of D'Arvieux, (an author of whose work he apparently knows only that part which is printed in La Roque's Travels,) he would have found sufficient proof that the nephew, Jean Michel, really travelled over many parts of the east, and died in Persia. Nor is the anecdote which Jean Michel relates of Mahomet the Second at all inconsistent with the circumstance inaccurately stated by Chishull. It was the lower jaw of *one* of the three twisted serpents in the Hippodrome which was shattered by the conqueror's battle-axe. In the year 1700, when De La Mottraye saw the pillar, there were only *two* heads remaining, and these were stolen during his abode in Constantinople by some unknown depredator, but who was generally suspected to be a servant, not of the Polish, but the imperial ambassador. We shall hear no more, we trust, of the fables and impostures of Thevenot.

Our travellers proceeded to the Dardanelles with a prosperous breeze and in safety, though the awkwardness of the Turkish seamen, who, on saluting the Seraglio with one-and-twenty guns, ran back from the noise of their own cannon, and confided the entire management of the ship to some French prisoners and Greeks, was not particularly adapted to set the minds of their passengers at ease. The Greeks, however, are by no means contemptible sailors, and, as we learn from Mr. Walpole's note, the great profits which they reaped, between the years 1790 and 1795, by carrying corn to France, excited a spirit of enterprize which filled the ports of Spezia and Hydra (two small and barren islands on the eastern coast of the Morea) with many thousand tons of shipping. Vessels are to be seen navigated by Greeks carrying twenty-two guns. 'One of this size I met,' says Mr. Walpole, 'in the Archipelago, off Andros, in company with other smaller ships all sailing before the wind, with large extended sails of white cotton, forming a beautiful appearance.'

The entrance to the canal of the Hellespont from the sea of Marmora, though broader than the Thracian Bosphorus, has not the same degree of grandeur. Lampsacus, now dwindled to a village, is distinguishable by its windmill, but the wines of the district, exported from the neighbouring town of the Dardanelles, are still esteemed all over the Mediterranean. The site of ancient Sestos

is identified by the Turkish name of Sest Tepe affixed to a tumulus on the shore; but the appellation of Gaziler Eschiesy, *the strand of the conquerors*, refers, undoubtedly, not to the Getic or Persian inroads, but to the landing of the Turks themselves, whose earliest European acquisition was the neighbouring fort of Coiridicastro, a memorable name, from the wretched pleasantries with which the mob of Constantinople consoled themselves for its loss. Our travellers received the usual civilities from the Pasha of the Dardanelles, (accompanied indeed with that hint in praise of *English pistols*, which is familiar to all who visit the Levant,) and enjoyed a delightful passage in an open boat down the Hellespont to Koum Kalè. The epithet (πλάτυς Ἑλλησποντος) applied by Homer to this narrow frith, which has perplexed the greater part of his commentators and readers, is justified by Mr. Walpole in a short but valuable note, in which he proves from Hesychius and Aristotle de Meteoris, lib. iii. that πλάτυς ought not to be rendered 'broad' but 'salt.' We readily join in the praise which Dr. Clarke bestows on this ingenious solution; but we are not, we confess, sufficiently expert in his mode of reasoning to comprehend how an epithet to which, in common with all other seas, the Hellespont is entitled, can convey any allusion to the *remarkable difference of colour* which he noticed between the clear brine of the Straits and the muddy embouchure of the Mender, on the left or western bank of which, on a spit of sand, occupied by the modern fort of Koum Kalè, Dr. Clarke first landed on the interesting plain of the Troad.

The following observations on its general character appear to us both novel and well founded.

'A peculiar circumstance characterized the topography of the cities of ancient Greece; and this perhaps has not been considered so general as it really was. Every metropolis possessed its citadel and its plain; the citadel as a place of refuge during war; the plain as a source of agriculture in peace. To this were some exceptions; as in the instance of Delphi, whose celebrity originated in secondary causes; but they were very few, and may be omitted. In the provinces of Greece, at this day, the appearance caused by a plain, flat as the surface of the ocean, surrounded by mountains, or having lofty rocks in its centre or sides, serves to denote the situation of ruins proving to be those of some ancient capital. Many of those plains border on the sea, and seem to have been formed by the retiring of its waters. Cities so situated were the most ancient; Argos, Sicyon, Corinth, are of the number. The vicinity of fertile plains to the coast offered settlements to the earliest colonies, before the interior of the country became known. As population increased, or the first settlers were driven inward by new adventurers, cities more mediterranean were established; but all of these possessed their respective plains. The physical phenomena of Greece, differing from those of any other country, present a series of beautiful

beautiful plains, successively surrounded by mountains of limestone; resembling, although upon a larger scale, and rarely accompanied by volcanic products, the craters of the Phlegrean fields. Everywhere their level surfaces seem to have been deposited by water, gradually retired or evaporated; they consist, for the most part, of the richest soil, and their produce is yet proverbially abundant.

In this manner stood the cities of Argos, Sicyon, Corinth, Megara, Eleusis, Athens, Thebes, Amphissa, Orchomenus, Chæronea, Lebadea, Larissa, Pella, and many other. Pursuing the inquiry over all the countries bordering the Ægean, we find every spacious plain accompanied by the remains of some city, whose celebrity was proportioned to the fertility of its territory, or the advantages of its maritime position. Such, according to Homer, were the circumstances of association characterizing that district of Asia Minor, in which Troy was situated.—p. 73.

It is not to be supposed, (Dr. Clarke very sensibly proceeds to observe,) that a plain so favoured by nature as that watered by the Mender and backed by the ridge of Casdagby, should afford a solitary instance in which these advantages had not attracted settlers; and the voice of antiquity is unanimous in assigning to this very region the city whose misfortunes afforded a theme to the most interesting poem in the world. The existence and the history of such a city, which the genius of Homer has expanded and adorned, would never, we think, have been the subject of doubt; had not such doubts arisen partly from the imperfection of our modern maps, which pervert even those stronger features of nature to which every poet is anxious to accommodate his fiction; and partly, we apprehend, from a mistake which is common both to the assailants and defenders of the veracity of Homer, who have on the one side judged a fiction grounded on fact, with the same severity which would have been applicable to a chronicle of the facts themselves, and on the other hand, have attempted to warp and bend the objects of nature into compliance with the details of a poetic Mythos. For although a real poet is naturally anxious to avail himself of interesting and well known scenery and a story already hallowed by tradition, yet it is only so far as they suit his purpose that either tradition or topography will be adhered to; and it is surely preposterous to expect that in a poem, so long, so varied, and so busy as that of Homer, he should exactly conform to the sober rules of the annalist, or the land-surveyor. If the place assigned for the Grecian camp be, as is asserted, one which before the time at which the action of the *Iliad* begins, must have destroyed them by disease,—instead of doubting, with Bryant, that the Greeks ever landed in the Troad at all,—it is surely safer to suppose that this is an instance in which, from some unknown and to us very immaterial cause, the



the poet has departed from the truth of history. If, in the same manner, the probable site of ancient Ilium should be ill adapted to the progress of Achilles' chariot round its walls,—if the fountains mentioned by Homer are a little farther from the city than his narrative implies,—or if no such fountains be discoverable in that immediate neighbourhood,—the answer ought to be that Homer is a poet, not an historian,—that the insolence of Achilles and the tepid spring of the Scamander were characteristic and common features of the age and country which he paints,—and that, in the words of Aristotle, a poet is not tied down to facts, but only to probabilities. It was the general opinion of antiquity, that Homer had in many respects departed from the truth of history in the action of his poem. Nor can any reason be assigned why he should not, by an equal privilege, have omitted, or softened, or altered such features of the scenery as interfered in his opinion with the effect or coherence of his narration. His sparing mention of rivers, which his warriors must have forded twice a day, and which must have materially impeded the advance of the Trojan chariots from the mound of the plain to the Grecian intrenchment, is a proof that he did not think it necessary, like some of his admirers, to ascertain his distances with the chain or the theodolite, or to transfer to poetry the trembling accuracy of a witness on a boundary cause. But while a poet himself is seldom thus particular, it is the privilege of poetry to bestow even on imaginary scenery, the minuteness and liveliness which conveys the idea of accuracy,—and if only the general features of his picture are correct, the zeal of his admirers in after-ages will not fail to assign a local habitation to even the wildest of his fictions. The sexton of Melrose has already begun to point out the tomb of Michael Scott, as described in the Lay of the Last Minstrel; and though the main outlines of Homer's picture are probably copied from nature, yet we doubt not that many of those objects to which Strabo refers, instead of affording subjects for the bard to describe, derived, in after-days, their name and designation from his description.

But though we do not apprehend that such topographical investigations will add in any material degree to the interest or clearness of the Iliad, yet we esteem the investigation of the Troad as important as any inquiry can be which is purely antiquarian, and feel anxious to do justice to Dr. Clarke's opinions and discoveries, which we shall present, if possible, to our readers in a less perplexing shape than that of his narration. For it must not be concealed, that partly from the minuteness of the watch-paper map to the scale of which he has compressed the greater part of Priam's monarchy; partly from his caprice in omitting the accustomed index which in other maps directs us to the cardinal points; and still  
more

more from the doubt and hesitation with which he differs from the opinions of former travellers, he has involved his facts in an obscurity which they do not deserve; nor are the insane wanderings of Iö more difficult to unravel than our author's excursion from Koum Kalè.\* With some trouble we have, we flatter ourselves, at length succeeded, and it may encourage others to employ some portion of the pains which we have done, when we express our impartial opinion that, whether we consider the number and importance of the ruins discovered; the good sense and good fortune which have guided Dr. Clarke's inquiries; or the remarkable coincidence of their result with the descriptions of Strabo and Pliny; the present tour may seem to constitute an era in the topography of the Iliensian plain, and to have restored a clue for tracing its antiquities which had been lost for above a thousand years. There are two points on the coast of the Troad which may be considered as data on which all its inquirers are agreed. The first of these is the Sigeian promontory, a natural feature too remarkable to be mistaken, and which is identified with Cape Yanizari. The second is the tomb of Ajax, ascertained by its distance, as given by Pliny, of thirty stadia to the eastward of the former; and as being the only conspicuous tumulus on the shore between Koum Kalè and the Dardanelles. Between these points, and extending from the latter to the embouchure of the Mender, is the beach which tradition or fancy has uniformly assigned for the port and encampment of the Greeks. The region, however, immediately in front of this station, and lying to the east of the Mender, had, down to the date of Dr. Clarke's excursion, been very imperfectly explored. Pococke, who traversed its coast from the Dardanelles to Koum Kalè, and had therefore the best opportunity of identifying the points mentioned by Strabo, though he notices the probable situation of Ophrurium and the Ptelean pool, hurries with apparent indifference over the tract just mentioned; and Chandler, though in an excursion from Sigeium he advanced in the very direction of Palaio Callifat, and noticed a conical hill at the foot of Ida, which he conceived to be the Callicolone, stopped short, as by fatality, at the very moment of discovery, and abandoned the unfinished adventure to a more fortunate, or more persevering inquirer. In the days, indeed, of Chandler and Pococke, mankind were content to admire the beauty of Homer's painting, without caring what particular hillock sate to

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\* Dr. Clarke has some amusing observations on this subject, p. 164.—We, of course, cannot contest with him the accuracy of the epithet *ἄκρις* as applied to the Cuban;—but we really cannot bring ourselves to believe that when 'Æschylus wrote geographically he had reference to better documents than modern maps;'—or that when he conducts his afflicted helter down the Indus to the Cataracts of the Nile, he is stating the 'result of his own practical observations.'

him for its portrait; and the controversy, first awakened by the venerable Bryant, had not affixed to every streamlet of Priam's empire, a consequence which, in the eye of the philosopher, even now perhaps it hardly possesses. The later tourists also, since Chevalier by mischance first stumbled on Bournabaschi, have found it so much easier to tread in his steps than to seek out a road for themselves; that they have been occupied in the vain attempt to reconcile contradictions on the western bank of the Mender, instead of invading the regions eastward, the *ακχηρατον λειμωνα*

Ερδ' οτε ποιμην αξιοι φερεσσιν βοτα  
Ουδ' ηλθε πω σιδηρος.

—Yet it is undoubtedly in this direction that Strabo has taught us to expect the most important discoveries. 1st. In a commanding situation, immediately above the Grecian camp, two miles and a half from the embouchure of the Scamander, and one mile and a half in a direct line from the sea, stood the city of New Ilium, which Lysimachus fortified, and which afterwards became a Roman colony. But, 2dly, forty stadia, or five miles eastward of New Ilium, was a remarkable hill, which even in the days of Strabo retained its Homeric appellation of Callicolone, and whose base was watered by the Simois. And it was between these two points, ten stadia from the Callicolone, and thirty from New Ilium, that the village stood which was supposed to mark the site of the ancient capital of Priam.

The ruins which Dr. Clarke discovered at Palaio Callifat, he has undoubtedly good reason for calling those of New Ilium. By his map, indeed, they are too far removed both from the sea and the embouchure of the Mender,—and if they are, as he asserts, only three miles and three quarters from the woody and conspicuous Beyan Mezaley—it is impossible that this last can be the Callicolone, which, as Strabo expressly states, was at the distance of forty stadia. Nor is the Callifat Osmak, which is undoubtedly the Simois, sufficiently near the Beyan Mezaley. But we know too well the unavoidable inaccuracy of a map taken by an unpractised eye, to lay any great stress on these difficulties; and for the identity of Palaio Callifat with New Ilium there are other evidences to be drawn from Strabo's description. Immediately behind the city, a ridge of high land had its beginning which divided the Scamandrian or exterior, from the Simoisian or interior plain, a circumstance which exactly corresponds with the limestone range traversed by Dr. Clarke, and supposed by him, with great plausibility, to be the *θρασμος πεδιοις*, where Homer encamps his Trojans. We have no doubt it will be found to communicate with those hills which our travellers crossed between Thymbrik and Tchiblak, and that the  
tumulus

tumulus which they noticed on their south-eastern slope is really the tomb of Ilus. We should wish then future travellers to ascertain, whether the ruins of Palaio Callifat be not in fact a mile or a mile and a half nearer to Sigeium than Dr. Clarke has laid them down, and proportionably farther from the Beyan Mezaley. Or if his estimate of the respective distances should be correct, whether there are any evidences that the sea has receded since the time of Strabo;\* or what probabilities may appear that New Ilium extended itself towards Sigeium sufficiently to account for the discrepancy, by supposing that the twenty furlongs were measured from its western extremity. We should also be anxious to know the vicinity of the Callifat Osmak to the Beyan Mezaley, and whether there be not some hill, a mile and a quarter beyond the later, which has equal or better claims to the character of the Callicolone. In this last case it will become extremely probable that the Beyan Mezaley,—evidently the object of peculiar veneration,—and resembling, as Dr. Clarke informs us, ‘the Castle Hill at Cambridge,’ is the Acropolis of ancient Troy. At all events, if this last be ever ascertained, it must be by the clue which he has furnished that such discovery will be made.

: Another addition which Dr. Clarke has made to our knowledge of the Troad, and one of the importance of which he is himself unconscious, is the ancient city whose ruins he visited, between Halil Elly and the shore, and which himself and his party were unable to reconcile to any previous account of the country. A reference to Strabo would, however, have convinced him that they could only belong to Rhæteium, which the best readings place at 70 stadia, in a direct line from the Sigeian promontory, and which must therefore have occupied the precise spot of these remains. This city has been in general absurdly placed, in utter defiance of Strabo's measurement, in the immediate vicinity of the tomb of Ajax; and even Dr. Clarke has dignified this latter spot with the name of the Rhæteian promontory, and the tomb itself with that of Aiantium. A comparison, however, of Pliny with Strabo will prove, 1st, that Aiantium was not a name applied to the tomb itself, but was that of the adjoining town; 2dly, that this town, though subject to Rhæteium, was distinct from it, being only thirty stadia from Sigeium, while the other was at least twice the distance: 3dly, that an open tract of *βάρη*, *ἡμεν ἀλιτενης*, intervened between Rhæteium and Aiantium, and answers precisely to the heathy country which Dr. Clarke traversed in his way to the former.

• Our author speaks doubtfully as to the course of that river which

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\* This appears unlikely, since the tomb of Ajax is now as near the shore as ever, and the current of the Hellespont would clear away all deposits of the Mender.

he forded between Thymbrik and Tchiblak, and which the author of the history of Ilium supposed to be the Simois of Homer. If it fall into the Mender at the common embouchure above Koum Kall, it is marvellous that he did not observe it from the lofty situation of Palaio Callifat; yet the nature of the country evidently appears to allow it no other issue. As to its joining the Mender near Tchiblak, it is an utterly preposterous notion; since the country has a regular fall from the Ida to the west, and since, if it joined any river there, it must be the Callifat Osmak, in which case our travellers must have forded it not once but twice. Its embouchure may therefore, we presume, be confidently placed in the spot assigned by our author's map; and we strongly recommend it to the examination of future travellers, since there is a passage in Pliny which leads us to infer that it is a stream of far more renown than the *Θυμβρεῖος ποταμός* of Strabo.

Besides a navigable stream to which Pliny gives the name of Scamander, and which he describes as falling into the *Ægean sea*, to the south of the Sigeian promontory, he enumerates three rivers as falling into a common æstuary: these are the Palæ-Scamander, the Simois, and the Xanthus. In the language of men, the Xanthus was, in the days of Homer, also called Scamander; so that within the space of a very few miles we have three rivers with one common appellation. From this fact, some interesting conclusions will follow. 1st, It is probable that the name of Minder, Mender, Mæander, or Scamander, (for they are evidently the same word,) was, in the ancient language of Asia Minor, either generic for all rivers, or, at least, descriptive of some quality in which many were partakers.

2dly, By the supposition of a double or treble Scamander, many of those difficulties will be removed, which have in every age perplexed the critics of Homer and the topographers of the Troad:—but, 3dly, There being two Scamanders and one Simois in the immediate neighbourhood of Ilium, a question will arise, which of the three rivers was Simois, and which of the other two was that Scamander which Homer most frequently mentions, and which he distinguishes by its *divine* title of Xanthus? There are reasons for supposing, that (if Troy stood where Strabo places it) the modern Mender can have been neither the Xanthus nor Simois of Homer.

1st, Whoever compares Dr. Clarke's map with the account of Strabo, will observe that the direct way for the Greeks to advance against Troy, was, after crossing that river which we will still call the Thymbrik, to incline to the east with the Callifat Osmak to their right. If they had crossed the Callifat Osmak, they would have left Troy behind them, and have incurred the greatest

greatest hazard of being cut off from their ships. It is not necessary to be a soldier to understand this danger; and the warriors to whom Homer sung would surely have scouted such an improbability. It was however between the streams of Simois and Xanthus that the greater part of Homer's battles were fought, and the mound of the plain and the tomb of Ilius were situated; the Mender therefore can be neither of these. Again, if the least stress is to be laid on the descriptions of Homer, it is plain that no river could intervene betwixt Troy and his Scamander or Xanthus; for otherwise no fountain near the walls of Troy could arise, or be supposed to arise from the Scamander, or to have any connection with that river; but between Strabo's Ilium and the Mender, the Callifat Osmak flows: on this account too, the Mender is then excluded.

2dly, The Scamandrian plain, where the Grecian army mustered was, of course, the nearest to the ships. It is also called the exterior plain by Strabo, as the Simoisian is called the interior plain, and this is sufficient evidence that, of the two remaining rivers, the Callifat Osmak is the Simois.

3dly, The plain immediately before the Grecian port is called Scamandrian, not very accurately, if the Scamander only bounded one extremity, and that the farthest from Troy; but with good reason, if a river indifferently called Xanthus or Scamander watered it in its whole length.

4thly, When Achilles cuts off the retreat of the Trojan fugitives, and obliges one party to rush to the fords of Xanthus, it is apparent from the circumstances of the story, that those who were thus overtaken were flying, as they naturally would fly, towards their city. But neither the Mender nor the Callifat Osmak answer to this description, for neither of them are in the track from the ships to Ilium. On the whole, it may be thought, on an attentive comparison of Pliny, Strabo, and Homer, that of the three rivers, which fall into the Sigeian æstuary, the principal and most westerly, is the Palæ-Scamander of Pliny; the Callifat Osmak, the Simois; and that the third, now called the Thymbrik, was the Xanthus of Pliny and the Xanthus and Scamander of Homer.

We foresee two objections to our hypothesis:—first, that Strabo places the Scamander on the Sigeian side of the Simois; but, (not to mention that there are readings of Strabo which reverse this order,) if we suppose him to be speaking of the Palæ-Scamander, his account will not interfere with our ideas; and of the Xanthus he says nothing. The second is, that if the Grecian camp had been thus guarded by a river, they need not have built their wall. But whatever were the name, if such a stream flows there, the difficulty will be the same: however called, it is probably fordable;

able; and, above all, the wall is generally allowed to be an invention of Homer's. As to the passage which Dr. Clarke advances (*Iliad*, K. 499.) we cannot, we confess, decide on the imaginary station from which Homer supposed himself to survey his own battles; but we never read that passage without a strong impression, that it was to the left of Ajax and the Grecian army, that Hector was lopping off the heads of warriors; and that the Scamander, on whose brink these exploits were performed, was consequently to the left of the Simois. After all, till we have more accurate maps, we must be content to remain in doubt; but our hypothesis is at least consistent with the account of Pliny, and the sketch which Dr. Clarke has furnished: and whatever further light is thrown upon the subject must redound still more to the credit of the observer, who first awakened the attention of antiquaries to the eastern bank of the Mender.

It is almost needless to remark, that if the observations of the present volume be correct, the hypotheses, the plans and drawings of Chevalier and his associates, have all been labour in vain, and Bornabaschi, with its fabled springs, (for the cold spring appears to have existed in description only,) must relapse into its original obscurity. We have felt, we confess, a sort of invidious satisfaction at the ludicrous distress of so many laborious inquirers, whose cobweb intrenchments our lively traveller has, like the bee in Swift's *Battle of the books*, with so much ease, and almost without intending it, overthrown. The passage in the *Iliad*, however, on which their opinion rested, perplexed the critics so long ago as the time of Strabo, who notices its difficulty, and proceeds to mention that 'in this place (meaning the Pagus Iliensium) there was no hot spring; and that the source of Scamander was not here but in the mountain.' We forget whether Bryant has noticed this passage; but it is singular, that (setting aside all the other objections to Bornabaschi) the very circumstance of its tepid spring is sufficient to prove that this is not the place which antiquity considered as the site of Troy.

We regret that our limits forbid us to do justice to Dr. Clarke's excursion to the source of the Mender and the summit of Casdaghy:—to the perils which he endured in ascending the latter, and the awful and romantic scenery which surrounds the first. The costume and sandals of the Idaeian peasants convey, even at the present time, no bad impression of the ancient Phrygian habit and the subjects of Æneas; and their wicker carts, as Chandler had previously noticed, are nearly on the model of the classic *dippos*. Their manners are interesting and hospitable, and the furniture and ample chimneys of their dwellings appeared to Dr. Clarke (to whom the study of Gothic antiquity is, as will be afterwards shewn, by no means familiar) the prototypes of the furniture and arrange-  
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ment noticed in the ancient mansion-houses of his own country. In truth, however, both the one and the other are the natural architecture of countries abounding in wood, the obvious ornaments of a nation of hunters and warriors, and are sufficiently accounted for by the similarity of habits and necessities, without sending the crusaders to Phrygia to learn the form of a chimney, or the manner of hanging up a spear on the wall. It is, however, a favourite practice with our author to confront the practices of distant countries even on points where it is almost impossible they should differ. Thus, he is not satisfied with telling us that Bornabaschi means in Turkish 'the head of the springs,' without assuring us that places in Wales receive their appellations from similar causes. The fact, no doubt, is true; but surely it was not worth carrying from Pen-tre-fynnin to Phrygia, since all countries that we ever visited have the custom of naming places from some feature of art or of nature: Dr. Clarke may himself have heard of an ancient city named from its bridge over the Cam; and his road to London must have occasionally conducted him through the village of *Foulmire*.

To return from this digression:—In this secluded district, (not *Foulmire*, but *Ida*;) the ancient cities of *Palæ Scep sis* and *Æneia* retain their classical names almost unaltered; and, at the latter place, a tumulus, of the largest size, would appear, from its name of *Ene Tepe*, to cover the ashes of *Æneas*. The altars and temple of the *Idean Jupiter*, some of the features of which are so rude as to be almost *Druidical*,—are found on a hill called *Kutchunlu Tepe*,—and the whole of this beautiful region is filled with ruins of every age and style of architecture, from the noblest *Doric* of classical times, down to the hermitage of the middle ages. *Gargarus*, at the time of Dr. Clarke's visit, was covered with snow, and of dangerous access; but later in the year Lord Aberdeen ascended it without difficulty. It commands a noble prospect of great part of *Asia Minor*, and its roots approach so near the *Adramyttian Gulph*, that the regular caravan track from *Adramyttium* to *Abydos* still runs (as stated by *Herodotus*) on its north-eastern side. Dr. Clarke, however, is guilty of a small inaccuracy in supposing that tigers are found among these wilds. The *lynx* is probably found there; but the tiger, we apprehend, could not endure a climate so severe. Our traveller returned to the coast by the baths of *Lydia Hamam*, and by *Alexandria Troas*, in the neighbourhood of which latter city he discovered a fallen column of granite whose gigantic proportions, resembling those of *Pompey's Pillar* at the Egyptian *Alexandria*, induced him to refer both the one and the other to the common founder of both cities, whose statue they might be intended to support.

1. From *Alexandria Troas* he returned to the *Dardanelles*, and  
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after again experiencing the hospitality of the Pacha, embarked for Egypt.

Some particulars respecting Alexandria Troas are added in a note by Mr. Walpole, none of which, however, are such as to demand insertion here, though they are evidently the observations of a vigorous mind, and one in no common degree familiar with the authors and manners of antiquity. He spells his Turkish names most incorrectly. Mr. Heber, in his *Crimean Journal*, has been guilty of some similar inaccuracies, which are, indeed, the common traps for those who write from the ear; nor should we have noticed them except to contrast the superior correctness which generally distinguishes Dr. Clarke's eastern orthography, and to recommend that all who visit a country, should, at least, take the pains of mastering its *characters*.

A voyage down the Archipelago is likely to present but little that is new; its islands are nearly as well known to the generality of readers as those of Mull or Staffa, nor is much amusement to be expected from the repetition of the same manners and scenery which are given by every traveller from Tournefort downwards, or even from the addition of a few mutilated inscriptions to the stock already in hand. Yet even a country thus generally known may derive an interest from the manner in which it is painted; and the enthusiasm and eloquence of the following passage have not been often exceeded by the ablest masters of description.

‘Whether in dim perspective, through grey and silvery mists, or amidst hues of liveliest purple, the isles and continents of Greece present their varied features, nor pen, nor pencil, can pourtray the scenery. Whatsoever, in the warmest fancies of my youth, imagination had represented of this gifted country, was afterwards not only realized, but surpassed. Let the reader picture to his conception an evening sun, behind the towering cliffs of Patmos, gilding the battlements of the Monastery of the Apocalypse with its parting rays; the consecrated island, surrounded by inexpressible brightness, seeming to float upon an abyss of fire; while the moon, in milder splendor, is rising full over the opposite expanse. Such a scene I actually witnessed, with feelings naturally excited by all the circumstances of local solemnity; for such indeed might have been the face of Nature, when the inspiration of an Apostle, kindling in its contemplation, uttered the Alleluias of that mighty Voice, telling of SALVATION AND GLORY AND HONOUR AND POWER.’—p. 194.

On the eastern face of Samos, a vast and awful mountain, a lambent flame is sometimes seen to hover in stormy nights, visible at a very considerable distance, and serving as a natural beacon in the dangerous channel of Bocaze.

The inhabitants of the island have often climbed their rocks in search

search of this miraculous phanar, but have uniformly failed to find it. The place, indeed, where it appears to rise, (two-thirds of the height of the precipice,) must be, in bad weather, almost inaccessible. 'It is probably,' as Dr. Clarke observes, 'one of those exhalations of ignited hydrogen gas found in many parts of the world, and always most conspicuous in hazy and rainy weather.' It is, however, the only instance we know of a beneficent 'will-o'-the-whisp.' At Cos, now Stanchio, the noble plane tree which has been the admiration of all tourists for the two last centuries, still exists, though with diminished beauty, and the warm chalybeate springs recal the memory of Hippocrates. Here Dr. Clarke discovered an interesting bas-relief which he supposed to represent the nuptials of Neptune and Amphitrite, though, from his own description, it is apparent that they can be only those of Bacchus and Ariadne. It is strange, indeed, that he should have been mistaken in a case so obvious. Even Tooke's Pantheon, we apprehend, would have told him that Bacchus was sometimes represented with a beard; and that the thyrsus, the satyrs, the bacchanals, and the tiger, could have no possible reference to any of the marine deities. The following note, however, it would be unjust to suppress, both as it enables us to appreciate Dr. Clarke's unassisted exertions in acquiring those most important antiquities which he has added to our national stock, and as it may throw additional light on the spirit manifested by a virtuoso of higher rank and greater advantages, at whose approach, if ever, since the days of Alaric,

'Mæstum illacrymat templis ebur, æraque sudant!'—

'The removal of this precious relique, to any of the museums of Europe, must be a desirable object with every civilized nation. It is an honour reserved for some more favoured adventurers. The only power we possessed of adding to the stock of our national literary treasures, was due to our industry alone. The aid our national situation, with regard to Turkey, might then have afforded, was studiously withheld. An absolute prohibition was enforced, respecting the removal of any of the antiquities of the country, excepting by the agents of our own Ambassador at the Porte. Mr. Gell, author of "*The Topography of Troy*," &c. was actually interdicted making drawings within the Acropolis of Athens. While I must lament the miserable policy of such a measure, and a loss affecting the public, rather than ourselves as individuals, I can only add, that every exertion is now making towards rescuing from destruction, not only the valuable monument here alluded to, but also many other important objects of acquisition lying scattered over the desolated territories of the Turkish empire. To a British Minister at the Porte, their removal and safe conveyance to England would be the work merely of a wish expressed upon the subject to the Capudan Pacha; and for the measures necessary in removing them from their present place, no injury would be sustained by the

fine arts, in the dilapidation of any Grecian building.—English travellers, distinguished by their talents, illustrious by their rank, and fortunate in their wealth, are now traversing those regions, to whom every instruction has been given that may facilitate and expedite their researches; it is hoped success will attend their promised endeavours to enrich their nation by the possession of such valuable documents.’—p. 211, Note.

The following particulars, furnished by Mr. Walpole as to the present condition of the Greek peasantry, are interesting, and in a great measure new.

‘A Greek labourer receives from thirty-five to forty paras a day, nearly fifteen pence: he works only two-thirds of the year; the other third consists of holidays. During the four fasts, of which that in Lent is the most strictly observed, he eats shell-fish, caviar, (the roe of sturgeon,) pulse, and anchovies.

‘I observed but few Greek villages in Asia Minor: the Greeks all seek the great towns, to avoid more easily the different means of oppression resorted to by the Turkish Governors; whose short residence in their provinces is spent, not in countenancing or furthering any improvement or plans of amelioration in the condition of those subject to them, but in exacting every thing they can, to repay themselves for the sum which the Porte takes from them; and in carrying away what wealth they are able to amass. It is difficult to ascertain what sum any given province pays annually to the Porte; but a near conjecture may be made, by adding the *Haratch* (capitation-tax) to the sum which the Governor stipulates to pay every year.

‘The Turks, as far as my experience carried me, shew no disposition to molest or offend a traveller. Something contemptuous may at times be observed in their manner. But a great change for the better, in their general deportment, is to be attributed to their never being now exasperated by the attack of corsairs or pirates on the coast.

‘No people living under the same climate, and in the same country, can be so opposite as the Greeks and Turks. There is in the former a cringing manner, and yet a forwardness, disgusting to the gravity and seriousness of the latter. The Turks treat the Armenians, who conduct themselves generally with great propriety and decorum, with much less harshness than they shew to the Greeks. The present condition is certainly not the most favourable point of view for considering the character of the Greeks; and their faults, which are those of their unfortunate situation, would disappear under more favourable circumstances, and a different government. When in office and authority, they are not so devoid of insolence to their countrymen, as might be wished. The *codja-bashis* in the Morea are, many of them, tyrannical to the other Greeks. The treatment which the Jews experienced at their hands, in the time of the Greek empire, is that which the Greeks now meet with from the Turks. “No one,” says Benjamin of Tudela, “dares to go on horseback, but the Imperial physician; and the Jews  
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are hated in the town by all the Greeks, without any regard to their good or bad character.'—p. 186.

Some vestiges of ancient superstition, driven from the temples, are still, as in other countries, preserved in the wakes and village merriment of Greece and Asia; and the god Silenus, represented by a fat old man, adorned with garlands, is annually drawn in a car, through the streets of Rhodes, at Easter.

The inhabitants of Syme and Nizyrus, who are principally maintained by the occupation of diving for sponges, are well known to be almost amphibious. When the antiquities amassed by Lord Elgin were sunk in the bay of Cerigo, some of these men succeeded in preserving a part of them by penetrating to the ship's hold in ten fathom water, and driving large iron bolts into the cases, to which cords were afterwards attached. The courtship of these Tritons is of a kind which would have delighted the whimsical author of the *Telliamede*.—'When a man of any property intends to have his daughter married, he appoints a certain day, when all the young unmarried men repair to the sea-side, where they strip themselves in the presence of the father and his daughter, and begin diving. He who goes deepest into the sea, and remains the longest under water obtains the lady.'

Mr. Morrit, in an interesting note, which makes us wish for more of his communications, adds some particulars respecting Halicarnassus and Cnidos, together with a plan of the latter city. This celebrated region of Asia had for many years been little explored, and the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Glaucus, now Macri Bay, which was the next point of Dr. Clarke's inquiry, was till then almost untrodden by the foot of science. Its pestiferous air, indeed, and the danger and difficulty of its access are sufficient to deter even the hardest adventurer; but the inducements which it offers are almost as lamentably strong. The ruins of Telmessus are as little known as they are remarkable, and the objects of nature which surround them, are, as we infer from Dr. Clarke's representation, of the wildest and most awful kinds. Its theatre, which like most ancient works of this sort, is adapted to the sloping side of a mountain, is, indeed, considerably less than those of Satara or Alexandria Troas, but is characterized by a certain dignity both of site and proportion, which produces an effect on the mind almost unparalleled. Some of the stones used in its construction are nine feet long and three wide, by two in thickness:—and the impost or lintel of the principal door of entrance is a single slab of ten feet seven inches. These enormous masses are placed on one another without cementation or grooving, and such is the labour lavished on the exterior, that every stone is sculptured in regular

parallelograms formed by bevelling the edges. In another part of the incumbent mountain is a remarkable cave, apparently adapted to that oracular imposture for which Telmessus, in ancient times, was famous; the neighbouring rocks are scooped into stupendous sepulchres resembling those of Thebes or Persepolis; and the whole district is full of colossal soroi or sepulchres, of whose dimensions, however, though he calls them prodigious, Dr. Clarke has not thought fit in any single instance to subjoin the measurement. Scales of distance or dimension imply more trouble than sketches made by eye, and the admiration of a rounded period; but though the state of Dr. Clarke's health at the time might, indeed, excuse some want of accuracy, we cannot but lament that he has given us the soros of Helen without enabling us to judge of its height even by the usual criterion of the human figure; and that his chart of the Gulf of Macri is unprovided with that scale and meridian without which all charts are useless.

Of the sepulchres in the solid rock, some presented ornamented frontals resembling the glass doors of a modern book-case, and the doors of such as admitted of entrance had been closed by square slabs of stone, so nicely adjusted as, when finished, to baffle curiosity. Within were square chambers with one or more receptacles for dead bodies, resembling baths, and neatly chiseled in the rock. But of far the greatest part, the entrance eluded research; and even where violence had penetrated by breaking the pannels of the rocky doors, the mystery of the original means of access remained unsolved. The tombs of the ancients, it is known, indeed, were not only the depositaries of a family's dead, but frequently the hiding place of its treasure; and the oriental tales of charms which had power to compel the grave to render up its trust, had their origin no doubt in the care with which, on the one hand, avarice sought to prevent intrusion, and the avidity, on the other, which such mysterious concealment was likely to produce.

The remains of antiquity are not the only inducements to visit Telmessus: eleven new species of plants were found by Dr. Clarke in its neighbourhood, four of which grew on a small conical island in the mouth of the harbour, to which, as it is not mentioned in any writers of antiquity, our travellers, with the honest pride of Englishmen at that eventful period, gave the name of Abercrombie's Island.

The vessel which conveyed Dr. Clarke arrived off Alexandria in the evening of the 16th of April. At first, we were startled, we confess at the military appearance of our author's 9th Chapter; the repetition of the often told tale of Aboukir and Alexandria, and the unusual phenomena of a coloured plate of the English order

order of battle, and a plan of the disembarkation; more worthy both of them of the Regimental Magazine, than a work of science. A moment's consideration completely altered our sentiments; and we felt, that as to have been present in such scenes, and not to have related them, would have been in an Englishman impossible and unnatural, so the national and moral effect of Dr. Clarke's vigorous painting, rendered the present volume no unfitting vehicle for the gleanings of those events which have as yet been but very imperfectly described. Often as the landing of the 8th of March has been related, the following passage will not be found without its interest.

‘Never was any thing conducted with greater regularity. The French, to their astonishment, as they afterwards often related, instead of beholding a number of men landing pell-mell, saw the British troops preserving a regular line, as they advanced in their boats, although the wind was directly in their teeth; and, finally, landing in regular order of battle, under the heaviest fire perhaps ever experienced. Shells, cannon-balls, and grape-shot, coming with the wind, fell like a storm of hail about them; yet not a soldier quitted his seat or moved, nor did a single sailor shrink from the hard labour of his oar. Not a musket was suffered to be charged, until the troops could form upon the strand. They were commanded to sit still in the boats; and this command, with inconceivable firmness, did these men obey; with the exception only of returning for each volley of shot from their enemies three general cheers, an effect of ardour in which their officers found it impossible to restrain them. The feelings of those who remained in the ships were not proof against such a sight. Several of our brave seamen wept like children; and many of those upon the quarter-decks, who attempted to use telescopes, suffered the glasses to fall from their hands, and gave vent to their tears.

‘But the moment of triumph was at hand. For three long miles, pulling in this manner against the wind, did our brave tars strain every sinew. Several boats were sunk by the bursting of the shells, and about two hundred and seventy men were killed before they reached the shore. At length, with all their prows touching the beach at the same instant, the boats grounded. Then a spectacle was presented that will be ever memorable. Two hundred of the French cavalry actually charged into the sea, and were seen for a few seconds hacking the men in the boats: these assailants were every one killed. It was now about ten o'clock; and within the space of six minutes, from this important crisis, the contest was decided. The 42d regiment, leaping up to their middle in water, formed rapidly upon the shore; and with a degree of impatience nothing could restrain, without waiting to load their muskets, broke from the main line before it could be formed, and ran gallantly up the hill, sinking deep in the sand at every step they took. In this perilous situation a body of French cavalry pushed down upon them; but instead of being thrown into any disorder, they coolly received the charge upon the points of their bayonets; and the rest of  
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the army coming up, routed the enemy on all sides. The French fled with the greatest precipitation. Our troops had been taught to expect no quarter, and therefore none was given. The wounded and the dying neither claimed nor obtained mercy; all was blood, and death, and victory.'—p. 277.

During an excursion to Rosetta our travellers had an opportunity of noticing the singular phenomenon of the mirage, reflecting, with all the clearness of a real lake, the towers and palm trees of the city, and so perfectly resembling water that our travellers anxiously inquired for the ferry which was to conduct them across. It is strange that such a circumstance is no where mentioned either by ancient or modern observers previous to the date of the French invasion, though it may, at times, and in a less degree, be witnessed on the plains of Hungary, and though many expressions in the eastern languages allude to it, as where the same word (*Abel*) is used to signify, 'a plain,' 'vapour,' and 'disappointment.' They also observed that the sterility even of the desert is not every where incurable by industry; that, by digging, brackish water might be often found; and that, even where the inundation of the Nile does not extend, the bountiful dews supply, in no inconsiderable degree, the want of rain. Rosetta itself offers few remains of antiquity; one of the principal is a building of very uncertain date whose pillars and groined vault resemble the trunks and branches of the palm tree, a simple and striking ornament which affords, at least, a plausible hint for the origin of gothic architecture. The little island of Aboukir contains some remarkable ruins which Dr. Clarke, with good reason, conjectures to be a part of the ancient city of Canopus. The remainder is now covered by the waves, 'a memorable instance of the fate attending cities distinguished only by their vices.'

Cyprus, to which island our travellers were offered a passage by Captain Russel, of the *Ceres* frigate, is at present a most wretched country, exposed, by its situation between Syria and Egypt, to a species of sirocco from every quarter of the compass, to heat unmitigated, at least in its eastern regions, by trees or verdure, and to fevers more prevalent and fatal than are found on any other. These, indeed, are natural evils; and to suppose that the south-eastern parts, which Dr. Clarke traversed, ever exhibited these delightful scenes of lawns and groves which we associate with the name of the island of love and pleasure, and which the neighbourhood of Paphos may, perhaps, even at present share, is to indulge in fancies which neither reason nor the voice of antiquity sanctions: while to impute their having ceased to exist to Turkish oppression, is to ascribe to man, powerful as he is in works of evil, an influence over creation which providentially he does not possess. Yet the annual

annual farming of the government to the highest bidder has, it must be owned, a natural tendency to ruin a territory; and if it be true, which we can hardly credit, that the present population of a country so fertile, and equal in extent to one fourth of Ireland, does not exceed 60,000, no stronger instance can be found of a fruitful land becoming barren through the wickedness of those that govern it. Of those commodities which the oppression of its rulers still permits the Cypriots to cultivate, the quality, we are told, is excellent. The wines and fruits are the best in the world, and the wheat, though of the bearded kind, is very large and makes excellent bread. Enough and more than enough is told us in the present volume of the different substances on which the intaglios of the ancient Cypriots were carved; but the copper and gold mines which distinguished the island formerly, have apparently sunk into oblivion. The females of this country alone present that remarkable style of beauty which is imitated in Grecian statues, and which, since it does not exist in the Greek islands themselves, has been rashly pronounced imaginary. The dress of the courtezans still retains some traces of classical elegance; the richer dames encumber their beauty with a variety of ill-contrived ornaments.

But it is from its remains of antiquity that Cyprus is at the present day most interesting. It was, as Dr. Clarke has with considerable acuteness proved, the Chittim of Scripture; it was the seat of the earliest and some of the most flourishing Phenician colonies, and, as the point of junction between the east and west, it is here that we may best trace the passage of the Sidonian alphabets to Italy and Greece, or the transformation of the Syrian divinities Baal and Moloch into the Jupiter and Hercules and Apollo of classical mythology. What Dr. Clarke has given us on this subject, though short, is sensible: but he treats with too great reverence the laborious dreams of Athanasius Kircher, of whom even the learning has been overrated, and whose system, though he himself did not perceive it, had an inevitable tendency to pantheism. May the honest Jeauit rest in peace in his own mundus subterraneus, and may the volumes which he has built lie lightly on his ashes! he himself, if he were to return to life, would start and tremble at the cumbrous infinity of that system which modern philosophers have founded on his hypothesis. For ourselves, we could sooner pin our faith on the lawgivers of Laputa, than suppose that the warriors and statesmen of antiquity were only anxious about the sun's place in the ecliptic; that the priests of Egypt did nothing but carve almanacks on blocks of obsidian; or that the bards and historians of Israel spent their days and nights in allegorizing the signs of the zodiac into kings and



and conquerors. With this abuse of Kircher's doctrine Dr. Clarke has however no concern; his acuteness is too great, and his heart too good to favour such obliquity of intellect; and of the feeling and the eloquence displayed by him in the description of those scenes to which we are now hastening, the heart and powers of a mere modern philosopher are alike incapable.

Before, however, we forsake the shores of Cyprus, we have two observations to offer. 1st. The description of the male and female Centaur, which he gives us in his note, p. 328, as 'a Greek commentary on Gregory Nazianzen,' is in fact of greater authority than either he himself or Professor Porson was aware of. Mr. Gaisford, in his catalogue of the Clarkian MSS. has shewn by a reference to Lucian, that it is almost a verbal copy of a passage in the *Zeuxis* of that philosopher; and it is highly creditable to his sagacity that he has thus detected what even the memory of Porson had not retained.—2dly. If it be true that the cathedral of Nicosia is Gothic, we greatly doubt, whether even this will prove that style so old as the reign of Justinian. Allowing that emperor to be the original constructor of the edifice, there are so many instances in our own country where the heavy pillar of the Norman founder has been chipped into the slender fasciculated column, and the semicircular arch converted into the light triangular form of a later period, that it is more safe to ascribe such features in the present instance to the modernizing hand of the French and English artists under the family of Lusignan, than to suppose that Justinian in this one instance so widely departed from his favourite models of S. Sophia and the church of the sepulchre.

Our travellers returned to the coast of Egypt on the 16th of May, in time to witness the melancholy sight of the *Iphigenia* on fire. Two days afterwards they received another invitation from Captain Culverhouse of the *Romulus*, to accompany him on a mission to Djezzar Pacha at Acre, and on June 29, arrived in the harbour of this celebrated town.

Dr. Clarke begins his account of Acre with a pretty violent diatribe against the crusaders, a race of men whom we are not disposed to justify; but who, certainly, as appears from every history of the times, were not the mere savages that he imagines them to have been. If Dr. Clarke, who is evidently at present altogether unskilled in what we may call chivalrous reading, will consult either the authors contained in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, or the *Contemporary Romances*, or so common a book as Henry's *History of England*, he will find that so far from the Franks bringing back to their own savage countries the refinements of the Saracens, there were many points in which these last might have been their pupils; that

the engineers of Richard and Philip were capable of constructing engines of attack which would puzzle, and have puzzled the best mechanists of the present day:—that the architects of modern France have not been able to replace the bridge of Rouen which was built by the Empress Matilda; and that the cathedrals of Durham, Canterbury, and Old St. Paul's were already in existence, at the period which he conceived too barbarous to construct even that building whose poor remains he describes at Acre. Those who have supposed the arts of modern Europe to be derived from the Saracens by the crusaders, forget how few comparatively of these last returned to their native land, or how improbable it is that they should adopt the customs of a race with whom they had little intercourse save on the field of battle, and whose persons and practices they were taught to believe offensive to the Deity. After all the declamations which have been lavished against the Frankish and German conquerors of Rome, there is no good reason to suppose that they allowed those arts to retrograde which they found among their new subjects; and the deterioration which had taken place may be referred, as in the case of Constantinople, to the Romans themselves, and not their foreign invaders. The villas of Italy were, as Mr. Knight has proved, the models of the feudal castle: the basilica of the age of Constantine were not only imitated, but excelled by the cathedrals of the feudal period; the feudal princes used in their wars the same catapulta and balista which (when directed by Roman hands) had been unable to withstand their valour; and even the Latin of the Gothic ages, barbarous as it is, was very little deteriorated from that which was spoken by Augustulus and his subjects.

With such obvious sources of imitation before us in the west, it is mere idleness to seek for others in the eastern countries; and it is surely sufficient to account for those few instances of similarity which may be found between the Saracens and their invaders, by the fact that either people had derived whatever civilization they possessed from the same Roman empire of which they had subdued and colonized the opposite extremities. We have once for all observed thus much on a subject which Dr. Clarke has very often introduced, and we trust that our present observations may serve as a receipt in full for the tents,\* the chimneys, and painted windows of both Franks and Moslems.

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\* Dr. Clarke might have recollected that the tents both of Turks and British bear a common resemblance to those on the principal monuments of Rome: and if he had taken the trouble to consult any traveller into Arabia, he would have seen that the aboriginal tents of the country is of a different construction from either.

At the time of Dr. Clarke's visit, Acre was under the authority of Djezzar Pacha, one of those strange studies of human character which are rarely to be witnessed except in those countries where the passions of men are allowed to take their course with small restraint from education, where courage and craft are the passports to rank and power, and cruelty the usual means of guarding that eminence which courage and craft have acquired. With high animal spirits, with a self-complacency resulting from the consciousness of power, and a cunning and jealousy which had become too habitual to be laid aside, even where he himself could apprehend no danger—fond of alluding to his own low origin, because it proved his talents, and to his own cruelty, because, while he was secure of the fears of his subjects he despised their hatred—the *Butcher* (for such, Dr. Clarke tells us, was his own translation of the word Djezzar) must have been (to those who had no reason to fear him) a singular and interesting picture of those tyrants of ancient times whom the influence of Christianity, which even the wicked feel, has almost extirpated from Europe. His real name was Ahmed, and he had risen from the situation of a slave to the rank of governor of Cairo, in which office, as he himself was fond of boasting, it was his custom to mingle in disguise among the multitude, and realize the stories which Arabian fiction ascribes to Haroun Al-raschid. His harem was guarded with a concealment and mystery unusual in the east, and when he retired thither in the evening, he barred, with his own hands, the three massive doors which separated it from the rest of his palace. Of his wives, whose number was unknown, and whose seclusion was never violated, he was suspected to have murdered several; and his domestics and ministers of state had most of them lost an eye, an ear, an arm, or a hand from the sallies of their master's brutality. Dr. Clarke compares him to Herod; but they resemble each other in no respect but cruelty. The Jewish sovereign, however profligate and oppressive, had talents, or at least acquirements, far superior to those manifested by the Pacha; and the unbounded splendour and ostentatious munificence of the one, form a perfect contrast to the mean and miserly extortion of the other. Both were jealous husbands; but Herod's was the jealousy of a frantic lover, Djezzar's that of a jailor only. Both were proud; but the pride of Herod was displayed in great public works and costly buildings; that of Djezzar was the mere selfish sensation of power which a wild beast may be supposed to feel as he growls over his victim. The following is the account of Dr. Clarke's introduction to the Lord of Acre, of Sidon and of Galilee.

' We found him seated on a mat in a little chamber, destitute even  
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of the meanest article of furniture, excepting a coarse, porous, earthenware vessel, for cooling the water he occasionally drank. He was surrounded by persons maimed and disfigured in the manner before described. He scarcely looked up to notice our entrance, but continued his employment of drawing upon the floor, for one of his engineers, a plan of some works he was then constructing. His form was athletic, and his long white beard entirely covered his breast. His habit was that of a common Arab, plain but clean, consisting of a white camlet over a cotton cassock. His turban was also white. Neither cushion nor carpet decorated the naked boards of his diván. In his girdle he wore a poignard set with diamonds; but this he apologized for exhibiting, saying it was his badge of office, as governor of Acre, and therefore could not be laid aside. Having ended his orders to the engineer, we were directed to sit upon the end of the diván; and Signor Bertocino, his dragoman, kneeling by his side, he prepared to hear the cause of our visit.

The conversation began by a request from the Pacha, that English captains, in future, entering the bay of Acre, would fire only one gun, rather as a signal, than a salute, upon their arrival. "There can be no good reason," said he, "for such a waste of gunpowder, in ceremony between friends." "Besides," he added, "I am too old to be pleased with ceremony: among forty-three Pachas of three tails, now living in Turkey, I am the senior. My occupations are consequently, as you see, very important," taking out a pair of scissars, and beginning to cut figures in paper, which was his constant employment when strangers were present: these he afterwards stuck upon the wainscot. "I shall send each of you away," said he, "with good proof of old Djezzar's ingenuity. There," addressing himself to Captain Culverhouse, and offering a paper cannon, "there is a symbol of your profession:" and while I was explaining to the captain the meaning of this singular address, he offered me a paper flower, denoting, as he said, "*a florid interpretation of blunt speech.*" As often as we endeavoured to introduce the business of our visit, he affected to be absorbed in these trifling conceits, or turned the conversation by allegorical sayings, to whose moral we could find no possible clue. His whole discourse was in parables, proverbs, truisms, and Oriental apologies. One of his tales lasted nearly an hour, about a man who wished to enjoy the peaceful cultivation of a small garden, without consulting the lord of the manor, whenever he removed a tulip; alluding, perhaps, to his situation with reference to the Grand Signior. There was evidently much cunning and deep policy in his pretended frivolity. Apparently occupied in regulating the shape of a watch-paper with his scissars, he was all the while deeply attentive to our words, and even to our looks, anxious to discover whether there was any urgency in the nature of our visit; and certainly betraying as much ostentation in the seeming privations to which he exposed himself, as he might have done by the most stately magnificence. He was desirous of directing the attention of his visitors to the homeliness of his mode of living: "If I find," said he, "only bread

bread and water in another world, I shall have no cause of complaint, because I have been accustomed to such fare all my days; but those who have fared sumptuously in this life, will, I suspect, be much disappointed in the next." We spoke of the camp of his cavalry, then stationed near the town; and of the great preparations he seemed to be making against the Druses, and other rebel Arabs, with whom he was at war. "It is not," said he, "the part of a wise man to despise his enemy, whatsoever shape he may assume. If he be but a pismire, there is no reason why he should be permitted to creep upon your cheek while you are sleeping."—pp. 368, 69, 70.

The climate of Acre is healthy, and its port, though insecure, the only tolerable one in this part of Syria. Few vestiges either of Greek or chivalrous antiquities remain, and of these fewer still were sought after by our travellers, who seem on this occasion to have abandoned their wonted spirit of research, as they only noticed three Gothic arches which the English sailors call 'King Richard's Palace,' and which are, without doubt, as Maundrell and Pococke represent them, the remains of the cathedral church of St. Andrew. Dr. Clarke indeed supposes it to have been the church of St. John Baptist, erected by the knights of Jerusalem, and grounds his opinion on certain human heads with distorted features represented in its cornice, and which resemble, as he assures us, the head of St. John as barbarously delineated 'in those rude paintings used as idols in the Greek church.' To this argument we have three circumstances to oppose;—first, that the building, to whatever saint it was dedicated, was undoubtedly not a Greek but a Latin place of worship; and we never observed such representations of *St. John's* head among those of this last named religion. Secondly, That such heads, if, indeed, in the present instance they be not spouts, are no uncommon ornament in cathedrals, without any reference to decollation; and thirdly, that the patron of the knights hospitallers was not St. John the Baptist, but, as William of Tyre informs us, (lib. xviii. 5.) St. John the almsgiver, a Cypriot by birth, and patriarch of Alexandria. This mistake is the more necessary to be noticed, because Mosheim has fallen into it as well as Dr. Clarke, and it has, so far as we know, passed hitherto without correction. It is singular that the remains of this edifice should have been of late years so greatly dilapidated. According to Le Brun's engraving, the west front and the north side, as far as the transept, were in his time standing, presenting indeed a less splendid exterior than many contemporary buildings in France and England, but still a chaste and simple specimen of that style of Gothic which is generally referred to the middle of the thirteenth century. At present only three arcades remain.

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During the stay of our travellers at Acre, an assault was made on them by the mob, which had nearly put a melancholy end to their progress; and which, when our author with much spirit had insisted on rousing the old 'Butcher from his noonday sleep,' in order to complain of the outrage, afforded them a tolerable specimen of his prompt method of executing justice. His visage, like that of Nebuchadnezzar, was changed with fury; and beckoning with one hand the officer on guard, by whose negligence the fray had occurred, and drawing his dagger with the other, it required all the entreaties of the English to prevent him from sheathing it in his breast. They at length succeeded in appeasing him, and on the third of July began their journey for Jerusalem under the escort of Signor Bertocino, Djezzar's interpreter, and eleven soldiers of his cavalry, and accompanied by so many pilgrims of the country as to form a numerous caravan. They forded the river Belus, which must therefore have a more northern source than most modern maps assign it, whose composers have in fact mistaken the passage in Pliny which assigns its origin to Carmel, which they have supposed to mean only the cape so called, while it was in fact the general name for the whole range of mountains thence to Lebanon. At a village on this range, named Shefflamer, they passed the night, and the next day entered ancient Galilee. The land, though Djezzar's tyranny kept it uncultivated, is every where abundantly fertile; and thistles, which, as Dr. Clarke well observes, are a sure indication of natural wealth of soil, are here in more abundance and variety than he ever witnessed elsewhere. The mountainous district was indeed stony; but its valleys are described as equal to the finest parts of Kent and Surry; and the plain of Zabulon is covered with an exuberant and spontaneous vegetation. The prickly pear, with its gaudy blossoms and tremendous thorns, grows every where wild among the rocks, with a stem not inferior in girth to the mainmast of a frigate; and though the sun's rays were intense, the other plagues of hot countries do not molest the traveller in the Holy Land. At Sepphoris, now Sepphoury, they were conducted to a ruined Gothic church, which former travellers have noticed more slightly than it merits, under the name of the house of St. Anne; and rescued from the rubbish two pictures of great, though uncertain antiquity, which had *possibly* remained there since the overthrow of the house of Lusignan, and to which their Arabic inscriptions might seem to assign a still earlier origin. Yet this latter evidence is in truth delusory; the majority of the inhabitants of Galilee are now, and always have been, Christian; the pictures are in the style of painting now usual among the Greeks; and the vault where they were found may have served as

a chapel long after the desolation of the upper building. At all events the discovery is interesting, and the picture which Dr. Clarke has engraved, is apparently not without a share of other merit beside antiquity.

The dress of the Arabs, as in all countries where the climate and the general poverty set bounds to the caprices of fashion, remains the same as in the remotest ages. In the districts of the north they still 'bind the calf of the leg with the Tyrian cothurnus; and southwards with the classical and sacred sandal.' The raiment is of blue cotton, and the upper garment, of coarse camel's hair, is esteemed more valuable when 'without seam, and woven from the top throughout.' The females are not so carefully concealed as in Turkey; but partly from poverty and filth, and partly from ill-placed ornaments contrive to render their persons as disgusting as the barbarians of the South Seas. The querns, or handmills, are turned by two women sitting face to face; and a fountain, at a small distance from Nazareth, may be with good reason supposed to have been often frequented by the Virgin Mary, whose name it bears.

Nazareth, which Mr. Brown mentions as a respectable town, has, under Djezzar's government, dwindled to a village. It has a monastery of Franciscan Friars, and a handsome church, though degraded by the absurd impostures of the priests, who shew a cellar or subterraneous chapel as the house of Joseph and Mary. The friars have taught many of the neighbouring Arabs to speak Italian, and with some of these our travellers had a very interesting conversation. It was, as might be expected, full of complaints against the rapacious tyranny of their governors.—'One of them said, *beggars in England are happier and better than we poor Arabs.* Why better? said one of our party. *Happier,* replied the Arab who made the observation, *in a good government; better, because they will not endure a bad one.*' Nazareth is built on a hill; above the town is a precipice corresponding to that from which, as St. Luke relates, the infatuated countrymen of the Messiah sought to cast him headlong; and it commands a long and narrow valley opening to the east, though D'Auville has erroneously given it a different termination, and placed the city to the south-west of the hills which separate Galilee from the plains of Esdraelon.

From Nazareth, after a comfortless night, disturbed by every possible penance of vermin, noises, and apprehensions of the plague, which at that time was raging in the town, our travellers proceeded to Cana, among whose ruins they noticed many of those massy stone water-pots, once common in the country, holding each from eighteen to twenty-seven gallons. They were not preserved as relics, but lying about disregarded by the present inhabitants; and it is undoubtedly singular that the most prominent feature in  
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the place should still correspond so remarkably to the miracle which our Saviour performed there. Between Cana and Turan basaltic phenomena are of very frequent occurrence; and from the summit of Hutin, the mountain which tradition points out as the scene of our Saviour's memorable sermon, a magnificent prospect is presented, which we shall give in the author's own words, premising only that a reference to D'Anville's map of Syria would have shewn him that *Jebel el Sieh* is the general name for the whole chain of (not Libanus, but) anti-Libanus, and is identified by Jerom with the scriptural Hermon.

‘ From this situation we perceived that the plain, over which we had been so long riding, was itself very elevated. Far beneath appeared other plains, one lower than the other, in that regular gradation concerning which observations were recently made, and extending to the surface of the sea of Tiberias, or sea of Galilee. This immense lake, almost equal, in the grandeur of its appearance, to that of Geneva, spreads its waters over all the lower territory, extending from the north-east towards the south-west, and then bearing east of us. Its eastern shores present a sublime scene of mountains, extending towards the north and south, and seeming to close it in at either extremity; both towards *Chorazin*, where the Jordan enters; and the *AULON*, or *Carpus magnus*, through which it flows to the Dead Sea. The cultivated plains reaching to its borders, which we beheld at an amazing depth below our view, resembled, by the various hues their different produce exhibited, the motley pattern of a vast carpet. To the north appeared snowy summits, towering, beyond a series of intervening mountains, with unspeakable greatness. We considered them as the summits of Libanus; but the Arabs belonging to our caravan called the principal eminence *Jebel el Sieh*, saying it was near Damascus; probably, therefore, a part of the chain of Libanus. This summit was so lofty, that the snow entirely covered the upper part of it; not lying in patches, as I have seen it, during summer, upon the tops of very elevated mountains, (for instance, upon that of *Ben Nevis* in Scotland,) but investing all the higher part with that perfect white and smooth velvet-like appearance which snow only exhibits when it is very deep; a striking spectacle in such a climate, where the beholder, seeking protection from a burning sun, almost considers the firmament to be on fire.’—pp. 454, 455, 456.

Dr. Clarke is without authority, however, in fixing the temptation of our Saviour and the retirement of John, in the elevated plain north of this lake. *Ænon* and *Bethabara*, the places most frequented by the Baptist, are fixed, by Eusebius and Reland, not far from *Scythopolis*, at least fifty miles to the southward; and there is every reason to suppose that the wilderness, whither Jesus retired, was in the same vicinity, where he had received his baptism. But the northern parts of Galilee, and the borders of *Trachonitis* neither are, nor ever have been desert: the ancient name of *Sharon*,



ron, which, in common with many other districts, they bore, may be, perhaps, retained among the Christian Arabs; and this, to the ear of a learner, might easily sound like the Arabic word *Sahara*.

Some interesting particulars are added respecting the Druses, a race concerning whose origin many absurd notions have been propagated; and whose religion, though enveloped in mystery, is believed to retain, among other singular rites, the worship of the golden calf. They are a race, both in habits and physiognomy, distinct from the Arabs, and are highly spoken of for their probity and mildness of disposition. That they are a kindred people with the ancient Etruscans, Dr. Clarke has hazarded a conjecture in a note to p. 327; and it is certainly rendered probable by the manner in which Rauwolf spells their name. Dr. Clarke will find many hints, by no means unworthy his attention, in Hyde, (*Relig. Vet. Persarum*, p. 461.) who, though he often fails in critical acumen, had an acquaintance with eastern authors and manners which entitle his opinions to the highest deference, assisted as he was by the local knowledge of Chardin. Both in religion and dialect (Dr. Clarke does not seem aware that the Druses have a peculiar dialect) Hyde identifies them with the Curds, and asserts that the epithets of Yesidean, Curd, and Calb (quære, χαλυβες?) are given by the Turks to both. The nightly meetings and promiscuous intercourse of their Okkals, he confirms by the whimsical anecdote of a Syrian, who in disguise was present at one of them, but was detected by an indiscreet curiosity as to the age and beauty of the female (an old woman unluckily) who fell to his share in the blindfold scramble. Those singular fanatics, the assassins, were, according to him, of their number; and he finds them in Herodotus as inhabitants of Libanus, under the name of ΔΗΡΟΥΣΙΑΙΟΙ.

The hot baths near Tiberias are still frequented, and the *House of Peter*, as it is called, is possibly the most ancient place of Christian worship now standing in Palestine. The Christian inhabitants of the town are numerous, and there are Jewish families who pretend to have resided there ever since the days of Vespasian. The lake, six miles broad, and perhaps seventeen in length, is beautifully clear, and the fish, both here and in the Jordan, resemble those of the Nile. Our travellers were prevented from visiting mount Tabor by the war which then raged between its inhabitants and Djezzar, and they proceeded by Nazareth to the plain of Esdraclon, incurring by the way considerable risk of their lives through our author's impetuosity, and the stupidity or malice of one of their Arab conductors.

On the almost exhausted subject of Arabian manners, little that is new can be expected; and Dr. Clarke had no great opportunities of adding, from personal observation, any traits to the elaborate portraits

portraits of D'Arvieux and Niebuhr, though his illustrations of Scripture by the present habits of the country are here, as elsewhere, felicitous and striking. His party joined the camp of Djezzar's army, in the plain of Esdraelon; and here, for the first time, they experienced an attack of the dreadful simoom, or southern wind. Dr. Clarke's account of this memorable plain, which, though a solitude, he found like one vast meadow, covered with the richest pasture, together with his recapitulation of the different nations whose tents have been wet with the 'dews of Hermon,' is interesting and lively; but we are much surprised that he should speak of it as almost a new discovery, and as hitherto seldom noticed in books of travels. 'It does not,' he observes, 'occur in the ordinary route pursued by pilgrims in their journeys to Jerusalem. These men have generally landed at Jaffa, and have returned thither, after completing their pilgrimage.' And of this, he assures us in a note, 'the reader may find amusing evidence in an extract from a MS. poem of the Cottonian library.—The last line will not easily be paralleled.

' At port Jaff begynn wee  
And so frothe from gre to gre,  
At port Jaff there is a place  
Where Peter raysted thugh Goddes grace  
From dede to lif Tabitane;  
He was a woman, that was her name.'

We cannot tell what weight he may assign to this golden legend, but we are very sure that landing at Jaffa is no proof that pilgrims were not in the habit of visiting Galilee. On the contrary, there is good proof that almost all the most intelligent pilgrims either landed at Acré or embarked from thence:—nor, if we begin with the earliest, and descend to the most recent age of eastern travel, is there any spot which Dr. Clarke has visited which had not been previously described by Brocardus the monk, Bartholomæus à Saligniac, Zuallart, Antonio de Castillo, Le Brun, Maundrell, and Pococke. We mention these because we have referred to them; how many more have trod the same course we know not; nor what voyages, besides the silly publication of Châteaubriand, (which Dr. Clarke has the goodness to praise,) have omitted all mention of Samaria and Galilee. By Ginea, now Jinnin, the frontier town between Galilee and Samaria; and the town and Norman fortress of Santoni, which our author, with great probability, identifies with the ancient Sebaste, he proceeded to Sichem, now Naplouse, whose beautiful valley, with the tomb of Joseph, still held in reverence, and Jacob's well, ascertained by the circumstances of its situation, together with the various and awful associations which these objects recal, are painted with a force of

eloquence and feeling which do the highest honour to the writer's heart and genius. This is tempting ground; but our extracts have been already unreasonable, and our limits forbid us to linger even in these hallowed precincts.

The tyranny of Djezzar ended at Jinnin, and the milder government of the Pacha of Damascus was apparent in the diligent cultivation of the Samaritan vallies, and of the rugged mountains of Judea which they were now beginning to ascend. Dr. Clarke indeed has rendered a worthy service to the cause of truth, in repelling effectually; and we trust finally, the idle charge of sterility, which the ignorance of infidelity has so long advanced against the Holy Land, in contradiction to all ancient authorities, and to the united testimony of the best modern travellers.

‘A sight of this territory can alone convey any adequate idea of its surprising produce: it is truly the Eden of the east, rejoicing in the abundance of its wealth. The effect of this upon the people was strikingly pourtrayed in every countenance: instead of the depressed and gloomy looks of Djezzar Pacha's desolated plains, health, hilarity, and peace, were visible in the features of the inhabitants. Under a wise and a beneficent government, the produce of the Holy Land would exceed all calculation. Its perennial harvest; the salubrity of its air; its limpid springs; its rivers, lakes, and matchless plains; its hills and vales;—all these, added to the serenity of its climate, prove this land to be indeed “a field which the Lord hath blessed: God hath given it of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine.”—p. 520.

The approach to ‘the Holy City’ is described with equal eloquence: its present size and even stateliness surprized them, and the Turkish seraskier, and the corpulent friars of the Latin convent received their English visitors with due respect and unbounded hospitality. The day after their arrival, having first dispatched the swarms of Jews and Armenians who besiege all new-comers with their merchandize of beads, crosses, shells, and amulets, (the latter of fetid limestone from the banks of the Dead Sea,) the party set out on their excursion to the holy places.

This is a very interesting part of the volume, and as Dr. Clarke has assumed the privilege of a Protestant and a Christian philosopher, to differ from the generally received opinion as to the most venerable of these places, we will endeavour to put our readers in possession of the question as it has hitherto stood; and while we do justice to the acuteness and good sense of Dr. Clarke's remarks, to state some circumstances which may seem to hold the question even yet in a state of uncertainty.

The interested mummery and gross ignorance of the guardians of such antiquities as Jerusalem might be supposed to furnish, have

have apparently omitted no circumstance of absurdity which might shake the credit of their own tradition, and, if that tradition had any foundation in truth, brand even truth itself with the external symptoms of falsehood. But as no reliques can be so interesting as these, it is at least worth an effort to separate whatever parts of the detail are least likely to have been falsified, from such as bear the evident stamp of priestcraft and superstition. The first and most remarkable, and one which it is of all others the most necessary to get rid of, is the pretended rock of Calvary. We know not on what authority the scene of our Saviour's execution has been described as 'a small hill without the city, resembling a human skull.' No such feature occurs in the accounts of the resurrection; nor in the details of the siege by Josephus is any mention made of a point whose military importance would be so obvious to both sides, and of course contested by both. Nor does St. Jerome, who, of all Christian writers, is most diffuse in his descriptions, afford any ground for such a supposition; he speaks of it in his commentary on St. Luke, as a part of the hill on which Jerusalem stood; and in his epistle to Paulinus, as a rock or cliff indeed, but apparently not an insulated one. It was probably the brow of that hill on which the city walls were built, and not itself an elevated mound. The fact, therefore, which both D'Anville and Dr. Clarke assume as certain, that Calvary was a hill, appears itself as apocryphal as that Adam was buried there; but there is also another circumstance which has been rashly taken as granted, namely, that the tomb of our Saviour was in the same place as his cross. That this, so far from being founded on Scripture, is, in itself highly improbable, is apparent for the following reasons.

The cavern in which Jesus was laid, was certainly not constructed for the purpose of receiving his remains: it was the private cemetery of Joseph of Arimathæa, who intended it for himself; and it was, moreover, situated in a garden, no doubt, belonging to the same proprietor. Now, that in the very place where the enemies of Jesus crucified him, one of his disciples should have previously, and without expecting it, constructed a tomb for his remains, was a coincidence too singular and too apparently providential to have escaped the notice of the Evangelists: and it was also most improbable that the Roman soldiers should have selected, as the place of three executions, and the exposure of three bodies on the cross, the garden of any individual, more especially when that individual was a magistrate of considerable rank. The place whither our Saviour and the two malefactors were taken, was probably the place made use of on such occasions, and the name of Golgotha, which Dr. Clarke insists on to prove its situation

tuation among sepulchres, will tally better with the carnage and skeletons of the place of execution, than with the usual circumstances of a quiet and orderly burial-ground. When, therefore, the monks of Jerusalem pretend to shew, within the same narrow building, both Calvary and the sepulchre, we have reason to suspect, that one at least is apocryphal; and a little consideration will evince that Calvary was, of the two, the spot least likely to be identified in the days of Helena.

A place polluted by frequent executions was not one which the Jewish converts would frequent with pleasure; and it is probable that they would regard with horror, rather than reverence, the scene which recalled their Master's sufferings, where the guilt of their nation was consummated, and the ruin of their city sealed. The cross, which was a scandal to their countrymen, could not be otherwise than painful to themselves, and they would feel no anxiety to preserve the memory of a place with which they themselves were but too familiar. The place itself, distinguished by no monument, would only be recollected so long as it was the usual scene of executions, and could hardly be distinguished after the taking of Jerusalem by Titus, and those cruelties which pallisaded the ditch with crosses, and converted the whole circuit of the town into one vast Golgotha. But the case is widely different with the sepulchre of Christ, to preserve and honour which the prejudices of Jews and Greeks united; both of whom, from former habits, would be led to decorate the tomb of a prophet, and scatter flowers in honour of a departed friend, and whose preachers would appeal, with irresistible authority, to that empty vault which was the proof of their Lord's resurrection. The Christians did not honour, that we know of, the scene where their martyrs died; but we know at how early a period they began to venerate the places of their interment, and those who were enticed into idolatry beside the urns of Babylas or Thecla, would surely not behold with indifference a tomb so renowned as that of the Messiah. Nor was it only its superior sanctity which would preserve its memory. As the private property of an opulent Christian family, it would be secured from pollution or injury; and the tomb itself was no 'hereabouts,' which tradition was to settle, but an object too visible, and too definite either to be overlooked or mistaken. While a single Christian survived in the town, it could never cease to be known and venerated; and it certainly will require a considerable weight of argument to induce us to believe, that while the tombs of Ajax, of Achilles, of Æneas, of Theron, are ascertained by satisfactory tradition, a sepulchre of a date so much more recent, and of so much more forcible interest should have been allowed to sink into obscurity, or have been supplanted by a spurious and imperfect copy.—  
But

But as Dr. Clarke has shewn that the present appearance of the sepulchre is at variance with the accounts in the Gospel, and the general character of Jewish tombs, it remains for us to examine whether the alterations of time, together with those ascribed to the bad taste and unfortunate zeal of Helena, can have been sufficient to produce this difference. His reasons for incredulity are as follow:—The tomb of Christ was in a garden without the walls of Jerusalem; the structure which at present bears its name is in the heart of, at least, the modern city, and Dr. Clarke is unwilling to believe that the ancient limits can have been so much circumscribed to the north as to exclude its site. Further, the original sepulchre was undoubtedly a cave, the present offers no such appearance, being an insulated pile, constructed or cased with distinct slabs of marble. That both these arguments, however, are inconclusive will appear, we think, to Dr. Clarke himself. From a testimony which will shortly be produced, it is certain that, whether probable or not, the ancient limits of the city did exclude the present sepulchre; and that this last, defaced and altered as it is, may be really ‘the place where the Lord lay,’ is likely from the following circumstances. Forty yards, or thereabouts, from the upper end of the sepulchre the natural rock is visible; and in the place which the priests call Calvary, it is at least as high as the top of the sepulchre itself. The rock then *may* have extended as far as the present entrance; and though the entrance itself is hewn into form, and cased with marble, the adytum yet offers proof that it is not factitious. It is a trapezium of seven feet by six, neither at right angles to its own entrance, nor to the aisle of the church which conducts to it, and in no respect conformable to the external plan of the tomb. This last is arranged in a workmanlike manner, with its frontal immediately opposite the principal nave, and in the same style with the rest of the church. It is shaped something like a horse-shoe, and its walls, measured from this outer horse-shoe to the inner trapezium, vary from five to eight feet in thickness, a sufficient space to admit of no inconsiderable density of rock, between the outer and inner coating of marble. This, however, does not apply to the antichamber of which the frontal, at least, is probably factitious: and where that indenture in the marble is found which induced Dr. Clarke to believe that the whole thickness of the wall was composed of the same costly substance. Now these circumstances afford, we apprehend, no inconsiderable grounds for supposing with Pococke, that it is indeed a grotto above ground: the irregularity of the shape, the difference between the external and internal plan; the thickness of the walls, so needless, if they are throughout of masonry, all favour this opinion; nor is the task ascribed to Helena’s workmen of insulating this rock, from that

that which is still preserved a few yards distant, at all incredible, when we consider that the labour, while it pleased the taste of their employer, furnished at the same time materials for her intended cathedral.

There are yet two testimonies which favour our opinion, of which the one has been pointed out to us by a gentleman to whom we ourselves, and literature in general, have many other obligations; it is the testimony of one who was eye-witness to Helena's exploits, and who incidentally proves two facts: first, that the sepulchre, as we now see it, was situated without the limits of the ancient wall; secondly, that, before she had ornamented it, it was a simple cave in the rock.

St. Cyril, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and successor to Macarius, applying certain texts of Solomon's Song to the circumstances of our Saviour's resurrection:—among many strange wrestings of Scripture, somewhat in the style of the inimitable friar Gerund, has the following observations:

'Whence hath the Saviour arisen?—He teacheth us in the Song of Songs,—*Arise my beloved!* and again,—*In the hollow of the rock!* That hollow of the rock he meaneth which was before the door of the Saviour's sepulchre, hewn out of the very rock itself, as usual in monuments of this country. But now the rock appeareth not, because the vestibule of the sepulchre is obscured by its present ornaments.—For before these royal ornaments were placed there, the hollow of the sepulchre was in the face of the rock; (τὴν κοιλίαν τοῦ σπηλαίου ἢ τὴν κοιλίαν τοῦ πέτρης.)—But where are we to seek the rock which contained this cavern?—Does it lie in the midst of the city, or by the walls and among the cemeteries?—And are we to seek it within the ancient walls, or within these outworks which have been since constructed?—He saith, therefore, in the Canticles,—"*Abiding in the hollow of the rock of the outer wall.*"

The prelate then goes on to illustrate from the Canticles the garden where Christ was interred, and the time of the year when he rose; but sufficient has been already alleged to prove, that in the days of Cyril the original rock was still remembered; and that the church of the sepulchre was without the limits of the ancient wall.

The other testimony is one to which Dr. Clarke himself appeals with confidence—we mean, the evidence of fire. The church has been burnt down since his visit, and we happen to know that 'the rock-built sepulchre of the Messiah, being of all others the least liable to injury, has remained in spite of the devouring element.'

\* Cyril. Catechesis xiv. p. 144. Ed. Par. 1640.—Baronius. Ann. Eccles. i. 231. quotes this passage, but inaccurately, and so as to make Cyril hesitate as to the site of the sepulchre, which he certainly does not.

Dr. Clarke's remaining observations on Jerusalem are highly interesting and judicious. The more, indeed, we are compelled by the authority of Cyril to contract the limits of the ancient city on the side of the sepulchre, the greater reason is there for apprehending that it must have extended in the contrary direction. And we cannot but conceive, that the enormous sepulchres described by Dr. Clarke, together with those other indubitable marks of wealth and antiquity which fill the environs of this most interesting town, are circumstances of much greater importance as confirmations of Scripture, and evidences of the former power of the Jewish nation, than the identity of that sepulchre which, even if genuine, can only be considered by a Protestant as an object of devout curiosity. No inference, either historical or religious, can be deduced from the knowledge which particular rock was honoured by the Saviour's temporary interment; but it is of the greatest consequence to shew by the same evidence, which is admitted as decisive in other instances, that neither the sacred historians nor Josephus can be justly accused of exaggerating their country's splendour; and that the poverty and obscurity imputed to the Hebrew state, which the followers of Voltaire have taken for granted, have in truth no better foundation than the other wilful inaccuracies in which, to serve some temporary or unworthy purpose, that wayward genius so often indulged.

In thus extending the bounds of Sion and Moriah, Dr. Clarke, it will be seen, has ventured to differ from the great authority of D'Anville, who has undoubtedly too closely fettered himself by the opinions of modern monks and pilgrims. But Dr. Clarke himself does not appear to have recollected that the two more remarkable summits of Sion and Moriah made up, in fact, no more than one half of Jerusalem as it existed in the days of Herod; and that extensive remains may be expected in the yet untrodden district to the west of that hill, which he, with apparent reason, considers as the city of David. The wild and woody sides of the Mount of Olives are still shadowed by the trees to which it owes its name, and the principal summit retains many interesting remains of an unknown antiquity, which from their singular form, and corresponding situation, Dr. Clarke is almost inclined to refer to those superstitions in which the uxorious toleration of Solomon indulged his heathen seraglio. The splendid sepulchres of the royal house of Commagene, and those still more ancient, to which blindfold tradition has given the names of Absalom and Zacharias, are described with the spirit which our author always displays in the discussion of monumental antiquities; and which has sometimes induced us to wish, that when his present work is concluded, he would give the  
the



the world in one view the history of sepulchral architecture, and the progress of art and superstition from the stele to the soros, and from the soros to the temple. That the rudiments of idolatry may be found in the honours paid to departed heroes, and that the classical *Næos* is only an expanded cenotaph, is a truth, which, though susceptible of the most satisfactory proof, has been hitherto very imperfectly investigated; nor has even Spencer himself observed what light may thus be thrown on many of the Mosaic institutions, or the care with which the light and lofty palace of the living God, at Jerusalem, was distinguished by its proportions, ornaments and furniture, from the dark and ponderous tombs of the Egyptian divinities.

From Jerusalem Dr. Clarke proceeded to Bethlehem and Jaffa, a journey often performed, and on which the present tour affords but little additional information. As if wearied with the scepticism which he displayed as to the antiquities of Jerusalem at Bethlehem, he swallows entire, and with much composure, the utterly preposterous fable of the cave of the nativity, and flatters himself that he has discovered the identical well, of whose water a draught was procured for David by the swords and blood of some of his bravest followers. Of this event, it is needless to say, he presents a very pleasing and animated picture; but he gives also a very whimsical specimen of his own peculiar mode of reasoning, when he adduces a text describing the infirmity of David on his deathbed, as a proof that he was 'old and stricken in years,' at the siege of Bethlehem, when he could not be much more than forty years of age. If, Dr. Clarke (which may heaven grant!) should live to be an aged man, he would surely be a preposterous biographer who should confound the venerable infirmities of the hoary Professor of mineralogy, with the youthful vigour of the Russian traveller; or who should represent him as scaling Casdaghy with the grey hair which some thirty years afterwards adorned him.

But even this strange inaccuracy is tenfold surpassed by the marvellous voyage which, in p. 642, he has assigned to the prophet Jonah, whom he makes to have embarked at Joppa for Nineveh! Now as Nineveh, according to most geographers, is at least seven hundred miles from any sea; and as to pass from the Mediterranean to the mouth of the Euphrates would require the circumnavigation of all Africa and Arabia, we were, we confess, not a little surprised that a learned traveller should have conceived such a voyage probable, till we recollected the strange imperfection attributed by the Doctor to all our modern maps, and the inestimable advantage enjoyed by those who, 'when they write geographically,' have recourse, like the ancients, to 'the result of their own practical

tical observations.' With Æschylus for his pilot, Dr. Clarke himself may possibly have made the voyage; but before we give up Ptolemy and D'Anville, it may be worth our while to notice that Jonah himself contemplated such a course as little as any modern hydrographer, and that Tarshish, or 'Tartessus, not Nineveh, was the port for which he embarked.

This is not the only circumstance in which Dr. Clarke's observations on Joppa and its history will be found to differ from the general opinion of the world. With a liberality which merits all possible praise, and a confidence which only needs a better foundation than the inquiries of a single evening, (for such was the duration of his residence in Jaffa,) he decides on the falsehood of the accusation brought against Buonaparte, of having massacred in cold blood the greater part of the garrison of this town. This is a question, indeed, which like every other question of the sort, has been swelled by the voice of party on either side beyond its natural importance, since, in the sea of blood with which the world has been lately deluged, the slaughter of a few Turks, more or less, can hardly be supposed to swell the tide; nor is the engrained character of the Duke of Enghein's murderer susceptible of any deeper dye from a massacre for which he had the colourable pretext that the victims had broken their parole. Of the fact itself, however, we have not the smallest doubt: it is perfectly consistent with Buonaparte's general character; it accords in particular with the policy which, to strike a terror in Egypt, a few months before refused quarter to the garrison of Alexandria; and it is positively confirmed by the testimony of all inquirers except Dr. Clarke and his companions. What is, indeed, after all, the amount of their ground for disbelief? They remained a few hours in Jaffa, and heard nothing of the matter! and this negative testimony, which, if it proves any thing, proves that Dr. Clarke and Captain Culverhouse were incompetent to form any judgment at all on the subject, is opposed to the authority of those British officers who were off the coast of Syria at the very period of the French invasion; and of those others, among whom may be mentioned General Koehler, (not Kleber, as Dr. Clarke calls him) Sir Charles Holloway, Sir R. Fletcher, Major Leake, and Captain Lacy, who many of them remained above six months at Jaffa; of Mr. Morier and Dr. Wittman, who, from their situation in the Grand Vizier's army, and the knowledge of the Turkish language possessed by the former, were peculiarly qualified to arrive at a certainty of the truth; and of Sir Robert Wilson, who assures us that the French officers employed in the expedition did not think proper to deny the charge—a fact, which we can corroborate from our own knowledge.

That

That Signor Damiani may have omitted to add to his tale of sufferings a single circumstance, which, however revolting to European manners, would not appear so striking to one who had for many years resided in the Levant, does not appear to us a point of the weight which Dr. Clarke ascribes to it; we know, however, on the best authority, that the good old consul has never expressed any doubt of the massacre to subsequent travellers; and that the horrible circumstances mentioned by Mr. Morier were, at a period somewhat anterior to Dr. Clarke's visit, in the mouths of all Jaffa, and the subject of constant conversation both among Turkish and European officers. After all, the horrors of Buonaparte's Syrian campaign are hardly worth the mention, when compared with those to which Judæa, in former ages, or Spain has been in latter times exposed; and the butcheries of Titus and Vespasian must seek a parallel, not at Jaffa, but at Zaragoza, Valencia, or Gerona. From Jaffa Dr. Clarke embarks in a boat laden with fruit, a commodity for which its environs are celebrated; and, passing by the ruins of Cæsarea, rejoins the Romulus at Acre.

We have now gone through two of these massive quartos, and have not, to the best of our knowledge, omitted any circumstances in either which have required our strictures or the author's correction. Dr. Clarke himself, indeed, will probably be not unwilling to confess that none of his faults at least have escaped our notice; but he will be much mistaken if he apprehends that the incisions which we have made have proceeded from any but a friendly motive, and from a national anxiety to render, as perfect as possible, a work in which, from its bulk, and from the share of public attention which it has attracted, the national reputation is in no trifling degree concerned. Of the former volume some of the faults are avoided in this which we have now reviewed; and a little less confidence in first impressions, and a little more attention to the rules of logic may produce a third, we trust, more perfect than either, and which may maintain the pre-eminence hitherto held by English travellers over those of every other nation. To the learning and industry of Shaw or Pococke, his claims, indeed, can hardly be supported; but in proportion as his authority is less severe, his descriptions are more graphical, and he differs from the tourists of an earlier day as the mirror differs from the lake; the last has greater depth, but surrounding objects are reflected with more liveliness from the surface of the former.

ART. XI. *Poems*, by S. Rogers. Small 8vo. pp. 276. London, Cadell. 1813.

THE first poem in this collection does not fall within the province of our criticism. It has been published many years, and has acquired that sort of popularity which is, perhaps, more decisive than any other *single* test of merit. It has been generally admired, and, what is not always a certain consequence of being admired, it has been generally read. The circulation of it has not been confined to the highly educated and critical part of the public, but it has received the applause which to works of the imagination is quite as flattering—of that far more numerous class, who, without attempting to judge by accurate and philosophical rules, read poetry only for the pleasure it affords them, and praise because they are delighted. It is to be found in all libraries, and in most parlour windows.

Not that the 'Pleasures of Memory' entitles its author to a place in the higher class of English poets. But it was published at a moment of great poetical dearth, when the old school (if we may so express ourselves) was drawn almost to its lees, and before the new one had appeared:—the subject was very fortunate, and it was not too long—it abounded in pleasing, though detached pictures—and it every where afforded evidence of a highly cultivated and elegant mind.

We have always been desirous to see something more from the hand of an author whose first appearance was so auspicious. But year after year rolled on, and we began to fear that indolence, the occupations of a busy life, or the dread of detracting from a reputation already so high, would for ever prevent our wishes from being gratified. We were therefore both pleased and surprised, when, upon accidentally taking up the last edition of Mr. Rogers's poems, we found that it was enriched, not only with several very elegant wooden cuts, but with an entirely new performance in eleven cantos, called 'Fragments of a Poem on the Voyage of Columbus.'

The first remark that presents itself to our minds upon reading the title of this work is, that Mr. Rogers has been far less happy than before in his choice of a subject. True it is, that in the whole history of the world we find no greater event than the discovery of America—no more illustrious name than that of the discoverer. Still, however, we have strong doubts whether either the man or the event is well calculated to become the subject of poetical composition. Columbus is a purely historical person. His virtues and actions, though they place him incontestably in the highest class of great men, are not of that sort that ever have been, or ever can

can be 'married to immortal verse.' He was a grave, austere, thinking, scientific personage. He had courage—true manly courage—but it was not of that shewy brilliant kind which seeks out and shines in combats and martial achievements. Inferior to the Achilles, and Orlandos and Marmions, as a theme for epic and romantic song, as much as he is superior to these splendid and mischievous personages in the eye of reason and philosophy, the most brilliant imagination would seek in vain to supply a single trait that should render more striking the simplest tale that can be told of his sufferings and his glories. His severe, awful, and melancholy form, unveiled by the hand of truth, will command the gratitude and veneration of all ages: you only weaken its effect by attempting to hang over it the drapery of fiction.

As the discoverer of America is not a poetical person, so neither is the discovery itself a circumstance capable of much poetical illustration. *It is not the mere greatness of an event that renders it fit for verse.* The charm of poetry consists in its pictures of external nature, and still more, in its description of the diversities of human character, and the workings of human passions. It is the misfortune of Mr. Rogers's subject that it excludes both. Poetry refuses itself to the melancholy task of detailing the disappointments and humiliations of Columbus wandering from court to court, and beseeching in vain the avaricious or short-sighted sovereigns of Europe to become participants in that glory which he justly and confidently anticipated. Mr. Rogers's good taste has taught him, that though such a topic may be *alluded to* with grace and pathos, it cannot be *dwelt upon* without disgust. The voyage too itself is barren of circumstances. Nothing happens in the course of it that either accelerates or retards the catastrophe. It exhibits to our view, one man, and one event—a man who must be portrayed in the soberest colours of reality—one event which sinks all the rest into absolute insignificance. The subject is still more unfavourable to description, than it is to narration. It would be idle and tedious to make the voyage of Columbus a vehicle of describing objects common to every voyage whatever; and it affords very little that is peculiar to itself. The new-found world indeed is full of grand, delightful, and curious objects; but you cannot describe them, because the interest of the poem must cease with the discovery.

These are some of the difficulties which we conceive belong to the subject. We must now consider how far Mr. Rogers has been able to overcome them.

The story is strictly confined to the voyage. It begins with the sailing of Columbus, and ends a few hours after he lands. It is supposed to be related, not by the poet, but by one of the companions

nions of Columbus himself, retired to a monastery, where, not long before his death, he composed this account of the great adventure in which he had been engaged.

The idea appears to us happy—but we do not observe that much use is made of it. Except for one or two passages, the lay might with equal propriety have been left in the mouth of the minstrel. Those passages, however, are executed with considerable taste and feeling, and it was, perhaps, worth while, even for their sake, to adopt a contrivance which, where it does no good, at least does no harm.

Sensible that barrenness is the defect of his subject, Mr. Rogers has called in the aid of invention to supply it with a little more of variety and incident than naturally belong to it. We have, in the third Canto, 'an assembly of the Zemi, or evil spirits,' convoked by their chief 'Merion,' who acquaints them that the period prescribed by Omnipotence to their rule over this part of the globe is drawing fast to a close, and that they must prepare

'Thrones to resign for lakes of living fire,  
And triumph for despair.'

He determines, however, to make a last effort to counteract the decrees of fate, and, in the fifth Canto, wings his flight in the shape of a condor across the ocean.

In the sixth, he exchanges the form of a condor for that of a vampire, who,

'—couch'd on Roldan's ample breast,  
Each secret pore of breathing life possessed.'

Under this malignant influence, Roldan forgets his duty to his heroic chief, and stirs up a mutiny. This, however, is appeased by a pathetic discourse from Columbus, in which (as is historically true) he begs three days more, and the voyage proceeds. Our readers will have already observed that this machinery is quite superfluous—a mere vehicle for fine writing—a contrivance to prevent the poem from ending too soon. The evil spirits do nothing in proportion to the dignity, activity, and malignant ingenuity of such personages. Merion holds a meeting—makes a speech—takes a long aerial journey, and changes his masquerade dress twice, all for a most inadequate effect, that of giving Columbus half an hour's uneasiness. Not only is he unable to prevent the discovery of America, but even to retard it a single moment. Mr. Rogers seems to have forgot that supernatural agency, though sometimes, is not always and necessarily, the most poetical way of accomplishing an event. In this instance, we are inclined to doubt whether the knot was worthy of the *divinity*. The mutiny, undoubtedly, was too important to be omitted, especially in such a paucity of incidents; but we think that it would have made a better figure if it

had been attributed to mere human causes, suspicion and superstitious fears operating upon ferocious and untractable minds, described as Mr. Rogers is well able to describe them.

In fact, as we have already taken occasion to remark, the strong, distinctive character of the great event which he has chosen to celebrate, is *truth* and *reality*. In these consist its interest and its greatness, and we hardly know an instance in which they so absolutely refuse to ally themselves with fable. So that when, in another place, (Canto 6, verse 5,) Mr. Rogers represents his hero as acting by inspiration, he is guilty of a great mistake as to the nature of his subject, and the means it gives him for producing effect. Inspiration finds no more place in the poetry than it has in the *history* of the discovery. When Virgil guides Æneas by the voice of oracles, and the display of prodigies, through the storms and dangers raised against him by the wrath of hostile deities, he adds to the dignity of his subject; which, when stripped of its marvellous accompaniments, is nothing but the story of an adventurer of royal descent, who, driven from his native country, wanders from shore to shore with his band of companions, till at last he lands in Italy, (a known and not very distant part of the world,) where he makes unjust war upon one of the native chieftains, defeats him in battle, and robs him of his kingdom and of the princess to whom he was betrothed. The interference and sanction of heaven were necessary, both to give dignity to these transactions and to excuse their iniquity.

The voyage to America is a subject of a completely different kind. Columbus ranks with the first of men, but it is not because he was aided *directly* from above. Providence interfered in this instance, as it usually interferes, through *secondary* causes. To make him inspired, is to make him great; but with a kind of greatness altogether different from that which really belonged to him. The discovery strikes us most, as being the mightiest and most astonishing of all events *purely human*—accomplished by *human* courage, *human* perseverance, and *human* sagacity, and uniting in itself by a coincidence for ever singular, the character of an heroic achievement with that of a grand, deliberate, successful experiment in natural science. Columbus dreamed no dreams, and saw no visions; but he became persuaded by reasons drawn from the true theory of the earth, that there must be other regions accessible, but still unknown, to the inhabitants of this; and the design which he had formed with the genius of a philosopher, he executed with the magnanimity of a hero. But to talk of inspiration, is just as idle as it would be, in a philosophical poem, to say that Sir Isaac Newton dreamt the earth was flat at the poles, or that the mathematicians who were sent to ascertain the truth of his theory, were guided by omens and prodigies to the object of their search.

In

In the 8th Canto the new world is discovered, and with the discovery the great interest of the subject ends. The poem however is continued through several more cantos. In the 9th, we have the description of 'Cora,' an Indian girl, who was perhaps intended to become the heroine of some adventure in the 11th, which is wanting. In the 10th, an American banquet, which is a little disturbed by the appearance of the ghost of Cacriva, an old cacique, 'employed during his life time,' 'and after his death, to alarm his people.' In the 12th, Columbus sees a vision, in which are foretold to him his own misfortunes, the cruelties of the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru, the prosperity and glory of the republic founded by General Washington, and the ultimate conversion of the whole continent to Christianity.

From this sketch of the story our readers will perhaps incline to think, with us, that the inherent defects of the subject have not been entirely removed by the skill of the poet, and that 'the Fragment on the Voyage of Columbus' is deficient (as might reasonably be expected) in that variety of incident, and that display of human characters and feelings, which form the great charm of narrative poetry. If we are reminded that it is only a fragment, we answer, first, that by leaving his work in that imperfect form, the author has only acknowledged, but has not at all surmounted the difficulties arising out of the topic he had chosen; in the next place, we are utterly at a loss to conceive, and we believe he would be equally at a loss to explain, how the 'lacunæ' could be filled up so as to render the narrative more interesting. In fact the story, such as it is, is complete in spite of them. Cora indeed might have made the subject of an episode. But a love-tale about this young Indian lady, however pretty and interesting in itself, would form no very suitable appendage to an account, in verse or prose, of the discovery of America: and it was, perhaps, a recollection of this incongruity which prevented the 11th Canto from seeing the light—perhaps, from existing at all. We now proceed to a more important point, the execution of it.

It exhibits what we were not at all prepared to expect—evident marks of haste. After a long and profound silence, Mr. Rogers seems to have been seized with a sudden and eager desire to appear again before the public. It is to this cause we ascribe some inaccuracies of which no example is to be found in his earlier performances. What, for instance, but extreme haste and carelessness could have occasioned the author of the *Pleasures of Memory* to mistake for a verse such a line as,

'There silent sat many an unbidden guest:—Canto X.'

or, in the very first line but one of the poem, to use 'possessed' in the



the sense of 'got possession,' or 'made himself master of'? We could mention other instances of the same kind, if it were not a disagreeable task both to ourselves and our readers, to present them with a longer catalogue of minute defects.

But these are comparatively trifling faults. The author has, we can hardly doubt, already perceived them himself: and they are such as he may acknowledge without pain, and correct without difficulty. We only blame him for that impatience to publish which, except in works of a mere temporary interest, is not easily to be excused.

But we have also to notice an error more closely interwoven with the whole texture of the work, more deliberate and more systematic, and more likely, we fear, to cast a shade upon the poetical reputation of the author. In the '*Voyage of Columbus*,' Mr. Rogers has aimed at a stile very different from that of his earlier compositions, and in which, with every disposition to acknowledge his merits, we cannot but confess that he has been unsuccessful. It was as the faithful, diligent disciple of Pope and Goldsmith, that Mr. Rogers became deservedly a favourite of the public, and it is to the imitation of these splendid and captivating, but safe and correct models of excellence, that he seems most fitted by the bent of his genius, and the direction of his studies. Endowed with an ear naturally correct and attuned by practice to the measure of his favourite masters, nice to the very verge of fastidiousness, accurate almost to minuteness, habitually attentive to the finer turns of expression, and the more delicate shades of thought, Mr. Rogers was always harmonious, always graceful, and often pathetic. But his beauties are all beauties of execution and detail, arising from the charm of skilful versification, the '*curiosa felicitas*' of expression culled with infinite care and selection, and applied with no vulgar judgment, and with the refined tenderness of a polished and feeling mind. But to the flow, the unity, the boldness, the grandeur that belong to the higher style of poetical composition, he is altogether a stranger—removed at like distance from its commanding excellencies, and its minute defects, and receding farthest from his favourite masters on that side where they approach nearest to those mighty geniuses who alone are entitled to be called their superiors. In passing this opinion upon the earlier writings of Mr. Rogers, we do him no intentional injustice, and we are sure it is perfectly consistent with feelings of considerable respect for his poetical character.

True it is, that the style he first adopted, and that in which we think he is most fitted to excel, is not that in which success even more complete than his own indicates the highest powers of understanding. But it requires diligence and taste, and judgment  
and

and feeling, such as fall to the lot of but few even in a polished age, and of which we wish we could feel quite certain that the literature of this country would always afford a living example. In short, we had looked to Mr. Rogers as one of those who were to continue and support that correct and elaborate school of poetry which, from the days of Pope to the beginning of this century, engrossed so much the largest share of the public approbation, and which, we own, we regard with peculiar favour, not only on account of its own intrinsic beauties, but because the cultivation of it appears to afford the best security against that entire depravation of the national taste in poetry, which would probably be the consequence of an universal attempt to reach the higher and more perilous kinds of excellence. Unluckily Mr. Rogers has taken a different view of this subject. Stimulated by the astonishing success of some late writers, he has tried to equal their fame, not by perfecting himself in that style of composition which belongs to him, but by partially adopting that of his rivals—or rather by interweaving it with his own, and bringing together things that are in their nature incompatible. Desirous, as was natural and fair, to reach the eminence upon which they stand, he has erroneously supposed that it was necessary to pursue the same path, and climb the hill upon the same side. Columbus indeed is written in the same measure as the Pleasures of Memory; but it is evident that the author has had in view several writers, some of whom, when he was employed upon that elegant and popular poem, were not known to the public, and others who had not then entered into his thoughts as objects of imitation. Harmony, elegance, correctness, pathos, are all within his reach, and a sufficient foundation for a considerable poetical fame—but he has resolved to content himself with nothing short of varied cadence, striking traits, awful magnificence, and the lofty flights of a creative fancy. Tired of pleasing, he is ambitious to astonish and transport his readers. The consequences of failure are harshness and abruptness, instead of variety in the versification—obscurity for grandeur, and in some instances, mere baldness, where he intended to exhibit the native force of simple and unadorned expression.

We have mentioned these faults with the less scruple, because it appears to us that they are owing not to any want of skill or talent in the author, but to the misdirection of those powers which we have formerly seen, and hope again to see, more happily employed. And after all it is probable, that this work, which the author has suffered to glide into public without any of the usual forms of introduction, is designed by him merely as an experiment, (on which he was not willing to throw away too much

time and labour,) in order to ascertain what his success was likely to be in a new style of composition.

There is an affectation of historical precision in the notes, which consist chiefly of little quotations from old English, Latin, and Spanish authors. We own that in a poem we set but little value on this species of accuracy. Unluckily too, Mr. Rogers has himself been guilty of a notable deviation from it. In the list of presents which Columbus makes the cacique who received him upon his landing, we find a *telescope*, and there are afterwards some beautiful lines in which Cora is described watching her lover through it, who is in his boat out at sea. Now most of our readers, though they have not read the cotemporary chronicles, know that the telescope was not invented in the days of Columbus. We should not have noticed this minute error, if the author had not fallen into it in the midst of his pursuit of that minute excellence which is directly opposed to it.

Still, however, and with all its defects both of subject and of execution, the poem is by no means undeserving attention. Mr. Rogers has not been able to depart from his former manner, that which use had made natural to him—so much as he perhaps intended. He is often himself, in spite of himself. Habit, good taste, and an exquisite ear, are constantly bringing him back to the right path, even when he had set out with a resolution to wander from it. Hence, though the poem will not bear to be looked at as a whole, and though there runs through it an affectation of beauties which it is not in the author's power to produce, yet it contains passages of such merit as would amply repay the trouble of reading a much larger and more faulty work. It will be the more pleasing part of our task to select a few of them, with an assurance to our readers that they are not the only ones, and with a strong recommendation to read the whole—a recommendation with which they will very easily comply, as the poem does not exceed seven or eight hundred lines.

In the first Canto, there is a very pretty couplet about the compass—

‘That oracle to man in mercy given,  
Whose voice is truth, whose wisdom is from heaven.’

Soon after comes a description of the monsoon, which is very striking, though we do not see what practical advantage is gained by ascribing it to the agency of an angel—or what necessity there is to quote ‘Revelations, cap. 19. ver. 17.’ as an authority for the expression ‘mighty wind.’

‘He spoke, and at his call, a mighty wind,  
Not like the fitful blast, with fury blind,

But

But deep majestic in its destined course,  
 Rushed with unerring, unabating force,  
 From the bright East. Tides duly ebb'd and flow'd,  
 Stars rose and set, and new horizons glow'd;  
 Yet still it blew; as with *primeval* sway,  
 Still did its ample spirit, night and day,  
 Move on the waters!—

*Primeval* is a word that has become a great favourite among our modern poets, and we often find it used on occasions where we very little expected to meet with it, and when we feel considerable difficulty in ascertaining the sense it was intended to convey. When Mr. Rogers says the wind blew with 'primeval sway,' we presume (for we are not quite sure) he means that it blew just as it did when the world was created. But he must pardon us for saying that this is an obscure, affected way of expressing the thought, and makes a blemish in what is otherwise a very brilliant passage.

Of the second Canto, Mr. Rogers, speaking in his own person of the Hermit's narration, says, 'This canto appears to have suffered more than the rest. We wander as it were—ubi rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.' This is very true, in one sense, for it is broken and obscure; but it is only trifling with the reader to offer him such a confession by way of apology. The only reason for putting the story into the mouth of a cotemporary adventurer—is to give it additional life and spirit, and to diffuse over it that venerable hue of antiquity which is so grateful to poetical eyes: but as an excuse for defects, this expedient is absolutely ludicrous. If the canto is broken, why was not a little more MS. discovered?—If it is unintelligible, why did not the author translate his Hermit into clearer language?

In the fourth Canto, 'The Voyage continued,' are some admirable lines on the intrepidity of Columbus in exploring an unknown ocean.

' Yet who but he undaunted could explore  
 A world of waves, a sea without a shore,  
 Trackless, and vast, and wild, as that reveal'd,  
 When round the ark the birds of tempest wheel'd;  
 When all was still in the destroying hour,  
 No sign of man, no vestige of his power.'

The speech of Columbus to the mutineers is also a very successful effort.

' Generous and brave! when God himself is here,  
 Why shake at shadows in your mid career?  
 He can suspend the laws himself design'd,  
 He walks the waters and the winged wind;  
 Himself your guide! and your's the high behest,  
 To lift your voice, and bid the world be blest!

And can you shrink! to you, to your consign'd  
 The glorious privilege to serve mankind?  
 Oh, had I perish'd when my failing frame  
 Clung to the shatter'd oar mid wrecks of flame!  
 —Was it for this I lingered life away,  
 The scorn of folly, and of fraud the prey,  
 Bow'd down my mind the gift his bounty gave,  
 At courts a suitor, and of slaves the slave,' &c.

In the seventh Canto they first behold the new world—the greatest natural event that ever happened, and it may safely be affirmed, that ever can happen in the history of mankind; and it is, perhaps, rendered the more striking, because it is brought, as it were, into so small a focus, reducible to a precise point of time, and attended by circumstances on which the imagination so readily seizes. Compare it, for instance, with those events that approach nearest to it in importance—those great battles by which the fate of empires has been decided. It is impossible to fix the precise moment of victory and defeat, or to represent them to the mind otherwise than by a series of successive images. Besides, many of the ideas unavoidably connected with a battle are such as no one can dwell upon without disgust and pain—blood, carnage, the desolation of the earth, and the misery of its inhabitants. But till the dawn of the day when Columbus beheld the land, the new world was as unknown as it was in the days of Homer—that moment was the moment of discovery. The transition is instant, and the two hemispheres are joined, never again to be separated. The whole thing presents itself to us at once in the most distinct form, and in the liveliest colours. A calm day in a tropical climate, a tranquil sea, and the distant prospect of a green shore growing gradually upon the eye, and already scenting the air with its unknown flowers. This is the *scenery*, if we may so express ourselves, of that mighty event which is for ever to live in the recollection, and to influence the fate of mankind. This is the sensible form in which it is embodied. We are introduced to every thing that is most grand and astonishing through the medium of every thing that is most beautiful. This is the great feature of Mr. Rogers's poem; of course he does his best, and we will afford to our readers an opportunity of judging how far he has been successful.

We ought first to observe, that in the close of the seventh Canto the symptoms are described by which, on the preceding evening, they were led to suspect that the object of their voyage was near at hand.

' The sails were furl'd, with many a melting close,  
 Solemn and slow the evening anthem rose:  
 Rose to the Virgin—'Twas the hour of day  
 When setting suns o'er summer seas display

A path

A path of glory opening in the west,  
 To golden climes and islands of the blest,  
 And human voices in the silent air,  
 Went o'er the waves in songs of gladness there!  
 Chosen of men! 'twas thine at noon of night,  
 First from the prow to hail the glimmering light:  
 Pedro! Rodrigo! there methought it shone!  
 There in the west! and now alas 'tis gone!  
 'Twas all a dream, we gaze and gaze in vain!  
 But mark and speak not—there it comes again!  
 It moves—what form unseen, what being there,  
 With torch-like lustre fires the murky air?  
 His instincts, passions say how like our own;  
 Oh, when will day reveal a world unknown!

Here we remark an apparent inconsistency—in the first part of this passage they are supposed to have seen the light about sun-set. In the last we are told that they descried it at midnight. The lines are very happily executed; but the author should have made his choice betwixt the two suppositions.

Canto eighth.—'The New World' opens thus.

'Long on the wave the morning mists repose;  
 They rise—and melting into light disclose  
 Half-circling hills, whose everlasting woods,  
 Sweep with their sable skirts the shadowy floods.'

These lines too are very good so far as they go: but, though we have the old expedient of an 'hiatus'—valde deflendus, if the author thought any thing ought to be added, and very absurd if he did not—Mr. Rogers ought to recollect, that to evade the business of connecting together by proper shades and gradations the *salient* and striking parts of a composition, is neither more nor less than to leave unconquered its chief difficulty—to sacrifice its chief beauty, and to forfeit its chief praise. After a proper number of asterisks we proceed.

'—Oh say, when all, to holy transport given,  
 Embrac'd and wept as at the gates of heav'n;  
 When one and all at once repentant ran,  
 And on their faces bless'd the wondrous man,  
 Say, was the Muse deceiv'd—or from the skies,  
 Burst on their ear seraphic harmonies?  
 Glory to God! unnumbered voices sang,  
 Glory to God! the vales and mountains rang,  
 Voices that hail'd creation's primal morn,  
 And to the shepherds sung a Saviour born!'

We object to nothing but the *Muse*—were it only from good taste, the fables of heathen mythology (splendid and beautiful as they

they are in themselves) ought never to be brought into contact with the awful history of the true religion.

The poem languishes till the twelfth Canto, when it revives again in the 'Vision.' The idea is happy. In fact it affords the only means by which the interest could be protracted beyond the discovery. It exhibits a rapid, spirited, poetical view of the future fate of Columbus himself, and of the world he had discovered. We could with pleasure make some extracts, but we have not room; and the specimens already given will probably have convinced our readers, that notwithstanding its defects, the poem has beauties of no ordinary kind.

ART. XII. *The Expediency maintained of continuing the System by which the Trade and Government of India are now regulated.* By Robert Grant, Esq. Blacks and Parry. London. 1813.

THE 'Expediency maintained' was not intended by Mr. Grant, nor will it be considered by his readers, as one of the mass of ephemeral productions which the approaching expiration of the East India Company's charter has called forth. It aspires to a more lasting celebrity, and will probably be thought to deserve it, even in its incomplete state—incomplete as to the subjects intended to be discussed—but finished, as far as it goes, with laboured precision. The work is undoubtedly a work of very considerable ability, abounding in passages of uncommon force, and eloquence, thickly sown with metaphors at once brilliant and correct, and may be supposed to contain all the information that a free access to Leadenhall-street could supply. Its faults are a redundancy of words, and something of a studied phraseology, occasionally bordering on affectation; faults which are not, perhaps, rendered less conspicuous by the consideration that the work was not written on the spur of the moment, although it has suffered a premature delivery for the sake of answering a particular purpose. But retrenchment and correction are learnt by practice, and of the original power and fertility of Mr. Grant's mind, the volume affords the most favourable indications. To excite alarm at the danger, by any 'change of system,' of losing India by colonization, and our 'excellent constitution' by the transfer of Indian patronage to the crown, has been, for the last thirty years, the favourite and most effective policy of those who 'maintain' the 'expediency' of preserving for themselves an exclusive monopoly and an undivided patronage; and such is avowedly the object of Mr. Grant's publication.

To understand what India is, under the British government, it is necessary to know what it was under that of the Mahomedans. Mr. Grant has accordingly judged it necessary to open his work with a summary account of 'the nature and effects of the Mahomedan government established in Hindostan, particularly as it was exemplified in the provinces of Bengal,' as a contrast to the political system of the East India Company, established in British India, under the sanction, and with the aid of the British legislature. The exhibition of this contrast occupies very nearly one half of the book. Our sketch of it must be brief, our conclusions somewhat different from those of Mr. Grant.

The Mogul government was a complete despotism—'of that absolute kind which tolerates no nobility but the nobility of office.' The political theorists who support the doctrine of absolute despotism, and maintain that the want of an hereditary aristocracy, by depriving faction of a head, secures the intestine tranquillity of the state, may find their theory true, as applied to the despotism of China, and its two hundred millions of subjects; but perfectly false in regard to the empire of Delhi, where, 'in the absence of a hereditary nobility, rebellion always sought, and always found a leader in the bosom of the imperial house itself.' In Hindostan, whether under native or foreign governments, 'malcontent chiefs associating with malcontent connections of the throne,' have produced those 'relative discords and fraternal furies, which have cursed and disgraced the palaces of the Achæmenides, the Othmans, and the Timurs of all ages. Here the personal character of the sovereign was every thing, the law nothing. The reign of Aurengzebe was a flourishing period of the Mogul empire; it began to decline in that of his less vigorous son Behadur Shah, and may be said to have finally expired on the capture and plunder of Delhi by Nadir Shah, in 1739, twenty years before the British acquired territorial dominion in Bengal.' It is admitted by Mr. Grant that, at this crisis, the want of an established *patrician order* did not prevent Hindostan from being rent in pieces by rebellious Omrahs; but that of those pretenders, who either usurped the vizierut at Delhi, or the viceroyalties of the provinces, none could urge any claims of ancestry over which the period of one or two generations did not completely cast a veil.

'None, therefore, could build his usurpation, even obliquely, as it were, on a basis of opinion: but a general and an equal scramble took place; each pretending an appointment from the Court at Delhi, where, indeed, the instrument of investiture could generally be procured for a trifling present, and, if it could not be procured, it was invariably fabricated. Wherever, mean time, one of these untitled adventurers succeeded



succeeded in establishing himself, there a government grew up, which, like that from the ashes of which it had arisen, was a despotism without an aristocracy, and which was attended by the evils usually incident to that form of polity.—(p. 8.)

A very summary view of the Mogul system of government will be sufficient to shew the deplorable condition of the people within the sphere of its influence. According to this system each province had its viceroy, known under the name of *Nazim* or *Nawab*, and its *Dewan*, both of which were appointed by the imperial court. The former was invested with the command of the troops; the military administration of the province; the supreme jurisdiction in criminal matters, and the exclusive superintendence of the police. To the latter were entrusted the management of the public revenues, and the distribution of civil justice. The balance of power between those two functionaries, always ill adjusted and fluctuating, was decided in favour of the sword, when the supremacy of the imperial court at Delhi became altogether titular. Then 'the Dewan sank into dependance, and was generally some Hindoo of subtilty and intrigue, the mere creature of the viceroy, and probably the convenient instrument of his avarice and tyranny.'

It is almost superfluous to add, that these provincial governments under the nabobs, bad in principle, were at all times administered in an arbitrary manner; but in the weak, inefficient and nominal supremacy of the court of Delhi, became the worst of all tyrannies. Little or no respect was paid to the singular attachment of the Hindoo people to their customs and civil institutions; no forbearance towards their timid, submissive and unresisting natures. They were assessed at a higher rate than the professors of the Mahomedan faith: from the prince to the peasant all were oppressed or degraded; the only consolation left to them was, that they did not suffer alone; 'every rank in the state tyrannised with impunity over the next, and the darbar of the Nabob exhibited, for the most part, an offensive scene of intrigue, favouritism and venality.'

Mr. Grant observes that, by an evident solecism in policy, the financial and judicial departments were so blended as frequently to be entrusted to the same hands. The Dewan was both the chief judge in civil causes, and the principal minister of finance. The zemindars, farmers, and collectors of revenue were invested with judicial powers. The financial policy of the moguls was almost wholly directed to the collection of a territorial revenue. The crop was divided into certain fixed proportions. The ryot, or actual cultivator, had two-fifths; part of the remainder was partitioned out among

among the land-holders, intermediate renters, agents, &c. and the residue belonged to the state. In Bengal the practice was for the Dewan annually to summon the zemindars, or land-holders, and to settle with them a fixed sum to be paid into the treasury. According to the amount of this sum the zemindars formed their settlement with the renters, and these, with their subordinates, down to the cultivator or ryot. These annual leases, subject to an annual variation of the rent reserved, to say nothing of the manifold subdivision of interests in the land, could not fail to be highly prejudicial to cultivation. But besides the regular fixed rent, there were certain imposts levied at will, for which the government called on the zemindar, the zemindar on his renters, and the burthen increased as it travelled downwards. Where no demand was made on the part of government, the zemindar took care to call for compensation. 'Under the colour of exactions from superiors, contributions were imposed on subordinates, which, however, when detected by the superiors, were extorted from the robbers with interest.' If a ryot died or fled the country, the brother ryots of the district were called upon to make good his deficiency. Whenever the calamity of famine occurred, 'the wretched survivors of a wasted population were taxed with a severity inversely proportional to their numbers.'

These vexatious exactions were enforced by the ordinary usage, in all the despotic governments of the east, of dealing blows and scourges to inferiors, a practice which neither violates any municipal law, nor outrages public feeling; and, if necessary, by the seizure and detention of the persons of the defaulters. The exercise of the zemindary jurisdiction was at all times sufficient to enforce the payment of his own extortions. But the most efficient instrument, employed in the collection of the imposts, was the whip or scourge. The land-holders experienced the same treatment from the government. The blessings which flowed from the administration of Jaffier Khan, the Nabob of Bengal, in the reign of Aurengzebe, Mr. Grant observes, have been extolled by his countrymen with all the exaggeration of the east. 'The wolf and the lamb lived in harmony together; the hawk and the partridge dwelt in one nest.'—Yet the executive officer of his orders 'used to suspend the zemindars by the heels, and, after rubbing the soles of their feet with a hard brick, bastinado them with a switch. In the winter he would order them to be stripped naked, and then sprinkled with water; and he used to have them flogged till they paid money,' &c.

A system, so vicious in principle, and so infamous in practice, led, as might be expected, to the extreme depression of cultivation. Of the exuberant province of Bengal, when Lord Cornwallis

wallis established the perpetual settlement of the revenues, 'one third part was a wilderness.' Abuses equally great prevailed in the collection of the customs, which were chiefly levied at the discretion of the zemindars and farmers, who erected toll-houses without restriction; and exacted tolls without regulation; and thus 'the internal trade of the country was liable to endless impediments and indefinite extortion.'

The judicial department was not less corrupt than that of the finance. In the metropolis of the province, the Nazim presided in the trial of capital offences: the Foujdar in that of all other criminal matters. There were three chief civil magistrates. The Darogah Adawlut al Aulea (the Nazim's deputy) tried all causes relating to personal property, and took cognizance of quarrels or affrays. The Darogah Adawlut Dewannee (the Dewan's deputy) tried causes of real property: the Cazee those relating to claims of inheritance or succession. Neither the constitutions nor the respective functions of those three courts were accurately defined. The first two were perpetually encroaching on each other, and the Cazee was not nice in determining a cause without the assistance, or even knowledge of those who should by law have been his coadjutors.

In all criminal matters, Hindoos as well as Mussulmans were subject to the Mahomedan code. By this law, murder is regarded as a crime solely against the individual, and the punishment of the murderer is awarded on the basis of retaliation. On this ground the heirs of the deceased, or the master, if he was a slave, must inflict it, if it be inflicted at all, with their own hands. The obvious deductions from such a doctrine, which were actually admitted under the Mahomedan government of Bengal, are most important.

'No man is punishable for the murder of his own slave; for, in that case, he would commit the practical absurdity of retaliating on himself. No man is punishable for the murder of his child, grandchild, or other descendant; for resuming a life which he himself has bestowed, he is only considered as liquidating an outstanding account. So monstrous an exemplification of the rule, though undoubtedly conceded by the Mahomedan law, can seldom, it may be hoped and believed, take place; but others, not far less shocking, were, in Bengal, of daily occurrence. The life of the murderer being forfeited to the heir or the master, the heir or the master was very consistently authorised, either to remit the penalty altogether, or to accept in lieu of it a sum of money. In consequence of this liberty it is plain that every man lay entirely at the mercy of those who were to inherit his estate; and, at all events, the fact is, that compositions for murder were notoriously frequent under the native government of Bengal.'

The nature of the offence is as ill defined as the principle of its punishment

punishment is defective. The evidence of a murderous intention is not left to be collected from the circumstances of the case, but depends on rules not less whimsical than preposterous.

‘Death, by the iron edge of an hoe or spade, is generally reputed to be murder: whether death, by the iron back of the instrument, be murder, is disputed; but all agree that it is not murder when inflicted by the wooden handle. According to some of the highest legal authorities, it is not murder to destroy a man wilfully, either by severe flagellation, or by keeping him in cold water, in the winter season, or by exposing him, bound hand and foot, to the summer sun, or by throwing him from the roof of a house, or into a well; and it is the concurrent opinion of all the best commentators, that it is not murder to destroy a man wilfully by poison, or by throwing him, bound hand and foot, to be devoured by wild beasts.’

This is not the mere theory of the Mahomedan law. Mr. Grant quotes a case, recorded by Mr. Hastings, of ‘a wretch who cruelly held the head of a female child under water till she was suffocated, in order that he might make prize of her clothes and ornaments, and who, on being convicted of the offence before one of the native courts, was punished only by a fine.\*

The dispensation of the Mahomedan law to all the classes of Hindoo society, in criminal matters, was cruel and oppressive in the extreme. Even in civil matters, it was a great favour to allow them to refer their disputes to their own Brahmins: but if one of the parties was a Mahomedan, the matter was determined by the Mahomedan law. The extraordinary partiality for ancient usages and institutions was totally disregarded. ‘Our minds,’ says Mr. Grant, ‘must revolt at a system which prescribed to this order of men a violation of their most rooted feelings, as the only price of that justice which every people has a right to demand at the hands of its rulers.’

Much might be said on the well known corruption and venality of the judges, and of the extortions of the inferior officers of the courts; of the ready instruments of oppression which tribunals, thus constituted, were in the hands of a tyrannical government—of the virtual exclusion of the poorer members of society from the protection of the law from the extensiveness of the districts, and the stationary position of the courts; but these are evils that may occur in the practical execution of the best of laws. The police was miserably defective. Robbers by profession, called decoits, plundered in open day with as much insolence and activity, and

\* It is recommended by Sir H. Strachey, that effectual steps be taken to prevent the wearing of valuable ornaments by children, who are frequently murdered for the sake of them. *Fifth Report from the Select Committee.* Appendix, No. 11.

far more cruelty, than our highwaymen, or the gangs of pick-pockets in the streets of London. 'These banditti were often in league with the village people, and with the zemindars and other landholders, who gave them impunity and intelligence, in exchange for a share of their plunder. The victim of this bargain was the ryot, against whom all the depredations of the robbers were directed.\*

In fine, of the general insecurity of rights under the government of the Nabobs, Mr. Grant conceives a very striking idea may be conveyed from the following passage in Mr. Orme's 'Government and People of Hindostan,' which he further tells us is 'a fact stated in the Company's records.'

'The mechanic or artificer will work only to the measure of his necessities. He dreads to be distinguished. If he becomes too noted for having acquired a little more money than others of his craft, that will be taken from him. If conspicuous for the excellence of his skill, he is seized upon by some person in authority, and obliged to work for

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\* We are grieved to observe that decoity, or gang robbery, has rather increased under the British government. Nothing that we have ever heard of, in any country, can be compared with the atrocities committed by these gangs of decoits. The following relation of the prosecutor on a trial of decoits, exhibits a horrible picture of human depravity. He states 'that about twelve o'clock, on the night on which the robbery and murders took place, he was sleeping in a house, at a short distance from that of his father, and being awoken by the noise of robbers, went out, and saw that a party of about fifty decoits had attacked his father's house; that, from fear, he concealed himself in a plaintain garden, within fifty yards of the spot, from whence he saw the robbers drag out his father and mother; and, after binding their hands and feet, apply lighted straw and torches to their bodies, demanding of them, at the same time, to point out where their money was concealed; that the unfortunate people assured them they had none; but that the robbers, proving inexorable, went into the house, and brought from it a quantity of hemp, which they twisted round the body of Loharam, and, after pouring on it ghee, or clarified butter, to render it more inflammable, set fire to it; that they then procured a quilt from the house, which they also moistened with ghee, and rolled round the body of Loharam; that the prisoners threw the prosecutor's father on the ground, and, keeping him down with a bamboo which they held over his breast, set fire to the quilt; that, at this time, the cries of the unfortunate man were most shocking, the robbers continually calling on him to tell where his money was, and he assuring them that he had none, and imploring them to take his cows, or any thing they might find in his house; that the robbers, however, still proceeded to further cruelty. Having procured some mustard seed, and torn up the flesh of Loharam's breast, by drawing a large bamboo several times across it, pounded the mustard seed on the sores, with a view to make the torment more excruciating; that at the same time the mother of the prosecutor was tortured nearly in the same manner, by the robbers tying hemp round her body, and setting fire to it, and dragging her about, from place to place, by the hair of her head, calling on her all the while to tell them where her husband's money was concealed; and also calling on the prosecutor by name, to come and witness the state of his father and mother; that these cruelties, together with the plunder of the house of Loharam, and other ones adjacent, continued until between three or four o'clock in the morning, at which time the robbers departed, and that the prosecutor, on going up to his father and mother, found them most dreadfully mangled, but still alive; that his father expired about noon, and his mother not till the following morning. The prisoners, whom the prosecutor swore to have recognized at the murder of his parents, were nine, all of whom were sentenced to suffer death.' *Fifth Report from the Select Committee. Appendix, No. 12.*

him night and day, on much harder terms than his usual labour acquired when at liberty.'—p. 41.

Such was the actual condition of the Mogul provinces when the East India Company acquired territorial power in Bengal. As a contrast to this dark, but by no means 'overcharged' picture, we now proceed to sketch a general outline of the government as established in British India in the course of the last thirty years.\* To do this it will not be necessary to follow Mr. Grant through his description of the legislative and executive functions of the *home* government of India, vested in the court of directors, as the organ of the East India Company, the Board of Control, and the parliament, nor to discuss the expediency of conferring discretionary powers on the local governments to ensure greater energy of conduct, or of imposing checks for the better security against abuses. We shall merely observe that the Governor General of India stands in the place of the great Mogul, and, though checked by a council, can, at any time, act independently of it, on his individual responsibility: that the members of the council must have resided in India, as servants of the Company, for not fewer than twelve years; that they are to abstain from all commercial dealings, except on account of the Company, and from the acceptance of all gifts or presents.

The East India Company, being a commercial as well as a political body, has occasion for two great wheels to keep the machinery in motion—the Board of Revenue, and the Board of Trade. The Board of Revenue consists of a president, who is also a member of the council, and three other members of high standing and experience in the Company's service. It superintends the settlement and collection of the land revenues and other taxes, and all concerns connected with them. The Board of Trade, similarly constituted, superintends the commercial concerns of the Company, the collection of the government customs, and the manufacture and delivery of salt and opium.

The collectors of revenue are selected from the regular civil servants, of a standing proportionate to the importance of the district. They have no discretionary power, as under the Mahomedan government, of taxing the land-holders. The lands now bear a fixed rent in perpetuity, a regulation which has for ever choked up that copious source of abuse which, under the Mahomedan system, 'flowed down in an enlarged stream along the whole succession of sub-collectors, land-holders, tenants and sub-tenants.' They provide for the management of estates of landholders disquali-

\* The Dewannee of Bengal was obtained by the Company in 1765; their administration of the country commenced in 1770; but the *present system* dates only from the act of 1784.



fied by sex, minority or lunacy, and for the education of such as are minors; they superintend the division of joint estates; procure lands for invalided sepoys, pay pensions, superintend embankments, &c. A collector of revenue is not allowed to trade, nor to hold a farm, nor to lend money to a land-holder; his character is purely ministerial, and not, as under the Mahomedan government, in any shape judicial. He has no power beyond that of bringing defaulters before the regular courts, to which he is himself amenable for irregularities committed in his official capacity. He is obliged to keep a diary of all his proceedings, which is transmitted periodically to the Board of Revenue. It is the duty of that board to inspect those proceedings; to see that the revenues are punctually realized; to superintend the conduct of the collectors; to suspend or report them, in cases of misconduct; to keep regular minutes of its proceedings; to transmit them monthly to the Governor General in council; and to furnish a second copy, to be sent home for the Court of Directors.

The institution of the Board of Trade, its arrangements and proceedings, are precisely similar to those of the Board of Revenue. Every transaction, however trifling, throughout every branch of the two departments, is made a matter of record. It is indeed a distinguishing feature, which pervades the whole administration of India, that every department in the service, and every member of departments, are required to transmit ample minutes of their proceedings to the next highest authority. 'So universally is this practice enforced, that there is no official servant of the company, however low his situation, or however remote his position from the seat of the local government, whose whole conduct is not stamped on documents placed in the hands of his superiors, and accessible at pleasure to the British parliament.'

Of the judicial authorities, some are nominated by the King, others by the Company. The latter are those which possess a general jurisdiction over the natives, both civil and criminal. The number and gradation of criminal courts in the provinces, subject to the Presidency of Fort William, are, a Supreme Court stationed in Calcutta, six Circuit Courts attached to the six districts or divisions, and about forty inferior courts or magistracies dispersed over the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.

The number and gradation of civil judicatures are precisely the same; and though the functions, powers and forms are distinct, the same persons who preside as judges in the Courts of the one class, preside also in the corresponding courts of the other.

The magistrates are appointed from among the civil servants of the Company. They superintend the police, and their duties are not unlike those of a justice of the peace in England. They receive  
information,

informations, commit offenders for trial, and bind over prosecutors and witnesses. The rules for their conduct are exactly prescribed. The court of a magistrate is called a Zilla (or provincial) Adawlut.

The courts of circuit consist each of three judges, one register, and one or more assistants, all civil servants of the Company, together with native law-officers, both Mahomedan and Hindoo. The judges make their rounds at stated periods every year; and hold regular and frequent jail-deliveries. In these courts, criminal offences are tried according to the Mahomedan law; and a sentence of death, or of extraordinary imprisonment, must receive confirmation from the superior criminal court of Calcutta, before it can take effect.

This court is called the Nizamut Adawlut. It is the old Mahomedan court under the Nazim to which the Governor General in Council succeeded as president, and was then called the Mayor's Court; but it now consists of a chief judge and two puisne judges, covenanted servants of the Company, of long standing, but not members of the government. A regular establishment of native officers, skilled in the Mahomedan law, is attached to it. It revises trials referred to it from the courts of circuit, confirms, rescinds, modifies, but cannot enhance, the sentences of those courts. The Governor General possesses no criminal jurisdiction, but has the power of pardoning delinquents. The course of civil justice is regulated in the same manner. The same judges, who preside in the courts of circuit, form the provincial courts of appeal, from which, in cases of property amounting to a certain value, a further appeal may be had to the Sudder Dewannee Adawlut which sits in Calcutta, and still further, where the value amounts to five thousand pounds, to the king in council.

In all the courts, whether civil or criminal, the European judges are invariably assisted by native advisers. Under the Mahomedan government, suitors pleaded their own causes; but advocates are now chosen out of the Mahomedan college at Calcutta, and the Hindoo college at Benares. Every provision has been made for securing the purity of justice, and for the punishment of corruption in those who administer it. Their fees are all settled by regulation; and any officer receiving more than his due, forfeits his employment. The receiving of a sum of money, or any valuable thing, as a gift or present, by one in the service of the Company, is deemed to be 'extortion and a misdemeanor at law.'

So sacred are the prejudices and the customs of the Hindoos considered, that the administration of an oath is dispensed with to those of a certain caste, to whom it would be humiliating; and such are only required to sign a declaration, that they will speak the truth. And as the appearance of women of a certain rank, before any



person of the other sex, would fix an indelible stain on them, their declaration may be received by three creditable females, first sworn to the faithful discharge of the trust.

The jurisdiction of the courts we have mentioned extends not, or extends but partially, to British subjects residing in India. All such subjects, accused of crimes, must be brought to trial before the supreme court of judicature established in Calcutta, or the courts similarly constituted at the other presidencies. It consists of a chief justice and two puisne judges, all of them professional lawyers, and nominated by the king; and it possesses 'civil, criminal, equitable, ecclesiastical, and maritime jurisdiction.' Its cognizance extends to all British subjects, natives or descendants of natives, in India; and to all the inhabitants of Calcutta. It is enjoined by act of parliament, where the natives are parties, whether Mahomedan or Hindoo, or both, to respect the usages of the country. When one of the parties is a Mahomedan, and the other a Hindoo, the law is to be followed which is acknowledged by the defendant.

In the discharge of its legislative functions, two leading principles may be said to have actuated our Indian government; a scrupulous abstinence from all wanton interference with the institutions, civil or religious, of the natives; and a cautious attempt to combine with this forbearance a course of gradual melioration. It neither left untouched the iron fetters of prejudice, in which ancient usage had bound them up, nor wantonly or experimentally tore them asunder with a rude and violent hand. 'The glory of the British, as rulers of India, consists,' as Mr. Grant justly observes, 'in the combined wariness and courage with which they have innovated.'

The constitution of India as now established, after a series of innovations which were tardily commenced, suggests to Mr. Grant two observations. The first is, that 'the system cannot be a bad one, under which so many and so great advantages have been secured to the inhabitants of the territories comprised within the Indo-British empire, and such strength and firmness to the empire itself.' We may safely go a step farther, and pronounce it to be a *good* system, when compared with that which it superseded—but it does not therefore follow, that all attempts are to be withheld for its further improvement: and unless Mr. Grant is prepared to shew, that the present system is perfect, and capable of producing the greatest possible happiness and prosperity to fifty millions of subjects, and of 'strength and firmness' to the 'empire itself,' we must withhold our assent to his second proposition, that 'when any measure is recommended, from which even a remote probability of danger to the existing Indian system can be shewn, a weighty burden of proof falls on the advocates of such a measure.'

Arguments

Arguments of this kind were employed in 1784, and had they then prevailed, none of those happy effects would ever have been experienced which, for the last 30 years, have, by a series of 'new measures,' so signally improved the condition of our native subjects of India. While both Mussulmen and Hindoos are equally protected in their laws and religion, the absurdities that disgraced the Mahomedan code have been abolished, and its more cruel punishments abrogated. While we have left untouched the precepts of the Hindoo religion as contained in the Shasters, we have succeeded, by representation and persuasion, in abolishing many of its inhuman and unnatural abuses. The lives of infants are no longer devoted to the waters of the Ganges. Female children of a particular tribe at Benares and Guzerat, are no longer destroyed from false notions of pride; and many of the preposterous privileges assumed by particular castes, have been greatly abated. But when the correction of those abuses was undertaken, the innovators had nothing like 'proof' to offer for their ultimate success. Nay, when we adopted one of the boldest and most violent innovations ever attempted in this or any other country, 'the permanent settlement of the territorial revenue,' a measure that was said to transfer the whole landed property from one set of men to another, so far from any thing in the shape of proof being brought forward against the 'remote probability of danger,' many of the oldest and ablest servants of the Company, eminent for their knowledge in the financial and economical systems of the native governments, strongly objected to it, as fraught with danger of the most alarming kind. It was urged, that by the ancient Hindoo constitution, the ryot or occupant was the real proprietor of the soil which he cultivated; that this right was acknowledged by the Mogul system; that the tenure of the zemindar was merely official and conditional; and that the transfer of the property of the soil, on this officer, was a direct invasion on the immemorial privileges of the ryot. Others were of a different opinion, and contended that the possession of the zemindar had always been deemed hereditary and complete, though the tenure was held on certain conditions, which appeared to affect the validity of the title; but so far from either party being able to bring forward any thing in the shape of 'proof,' as to the result of the measure, 'it erred,' says Mr. Grant, 'not, as had been predicted, to the injury, but in favour, of the ryot.' Doubts are still entertained as to the justice or even policy of this bold measure, which was, to say the best of it, a sacrifice of established rights, to answer a supposed political expediency. It took away that part of the zemindary power which was most useful in maintaining a vigorous police, and left that which was most obnoxious to the agricultural improvement of the country. But, we notice this measure here only to prove,

that innovations of the most daring character may with safety be adopted, so long as they affect not the religious prejudices of the natives.

We are not friendly to experiments on legislation, nor to the introduction of unnecessary change; yet we would not reject the proposal of any rational measures for the improvement of an imperfect system, even though there should appear to be some 'remote probability of danger' in the attempt. Had the British parliament listened to this kind of argument, when it first interfered in the Company's concerns, a succession of Whitehills, and Rombolds, and Bentfields might still have disgraced, with impunity, the British name and character in the east. We might still have to deplore that systematic oppression, which prevailed in the times of Mahomedan ascendancy, and which the Directors of the East India Company were wholly unable to restrain or correct—that *devolution of oppression*, as Mr. Grant calls it, which 'descended by stages from the prince to the peasant,'—when 'every intermediate possessor of rank or influence, oppressed by those above, revenged himself on human nature, by oppressing those below—to console him for the misfortune of being a slave, he had the savage satisfaction of being a tyrant.' The happy change that has established 'the meanest rights of the meanest natives, on the solid basis of law and justice',—that has 'secured the rice in his pot to every man in India'—was not brought about by the East India Company, or by its organ, the Court of Directors, or by its local governments of India; it was the work of the British parliament, carried into effect in direct opposition to the Court of Directors. In fact, the name of the natives never once occurred, till the interference of the legislature; their bonds and their investments, their revenues and their dividends, their debts and their assets, were sometimes brought forward to public notice; but the condition of their fifty millions of subjects was never once taken into consideration. The Company, then, ought to be satisfied in leaving to the public such further regulations as, in the wisdom of its representatives, shall appear to be most conducive in adding to the happiness of millions, and to the strength and resources of the empire.

The second chapter of Mr. Grant's book opens with this proposition.

'Any material innovation on our present Indian system would probably involve one or both of the two following consequences:

'First, That of allowing to British subjects in general a right, complete, or very partially qualified, of trading to, and of residing in, British India, and any part of it.

'Secondly, That of transferring entirely, or in great part, the civil and military functions now exercised by the Company, as the sovereigns

reigns of India, together with the patronage attached to them in that character, to some other person or persons.'

Or, in other words, any material innovation would tend to the colonization of India, and the transfer of its patronage from the Company to the Crown. Unfortunately for Mr. Grant's position, among all the innovations which have taken place since the revolution in the Company's affairs in 1773, when the crown, or rather the parliament, first interposed its control, down to the present time, not the least approximation has appeared towards the one or the other of those apprehended evils, (for so we presume they are meant to be considered,) though, as we have seen, many and most 'material innovations' have been adopted since that period. That the effect of opening the trade to India will be to draw thither a greater number of European residents; and that the number so drawn will depend chiefly on the enlargement of that trade, are self-evident propositions: it is not, we admit, quite so evident in what manner a free but regulated trade and access will operate on the state and circumstances of the country, which Mr. Grant has thus powerfully, and we believe truly described.

'The associated community of British and natives in our eastern dominions, certainly presents one of the most curious and interesting spectacles ever witnessed. We observe two races of men, not more distinct in origin than they are in language, complexion, dress, manners, customs and religion; nor is the distinction in these respects more complete than the disproportion in energy both of body and mind. We have on the one side extreme feebleness of frame joined with extreme effeminacy, dependence and timidity of spirit;\* on the other we have vigour, hardiness, courage, enterprize and ambition. This natural inequality is increased by the consciousness, confessed on the one side, cherished on the other, that the feeble race is politically subject to the stronger. But, farther, this weak race is remarkable for an attachment the most obstinate to a set of customs and institutions the most singular, and to superstitions so whimsically interwoven with the whole frame of life that, under some circumstances, a simple touch from a person of a different persuasion is considered as an almost equally serious injury with a mortal stab. To answer this peculiarity there is, on the other side, a national character, generous and humane, indeed, yet by no means *delicate* in its generosity and humanity, and proverbially distinguished for an aptness to view with contempt and derision all foreign customs and institutions whatever. In the single article of a religious affront these generally tranquil beings seem capable of active resentment. An insult here has been known to rouse them into motion and vengeance with the suddenness of an explosion. Here then they

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\* This is not the character of the Hindoos in general, as given by Sir John Malcolm. See his *Evidence before the Committee*.

are dangerous to their masters, and it would be natural to expect that the general intercourse between two such orders of persons would be an intercourse of injury and suffering, subject, however, to interruption from some paroxysm of revenge on the part of the injured.—Yet in Hindostan nothing of all these effects occurs, or, except, perhaps, in one solitary instance, has occurred for years. Two races, such as have been delineated, mix there in daily and hourly intercourse; and yet there is neither habitual injury, nor habitual suffering, nor occasional revenge.’—(pp. 175, 176.)

How this state of things is practically maintained, Mr. Grant explains, in a satisfactory manner, by the four strong barriers placed between the native and the British resident.

‘First, the authority of the local executive government, which may peremptorily order out of the country any European, whose conduct is such as to excite a popular alarm among the natives. Secondly, the tribunals of the Supreme Courts of Judicature, and of the parallel court of the recorder in Bombay; tribunals which, being totally independent of the Company, may be said to hold the judicial balance between the British residents and the natives. Thirdly, the intimate intercourse and effectual sympathy maintained between Great Britain and British India, inasmuch, the British subjects resident in the latter, being educated in Great Britain, always holding connexion with it, and always aware that they act under its supervision, partly derive by inheritance, partly catch by contagion, and partly consult from prudence, these sentiments of right and justice, which are here generally popular, but which, in India, local prejudices might be apt to extinguish or overbear. Fourthly, the rule, adopted and enforced in the Indian service, of gradual and progressive advancement, and, what may be viewed in combination with this, the prohibition imposed on all British subjects, of residing, without a special license, at any place in India, except within ten miles of some one of the principal settlements.’—(p. 177.)

Of these barriers, all of which appear to be well calculated to protect the weak against the strong, Mr. Grant deems the third to be the most efficient in guarding the natives from ill usage; but their chief security against any direct violation of their peculiar customs and privileges, depends on the fourth. Fear of punishment, he thinks, added to the influence of the characteristic benevolence of their country, might operate on British residents in their intercourse with the natives; but that good motives or right intentions will avail little without a practical knowledge, or rather a *sense* of the singularities of the native character and customs,—qualifications which nothing can communicate but a slow training and experience; and that the greatest evils would arise if European adventurers were admitted into the country without that *training and experience*; that, in short, if the ignorance and prejudices of Englishmen were  
once

once suffered to come into unrestrained contact with the ignorance and prejudices of the Hindoos, 'some terrible detonation would probably be the consequence.'

On this part of Mr. Grant's argument we have three observations to make. First, that he assumes, as a principle, that which never entered into the calculation of the wildest speculator to propose—an *unrestrained and unlimited* intercourse with India. It has been stated by his Majesty's ministers in distinct terms, that not only the present restraints are to be continued, but others imposed, should the existing ones not be found sufficiently operative; it has appeared in evidence, that the regulations and restraints, now in existence, are effectual for their purpose, provided the officers appointed to see them executed perform their duty. This part of his work, it is true, may have been written before the question of the new charter began to be agitated; but we observe, that notwithstanding the declaration of the president of the Board of Control, the counsel for the Company continue to examine their witnesses before the committees as if an *unrestricted intercourse* was in contemplation.

Secondly, that although the collectors of revenue, commercial residents and judges, are generally preferred to their respective stations from length of service, combined sometimes with merit, they may still possess but a very shallow knowledge of the native character and language; this, we think, has been instanced in the course of the parliamentary investigation. Admitting, however, these gentlemen to be qualified, in proportion to their standing, how many thoughtless youths, fresh from the schools, or the streets of London, are every month sent up the country among the natives, in the various capacities of writers, assistants, surgeons, surgeons' mates, officers of every rank in the king's army, and cadets in that of the Company? All these are far more likely to come into immediate contact with the natives, than the 'experienced' resident, collector or judge; and, the fact is, they *do* so come in contact, and very frequently outrage the feelings of the natives, sometimes through wantonness, but more frequently from carelessness or inadvertence. But how would the case stand with regard to those 'numerous adventurers' whom Mr. Grant thinks a free trade would throw into India? If they visited the interior themselves, instead of employing native agents, their only object, we presume, would be that of buying and selling. Now one of the leading features in the conduct of a sober and expert merchant, is that of a cautious and conciliating manner; an endeavour to insinuate himself into the good graces of a new customer, by a courteous and pleasing deportment; studiously avoiding any step that might give offence. It is a material part of his profession to make himself

himself acquainted with the language, the manners and the prejudices of those among whom he hopes to establish a connection; and Mr. Grant may rest assured, that self-interest is a great quickener of the wit, and as likely to create, and rapidly too, a *sense* of the singularities of the native character and customs of the people of India in the 'mercantile adventurer,' as the 'long training and experience' of the covenanted servant of the Company can ensure; and far more likely, than in the untrained writer or cadet.

Thirdly, That Mr. Grant and the East India Company are strangely inconsistent in their endeavours to spread an alarm at the numerous herd of adventurers that a free trade will throw into India, maintaining, as they do, at the same time, that such a trade cannot be carried on at all by private adventurers, but that all who engage in it must be ruined, as neither the products of the country, nor the condition of the people, do, or can, admit of any considerable enlargement either of imports or exports. If such be really the fact, whence arises all this fear from the great influx of adventurers, whose ignorance and prejudices, coming in contact with the ignorance and prejudices of the Hindoos, are to cause so terrible a detonation as will shake India to its centre? One would almost be led to conclude, that the merchants of the united kingdom were conspiring together to fit out whole fleets of expensive ships of 400 tons burthen each, to convey a shoal of adventurers for the mischievous purpose of rousing the natives to insurrection. Why, we would ask, did not the danger occur to the directors, when, in their intercourse with ministers, they consented to an open trade 'from any port of the united kingdom to any port in India?' Has the simple proposition of distributing the return cargoes among a few of the out-ports led to the discovery that India may be lost in the Bristol channel, or the German ocean? It appears, indeed, to be the decided opinion of one of the most intelligent and most experienced officers in the Company's service, that it will be impossible for any European traders long to remain in the interior of India; and that they must sooner or later all be driven to the coast by the trading disposition of the natives, the superior advantages they possess, and the impossibility of sustaining a competition with men, who would be content with small profits, and whose expenses for a whole twelvemonth would not amount to those of one month of an European.\*

These advocates for total exclusion are pleased to consider the intercourse of Englishmen alone as dangerous to the continu-

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\* Colonel Munro's evidence before a committee of the Commons. The evidence given by this gentleman contains a mass of valuable information, and opinions so sound and enlightened, as have been rarely elicited from one person in this way.

ance of the British power in India, and mercantile Englishmen as the most dangerous, who are, in fact, most interested in its tranquillity and prosperity; while ten millions of Moors, Tartars, Arabs, Persians, all more or less tinctured with the intolerant and proselytizing spirit of the Mahomedan religion, and even the bigoted Portuguese catholics, have dwelt for ages among the Hindoos, without exciting those disturbances which are so fearfully apprehended from a handful of British merchants. The truth is, that these Mahomedans, having experienced the invincible attachment of the Hindoos to their customs and religion, and the total inefficacy of all attempts to wean them from it, had discretion enough to sheathe the sword and to shut the Koran: from that moment they had nothing to fear. The Portuguese persisted in attempts to convert them to Christianity, and lost their possessions. It is on the point of religion only, and Mr. Grant admits it, that the Hindoos are 'dangerous to their masters.' A religious affront, and nothing short of it, will rouse those generally tranquil beings to resistance, and active resentment. 'So acute are their feelings on this single point, as to change, in an instant, the lowest, the most timid, and most servile Indian into a ferocious barbarian.\* So forcibly, indeed, was the House of Commons impressed with the consistency and uniformity of a most respectable body of evidence, on this point, taken before a committee so far back as 1781, that the opinion was then unanimous,—that any interference in the religion of the natives would eventually insure the total destruction of the British power in India.

This opinion of 1781 was, for the first time, unfortunately verified in 1806, by the massacre of Vellore. Great pains have been taken to persuade the world that it was not the foppery of expunging the mark of caste from the forehead of the Hindoo, or shaving off the Mahomedan's whiskers, or changing the turban for a tawdry cap, that caused this revolt in the native troops; but (if the Madras government be entitled to any credit) a report industriously spread among them, that it was the wish of the British government to convert them, by forcible means, to Christianity;† with the addition, that these measures were preparatory to it. The very belief of the intention, however unfounded, ought to serve as a lesson to the British legislature, to abstain from all proceedings calculated to give the slightest colour to the renewal of a report so fraught with mischief. Yet it has so happened, that the committee of the House of Commons, losing sight of the great question which vitally affected the welfare of fifty millions of people, and in

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\* Sir John Malcolm's Evidence before the Committee of the Lords.

† Proclamation of the Governor in Council at Madras.



which the political and commercial interests of the nation were deeply concerned, was almost wholly occupied, for several successive nights, in drawing forth evidence *favourable* to the propagation of the Christian religion in India by means of missionaries. This examination has wisely been suppressed; but in every part of the kingdom meetings are held, and resolutions passed, most of them intemperate in language, and many of them false in fact—indiscreet at all times, but impolitic, in the highest degree, at this particular time.\* Many of these resolutions injudiciously dwell upon the degrading and inhuman superstitions, the horrible customs, and the moral turpitude of the Hindoos. It is a gross mistake to suppose that no notice will be taken of them by the natives of India. Many of the brahmins read the English newspapers, and, when any thing that interests them occurs, communicate and discuss what they read with one another. To say that the resolutions of individuals can do no harm, is assuming more than can be known. In our opinion, the mere agitation of the question, after what has happened, will do harm. It may be true, that it is not what *we* resolve, but what *they* think, that will endanger India; but it should be remembered, that by our proceedings will their thoughts be regulated; and it would not be much out of character to suppose some subtle brahmin of Benares to harangue his colleagues somewhat to the following effect:

‘ My brethren, we are on the eve of a great change. Hitherto the Feringas† have shaped their government for our good; they have taken the whole country, it is true, into their possession; they have modified the laws; but they have given us tranquillity and improved the condition of the great mass of the people; they have shewn respect for our customs and prejudices, and they have protected us in the free exercise of our religious duties; hence, we have borne our own fall with patience. While a few Christian faquires, apparently regarded by their government with as much indifference as our faquires are by us, were content to collect to their houses the outcasts of society—men who had forfeited their characters, and lost their caste,—men ready to take up any religion, after being excommunicated from their own—parias and colleries, willing to be Christians, in order to eat the bread of idleness;‡ their mistaken zeal created no alarm. But other “benevolent persons,” as they

\* The malady is become epidemic. Petitions load the tables of the two Houses, from all quarters. In one night twenty-two were presented by a single member; and we have heard from respectable authority, that a manufacture of them is carried on by a Committee, in London, which occupies no small portion of the time of the engrossing clerks of the capital.

† The name by which Europeans in general are distinguished;—hence *Franks*, which a Frenchman has the vanity to think is a term of compliment to his nation.

‡ A great part of the funds sent out from England is consumed in maintaining those persons who are converted.

are called, are to be sent among us, to change, what they themselves have pronounced unchangeable,\* our established religion. A certain ameer al omrah,† at the head of many of the nobles and learned of the land, has declared, “that there are more than fifty millions of inhabitants subject to the British empire in India, under the influence of inhuman and degrading superstitions, which form an effectual bar to their progress in civilization;” and it is added that the only remedy for these evils is to diffuse among us the blessings of Christian knowledge. They represent our superstitions as senseless, because we worship one god, and acknowledge his attributes in the triple character of Brahma, Vishnoo and Sheeva, emblems of the creating, the preserving, and the destroying power. They call them degrading, because our people have, from time immemorial, been subdivided into a number of castes, each enjoying its particular rights, and the whole forming a regulated gradation in society: we have, it is true, like other civilized nations, our privileged orders founded on superior knowledge, and continued in hereditary succession; but we have no exclusion of property; among our brahmins are found beggars, and among our sudras wealthy merchants. But our superstitions are inhuman, because a particular tribe of people, from a high-minded, but ill-directed pride, were in the habit of putting their infant daughters to death; a practice which was no sooner explained to be a sin, and contrary to the precepts of the Shasters, than it was discontinued.‡ And if, when life is despaired of, and a recovery hopeless, we perform the ceremony of ablution and ‘extreme unction,’ we are not singular in the idea of thus affording consolation in the last moments of departing life. It may also happen, that an enthusiast will occasionally throw himself under the wheels of the sacred car at Juggernaut; but this is the frenzy of religion, and a practice not sanctioned in our Shasters; and what religion has not its impostors and its fanatics? And why may not a death of this kind sometimes be the effect of accident? Is it more surprising that, in the pressure of a crowd, where one hundred thousand would not be missed,§ half a dozen persons should be crushed to death, than that twice that number should perish at the door of a playhouse? But we are reproached for considering certain kinds of suicide as meritorious: this is not our

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\* Mr. Graham's evidence.

† Ameer al omrah—a lord of the lords;—from *ameer* comes our *amiral*, or admiral; *ameer al munim*, the commander of the faithful.—The resolution, we suppose, refers to that of the meeting of which Admiral Lord Gambier was chairman.

‡ Moore's Hindoo Infanticide.

§ Doctor Buchannan's Christian Researches.—Among a million of ragged and naked pilgrims, all pushing to get near the sacred car; the doctor was fortunate in being able to see a devotee throw himself under the wheel.

belief;

belief; and, at any rate, ours are suicides from hope, not from despondency. Again, we are accused of compelling widows to burn themselves on the funeral piles of their deceased husbands: this is also a mistake; a Hindoo wife, who is burnt with her husband, is either actuated by motives of real affection, or she thinks it her duty to conform to custom; or she consents to avoid reproach. Of the few cases that happen, (and few they are since, though always public, not one European in one hundred ever witnessed the ceremony,) nine out of ten are entirely voluntary; they are not forcibly bound to the stake, and burnt as martyrs. Whatever our superstitions may be, they have at least the plea of antiquity in their favour; had we been given to change, force or persuasion or intrigue would long before this have robbed us of our religion.\*

‘But our moral character is held up by another ameer,† as “a compound of servility, fraud, and duplicity.” It is possible we may thus be known among the shroffs and Banians of Calcutta. But another Englishman, better acquainted with our character, has declared that the Hindoos of Benares and those of the interior, “are not more distinguished by their lofty stature and robust frame of body, than they are for some of the finest qualities of the mind;” that “they are brave, generous, and humane; and their *truth* as remarkable as their courage.”‡ By a third, whom we have all cause to remember with gratitude, we are represented as “gentle, benevolent, and as exempt from the worst propensities of human passion, as any people upon the face of the earth; faithful and affectionate in service, and submissive to legal authority.”§ But can it be considered as matter of surprize that duplicity and deception

\* The Emperor Ackbar, to conciliate all parties, contrived a new religion. To this end he borrowed the ceremony of baptism to conciliate the Portuguese Christians: reverence to the sun, to please the Parsees; the mythological and moral dogmas of the Shastras to win over the brahmins; and retained circumcision to flatter the Mahomedans. The consequence was, that by the Mussulmans he was considered as an apostate, by the Hindoos as a fanatic, by the Parsees as a profanator, and by the Christians as a pagan: the scheme was abandoned to avoid rebellion.

† Evidence of Lord Teignmouth before the committee of the Commons.

‡ Sir John Malcolm's Evidence before the Committee.

§ Mr. Hastings' Evidence before the Committee of the Lords. ‘Great pains,’ says Mr. Hastings, ‘have been taken to inculcate into the public mind an opinion that the native Indians are in a state of complete moral turpitude, and live in the constant and unrestrained commission of every vice and crime that can disgrace human nature. I affirm, by the oath that I have taken, that this description of them is untrue and wholly unfounded.’

The testimony of Colonel Munro, who was thirty-two years in India, almost constantly in the interior, is still stronger, and cannot in justice be withheld. ‘If a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce *whatever* can contribute to convenience or luxury; schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic, the general practice of hospitality and charity among each other; and, above all, a treatment of the female sex full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilized people, then the Hindoos are not inferior to the nations of Europe.’

should sometimes be practised to stave off the extortion to which we are subjected? How often may the inconsistencies in the testimonies given by witnesses in the courts of justice proceed from "simplicity, fear, embarrassment—how often from the ignorance or impatience of the judges?" "We cannot wonder," said one of these enlightened judges, "that the natives are aware of our suspicious and incredulous tempers. They see how difficult it is to persuade us to believe a true story; and accordingly endeavour to suit our taste with a false one."\*

'We are accused of fraud and treachery by those who live among us, without fear of their houses being plundered by their own domestics. We are not worthy to be trusted, and yet our revilers scruple not to send to the bazar for a cossid, whom they never saw before, and entrust him with the conveyance of a purse of gold, or a casket of jewels for many thousand cos, which he never fails to deliver, and receives for his reward about as much as would pay the price of shoes worn out by an European in performing the same journey.† It is true, the lower provinces of Bengal, near to the seat of government, are infested with decoits, who lurk in the jungles and thickets; but neither the streets of Benares nor Calcutta, are annoyed by gangs of pickpockets, robbing passengers in the face of day; nor is every fifteen hundredth person committed to our jails to be tried for his life.‡ Neither are we yet so depraved as to have our houses entered by night, and our property stolen, to the amount of one-eighth part of the whole territorial revenue of Hindostan.§ The charge made against us of degrading our women, comes with a bad grace from those who dwell in a city wherein fifty thousand prostitutes, or one-tenth part of the females of all descriptions, old and young, nightly parade the streets.||

'But if our rulers are really our superiors in civilization and knowledge, and are desirous, as we sincerely believe they are, of further improving our condition, it would be as well perhaps were they, in the first place, to abstain from draining us of our little wealth for the purchase of our own productions, and sending away the surplus as tribute; let them instruct our children in their

\* *Sir Henry Stacey's Report.* Fifth Report. Appendix, No. 11.

† Major Scott Waring.

‡ The return of persons committed for capital offences in England and Wales, in 1811, amounted to 6,819.

§ The property stolen in one year in and about London, amounts to two millions sterling.—*Colquhoun on the Police of the Metropolis*, p. 613.

|| *Colquhoun on the Police of the Metropolis.*—'It would be no slight praise to the women of any nation, not even to the ladies of England, to have it said, that the correctness of their conduct was not inferior to that of the brahmin women and the Hindoo women of the higher classes.'—*Colonel Munro's Evidence* before the Committee of the Commons. We see no improbability in the supposition that a brahmin may have read Mr. Colquhoun's book; indeed, we think that it may be safely assumed as a fact.

language,

language, and enable them to read their books ; \* let them inspire our youths with a taste for those arts and sciences in which they excel us ; let them send their merchants and their traders under proper restrictions, into the midst of us, and thereby excite a spirit of industry among the manufacturers and the cultivators of the soil ; but let us be permitted to worship in our own way, the way in which our forefathers trod for centuries before their religion had existence.'

Observations like these, however harsh or unfounded, would not, on the present occasion, be incompatible with the feelings of a brahmin of Benares. While we yield to none in anxious desire for the spreading of Christianity over the whole heathen world, we cannot subscribe to that sublime doctrine that would sacrifice all 'worldly policy and temporal blessings to higher motives':†—in other words, that would stir up a civil war among fifty millions of people, for the mere chance of nominally converting some hundred paras. In a former article we took the liberty to suggest a church establishment in India, which we are rejoiced to find has met the views of government ; though, after the discussion that has taken place, we cannot but entertain some doubts as to the propriety of introducing it into the body of the charter, or of introducing it at all, till any ferment, which may have been occasioned by the present imprudent discussions and resolutions, shall have subsided. But with respect to *chartered* missionaries, we trust for the sake of the nation and of India, that such will for ever be excluded from that country. Let them go as heretofore ; or let them go under those restrictions which it may be necessary to impose on all : let them have full scope to preach the gospel, translate the scriptures, and establish schools on their own account and at their own risk ; but let not the government give its sanction to their proceedings, nor tie up its own hands or the hands of the Governor General, which is the object of those who profess 'higher motives than worldly policy ;' in short, let it always bear in mind,

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\* We have again and again inculcated the policy of spreading the English language, and especially in our own foreign dominions, where we are still *foreigners*. Creighton, one of the most intelligent of the Baptist missionaries, has justly observed that the dissemination of the scriptures is useless until the people are *taught to read* ; and if yet to be taught, why not in the English language, instead of giving them a mutilated and incorrect translation of the scriptures into their own ? He recommends the establishment of schools, to which children of all castes might be sent without scruple. He recommends instruction in natural history, geography, astronomy, and mathematics, 'which would furnish them with the means of detecting a mass of absurdities which are imposed upon them by their Shasters, and interwoven with their laws.'—Bap. Mis. Society, No. 18. Half a million of youths might be educated, and furnished with books, paper, pens, and even warm clothing, at an annual expense, not exceeding 120,000*l.*—*Ibid.*

† Resolutions of a meeting at Glasgow, signed by one Joshua Heywood.

that on the point of religion only 'the Hindoos are dangerous to their masters.' For our own parts, we are fully persuaded there are but two ways that hold out any hopes of effectual success in the conversion of the Hindoos to Christianity. The one is, by a splendid church establishment served by sensible, zealous, but discreet ministers; not by such as talk of *coercing* the proud and contemptuous spirit of the natives,\* but such as would, with the aid of government, address themselves to the reason, and, if that failed, to the interest of the pundits and brahmins of Benares. The early fathers, to whose well-tempered zeal Christianity owed its rapid progress among the pagan nations of Greece and Rome, adopted this line of conduct: their appeal was not to the multitude, much less to the outcasts from that multitude; they addressed themselves to emperors, prefects and senators, and these once won over, the plebeians followed in course. This mode of proceeding has not yet, we believe, been tried with the Hindoos. The other method which we would recommend is that of establishing public schools in every part of our extensive dominions, for the purpose of instructing the native youth in the English language; and to make a proficiency in that language the road to employment and preferment; the scriptures might then be read to advantage in their purity, and with better effect than can be expected from those incorrect and mutilated portions now disseminated, and which, we fear, are too commonly either disregarded or despised.

But, to return to Mr. Grant; 'why,' he asks, of the 'thirty thousand British subjects of the full blood,' which reside in India, some thousands of them from their youth, many of them habituated and even attached to the climate, manners, and mode of living, many forming sexual connections, and few returning at an advanced period of life; and, of the whole aggregate, not more than one in five returning at all—why is it, that 'not a single person of this large and fluctuating body is found to settle or colonize in India?' Doctor Smith has solved the problem in half a dozen words: 'the genius of an exclusive company' prevents it. Satisfied with this answer, but not before he has endeavoured to overturn some of the theoretical maxims of this celebrated writer, and brushed away some flimsy dogmas of the Edinburgh reviewers, Mr. Grant proceeds to class, under six different heads, the obstacles which the 'genius' of the East Indian system offers to the colonization of India. They are these:

First, The necessity of obtaining a special license from the Company to proceed to India in one of their ships; and the power of

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\* Buchanan's *Christian Researches*.

sending any person out of India who may have proceeded thither in any other way without their license.

Secondly, The prohibition to all British subjects in Hindostan from the possession or cultivation of land; 'a provision obviously, directly, and powerfully hostile to colonization.' Mr. Grant tells us that this is a mere rule of the company, unsupported by any act of parliament. The act, however, prohibits collectors of revenue from farming lands to Europeans, and from their accepting Europeans as security for a farmer. It is an excellent rule, and deserves to be sanctioned by an act of the legislature.

Thirdly, The joint effect of restricting the most lucrative and respectable lines of employment in India to certain persons appointed or licensed by the company, and of the incapacity of all British subjects to hold or farm land. By this double limitation a British subject is precluded from bequeathing to his children his profession and place in society. All his hopes and expectations center in England; 'to England he sends his children at a very tender age; and to England he generally hastens himself as soon as, for his rank, he has acquired a comfortable sufficiency.'

Fourthly, The mixed offspring of Indian and European parents being inflexibly excluded from the Company's service both civil and military.

Fifthly, The limitation of every British subject, whether in the Company's service or licensed by them, to reside in one of the principal settlements of the Company, or within ten miles of such principal settlement, unless by special license from the Company, or of the president or governor in council of such settlement. This salutary clause in the act, by keeping British subjects collected together, and perpetually under the eye of government, counteracts any propensity which might insensibly steal upon a secluded European for settling in the country.

Sixthly, A number of rules of cautious policy, framed by the Company, with the express view of repressing a spirit of colonization; such, for instance, as the indisposition generally shewn to the systematic admission of private ships built in India into the Indian trade with Europe; their jealousy of the private or privileged trade; their objection to the transfer of British capital to India; all which have operated in direct opposition to colonization; and this, if it be a merit, is perhaps the only merit they possess.

While all these barriers continue to exist, or even the two which exclude from the possession of land, under any tenure, and confine, to certain points, all British subjects going to India, there is little to apprehend that the throwing open of India to private adventurers would be followed by colonization. But admitting that

that the result should be, notwithstanding the continuance of the restrictive system, a tendency to the encouragement of permanent settlers—‘Is then,’ we ask with Mr. Grant, ‘the colonization of India an evil?—and if so, to whom? To the Hindoos, or to Great Britain, or to both?’ We are told in reply, that new settlers would encroach on the natives, and displace them. It would take many ages, we presume, before the offspring of a few traders, or men of shallow fortunes, who had neither connections nor attachments at home, for no others would think of permanently settling in India, could materially disturb the native population. But supposing the whole thirty thousand already there, to settle; the proportion would be little more than one to every two thousand natives. In how many thousand years, at the usual rate of increasing population, this new race might displace the fifty millions of inhabitants spread over a territory capable of sustaining a full third part more, we shall not pretend to compute.

But Mr. Grant seems to think that the colony would be divided from the original inhabitants, by the strongest marks of distinction; that it would not gradually melt away into the native population. This, however, we presume, would greatly depend on the degree of knowledge and prosperity conferred on the natives. The institution of schools would accomplish the former, and the influx of capital would promote the latter.

If there be any doubt as to the injurious effects of an extensive monopoly of the Indian trade to Great Britain, there can be none with regard to its pernicious operation on the natives of India. But this is not the greatest evil to which they are subject. The system of drawing from that country a territorial revenue to support its civil and military establishments, to purchase an investment of its own manufactures, and of remitting the surplus in the shape of tribute, to pay the expenses of the home debts and establishment, must be ruinous to the prosperity of the tributary country; and in that respect alone, any degree of colonization will prove beneficial to the natives, by the increase of capital, and the consequent improvement in manufactures and agriculture. We apprehend that Mr. Grant’s fears lest the popular taste and prejudices of the settlers should undergo a similar change, and be productive of similar effects, to those of our West India colonies, have no foundation either in fact or argument. There is no analogy whatever between that respect which Englishmen have invariably shewn for the prejudices of the Hindoos, and the ‘profound contempt with which the British and semi-British creoles of Barbadoes regard the purely negro population.’ A negro is unfortunately as much the personal property of his master, because he is transferable by sale or purchase, as his horse or his cow, and men are apt to consider themselves entitled to



treat their own as they please. It is but very recently that in the West India islands even the wilful and malicious murder of a slave has been made felony. But the case is widely different with regard to the free natives of India, the meanest of whom is equally protected with the most powerful of those who (Mr. Grant supposes) would 'incessantly insult and oppress him.' Independent of the effectual restraints imposed by the legislature, and carried into practice, strenuously and honestly, we believe, by the local authorities, we are quite sure that the moral superiority of the English settlers over 'the feebleness and timidity of the Hindoo', would differ not less in kind than in degree, from that of the dominion of a personal master, even were no restraints imposed. And until we can persuade ourselves that the nature of Englishmen is far more flexible and base than we are willing, at present, to admit, we shall indulge the thought 'that the administration of justice between the colonists and the natives, being supplied directly from the mother country, *would* be utterly undebased by the bigotry of the local public'—nay more—we venture to assert that, 'it *would* be preposterous', in any one 'to raise a doubt even on this point.' While professional men of character and reputation continue to be sent out from home, for a limited time, to preside over and direct the course of justice, has not, we would ask, the professional honour of our Indian judicatures the same 'aid of every motive which can be furnished by the universal prevalence of a bias in favor of justice,' as it has at home? Mr. Grant's arguments as to *distance* weakening the effect of public opinion on the conduct of the judge—the wish to accommodate surrounding prejudices—the imitative or sympathetic propensities—the reiteration of a particular set of sentiments, &c.—till they finally end in corruption:—these, and such like supposed influences are, we firmly believe, wholly inoperative on the mind of an English judge, whether in England or in India; and we may be permitted to say this without offering 'a high compliment to the firmness of human nature,' or 'a low one to the influence of human society.'

With regard to Great Britain, we hesitate not to say, that every step towards the more complete civilization of Hindostan, (and the progress would be considerably accelerated by colonization,) must be productive of benefit to the mother country; nor can we consider it as a matter of any importance whether it be three hundred, or three thousand years before the colonists arrive at a state of strength and prosperity fit to govern themselves—'to emancipate themselves after the manner of America.' It is now pretty well agreed, that Great Britain suffered no loss from the emancipation of America; and if India should be, some centuries hence, peopled with Britons, or a mixture of Britons, its independence would, probably,

ably, all other things remaining as now, be more mutually beneficial to the two countries than the present connexion is to either of them. Entertaining such sentiments, Mr. Grant will excuse us for not concurring in his idea that colonization should be guarded against, 'even at the price of all commercial restrictions established by our present policy;' and for not adopting his conclusion that 'even the remotest approaches to colonization ought to be avoided with jealousy'—but it is needless to entertain any fears on this subject—the genius of an exclusive company has completely barred all approaches to it, though even a few additional ships should be permitted, by the new charter, to visit India.

The second evil which is to result from 'any material innovation on our present Indian system,' is that of 'transferring the civil and military functions, now exercised by the Company, as the sovereigns of India, together with the patronage attached to them in that character, to some other person or persons'—or, in other words, if the power and patronage of India should be taken from the Company, they must either be conferred on some independent authority in India, or abandoned to the ministers of the crown. Much argumentation is employed in establishing those positions; but as the whole train proceeds on the supposition of the colonization of India, and the extinction of the East India Company, neither of which is in progress, and both, at all events, remote contingencies, we pass over this part of the discussion, to take a hasty view of the consequences which Mr. Grant seems so greatly to dread, should the Indian patronage be transferred to the servants of the crown.

The most prominent of these consequences is stated to be 'the constitutional danger that may be apprehended from the annexation to the crown of so large a mass of influence.' To elucidate this point of 'ordinary agitation,' we have the 'actual amount of patronage' minutely detailed, and precisely calculated to four places of decimals, or the ten-thousandth part of a cadetship. We are informed that, as matters now stand, if we suppose the whole patronage for a given year to be divided into 28 equal lots, the quota of the president of the Board of Control would, at the most, be two of those lots; and that even this share is a matter of courtesy dependent on the pleasure of the court of directors. We further learn that the number of writers annually appointed by the directors is about 30; but that after striking off those engaged in the commercial department, which are estimated at two-elevenths of the whole, the remaining 24 writerships would be annually in the gift of ministers; but, as the customs, and the monopoly of salt and opium would probably continue, Mr. Grant, by a calculation not necessary for us to follow, arrives at this conclusion—that 26½ writerships would be the annual number in the gift of the king's ministers,

nisters, which, by another arithmetical process, he finds to exceed that which they enjoy at present, in a twelve-fold proportion.

The number of cadetships annually given away by ministers would be about 128, of which the number the minister is annually complimented with by the court of directors may be averaged at 9½, and consequently the influence of the crown would, in this department, be multiplied fourteen-fold; and the sum total of patronage will amount to 154 writerships and cadetships. 'That is, the ministers of the crown would annually have it in their power to confer situations, in fact, for life, on more than 150 individuals; and these situations not paltry clerkships or waiterships, but all of them: such as may confer respectability on youths of patrician connection; many of them such as the sons and nephews of members of parliament, and even the younger branches of nobility, might aspire to fill, and which, it is well known, that persons of those classes frequently do aspire to fill.' (p. 286.)

But this is not all. The directors annually appoint medical men under the name of surgeons. They appoint clergymen under the denomination of chaplains. They appoint barristers and attorneys to the supreme courts. They appoint free-merchants who engage in the country trade, and they license free-mariners. On the whole it is concluded, that the disposable places, in the legal, medical, and clerical departments, amount to about 290, all of which would swell the influence of the crown.

Besides these appointments, the directors issue recommendations of young men to persons high in the Indian service—they grant compensations to those who have sustained loss in their service—they decree pensions or gratuities to those who have served them well—they censure or acquit those of their servants who are reported, or suspended, for alleged misconduct—disqualify an offender, or, annul a disqualification unjustly inflicted—all of which are comprehended under the name of 'substantive means of influence.'

Then comes a sweeping display of 'accountants, auditors, cashiers, registers, secretaries, clerks, messengers, and other petty officials,' which, with the expenses of the fiscal establishments for the collection of duties, and prevention of contraband traffic, are estimated at a lumping sum of seventy or eighty thousand pounds of annual patronage to the crown.

But we have not yet done. The civil covenanted servants of the company, exclusive of the commercial department, amount to 589; the staff appointments in the army to 478; there are 330 retired officers receiving allowances amounting to 91,616*l.*, and other retiring allowances to officers of the Bombay marine. There are besides a variety of places, not on the regular establishment, in the  
nature

nature of clerkships, secretaryships, petty agencies, frequently bestowed on the sons of European gentlemen by native mothers; amounting to 792—'minor situations,' which, as things now stand, 'escape the grasp of the ministers of the crown'—*offals* of Indian influence, as they are termed by Mr. Grant, which might 'commodiously form an assortment with imports of a more precious nature.'

In fine, after a laborious display of places, pensions and privileges, followed by a comparison of the effects of influence when placed in the hands of ministers, and in those of the directors, always favorable to the latter, we come at length to the sum total of 'the annual value of the patronage which the ministers of the crown would possess by superseding the Company in the government of India,' amounting to three millions and a half, from which, however, 'for some reason or other,' (none is assigned,) a round million is struck off on account of *ministerial forbearance* to make the full use of the powerful engine thus placed in their hands. Assuming the probability of every tenth office becoming annually vacant, it necessarily follows, that the minister would have 'at the commencement of every session of parliament,' kept snug, of course, for that occasion, vacant offices to dispose of, yielding two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, or, 'two hundred and fifty places of a thousand pounds a-year.' It also follows that, as nothing is to be struck off for *directorial forbearance*, the annual amount of patronage is 350,000*l.*, and that each director has vacant offices to dispose of worth 14,583½*l.* every year, or 14½ places of a thousand pounds a-year—the odd ½ is about the share with which each director 'compliments' the president of the Board of Control. Can any one wonder at the prodigious struggle which is made for a seat in the direction, when so many valuable appointments shower down for distribution among 'the sons and nephews and more distant relations,' and the other 'connections and dependents of the directors?' Nor are these merely the fruits of one solitary year—thirty years enjoyment of them would, on Mr. Grant's data and principles of calculation, give a mass of patronage amounting to 420,000*l.* which is equivalent to a capital of 4,200,000*l.*! A director indeed must manage very ill who cannot contrive to retain his directorship for life; it is a copyhold estate, subject to a kind of abeyance of one year in five. To talk of the purity of the re-election, or of the independence of the proprietors, is idle, as far as regards the annual return of the six directors who *come in by rotation*; they are in fact elected by their brother directors, which is (in itself) a great abuse. Besides, the directors hire most of the ships in the trade; their owners employ the ship-builders, these again the ship-chandlers, and these the rope maker, plumber, glazier, painter, &c. all of whom, to secure employment, must get their names on the

list of proprietors; they must vote for a particular person; and so one can doubt that the profits on their respective trades are of too much importance to be sacrificed to the mere gratification of giving an independent vote, especially as they cannot be ignorant that no vote of theirs would raise the dividend on East India stock the fraction of a farthing.

But, says Mr. Grant, the independence of the proprietors is proved in a recent instance, where an old director, out by rotation, was rejected. This *solitary* exception proves the rule. But what was the fact? This director had, within three years, given away to a near relation, three writerships, value £10,000, which relation sold two of them, and bartered the third for church preferment. Now admitting, as we are willing to do, that the patronage and confidence of this director was 'grossly abused,'—that, as stated in the report of the committee of the House of Commons, nothing appeared from which could be traced 'any corrupt or improper bargains to any director,' or 'with the privity or concurrence of any director,' yet when this committee had declared, on the very eve of the election, that 'the patronage was an article of traffic,' and that it appeared to them 'not unreasonable to contract, in some degree, the patronage of those who had not been sufficiently watchful in the disposal of it,' we can ascribe no very large share of merit to the 'independent proprietors' in rejecting the director, thus blown upon, however innocent. The blot was too palpable to be missed.

But the case of this director was by no means singular. The committee reported that the existing precautions were not of sufficient force to prevent a very extensive traffic, 'in the nominations to writerships and cadetries,' and they mention by name, a dozen directors, (just one half,) 'whose patronage and confidence had been grossly abused' by the sale and traffic of appointments made by them, through the intermediate agency of brokers, attornies, taylor, and other mean agents, in consideration of certain sums of money proportioned to their respective values. The question then is no longer, whether the public is likely to be better served by persons appointed by the directors, or by the ministers of the crown; but whether 'youths of patrician connection, sons and nephews of members of parliament, and younger branches of nobility,' in short, young gentlemen of birth or education, who have a name and character at stake, and who, it may be presumed, have had those just and liberal notions of honour and nice feeling, which distinguish the gentleman from the plebeian, instilled into their minds—whether these, or the illegitimate offspring of nobody knows who, foisted into the service through the 'corrupt agency' above-mentioned, or even the indigent and obscure relatives and dependents

dents of directors, are most likely to serve the public ably and honestly? At any rate the appointments on 'the recommendations of a minister' could not be made 'with less solicitude for their success, and less heed of their failure,' than those obtained or bestowed in the manner above-mentioned.

But then, besides the appointments, the compensations, the pensions, the gratuities, &c., 'large items,' which it is hinted may amount to some 'three or four hundred thousand pounds' annually, now enjoyed by the court of directors, being so many 'substantive means of influence,' would, in the hands of ministers, be capable of 'indefinite enlargement.' And can Mr. Grant be really so great a stranger to the regulations by which all the offices under government are tied up, as seriously to make such an assertion? Does he not know that if a single additional clerk, with a salary of £80 a-year, be appointed to any of them, a detailed history of all the 'whys and wherefores' that made such an appointment necessary, must be submitted to the House of Commons? Greatly indeed does he err, if he supposes that the 'individual wishes of the court of directors, clashing with the general interests of the Company, can be any effectual check to extravagance, compared with that arising out of the suspicious vigilance of the parties in parliament, hostile to the minister. Thousands are the instances in which the liberality and munificence of the court of directors are freely, and we doubt not properly, exercised, unknown to the public, or disregarded by it. Indeed the happy confusion in which their accounts, civil, military, commercial and political, have hitherto been jumbled together, sets all scrutiny at defiance; but from the moment that the minister of India should become responsible, all his accounts and all his patronage would be canvassed and sifted, even to their minutest fractions.

But then the minister may be careless or corrupt enough to turn a deaf ear 'to public convenience and established usage.' He may also, 'unchecked, appoint or displace the individuals constituting one of the Indian governments; and, armed with the terror of this power, he may secretly transmit to these individuals, whatever orders he will.' When, instead of argument, we have recourse to *may-bes*, there is no limit to the hypothetical corruption and improper practices, chargeable to a minister. We regret to find so respectable a writer as Mr. Grant countenancing, by his adoption, those vague and illiberal charges which it has of late years been too much the fashion to bring against public men. He even extends this unworthy feeling of suspicion to the whole British parliament, which he seems to consider as utterly 'incompetent for the active and circumstantial superintendence of Indian affairs.' That empire, we are told, 'moves in a trajectory of its own,' not to be inspected

inspected by large deliberative bodies, meeting in a distant quarter of the globe. But it is not merely incompetent; the attention of his readers is called to a 'most important consideration,' which is, that, 'by a skilful distribution of Indian patronage among members of parliament, the minister is enabled to conciliate the very persons by whom he is to be controlled; by multiplying his offences, he propitiates his judge.' As to any checks or restraints on the distribution of Indian patronage, as far as parliament is concerned, in the inspection and execution of those restraining laws, Mr. Grant views them with sovereign contempt. How far he imagines his argument to be strengthened by setting off the purity of the Court of Directors against the general corruption of the King's ministers and the whole House of Commons, we willingly leave for the decision of his readers.

The notion, (long since, as we thought, exploded,) that the accession of Indian patronage to the crown would endanger the constitution, is revived by Mr. Grant; but it has evidently lost the commanding influence which it once exerted over the public mind. We are old enough to remember the extraordinary effect which the India bill of Mr. Fox (passed afterwards in a modified form by Mr. Pitt) produced on the general feeling;—though we believe that the caricature print of 'Charles Fox running away with the India House on his shoulders,' contributed more towards it than the pamphlets and speeches distributed then, as now, with all the profusion of a sovereign company. Those times are past; and the public sentiment is entirely changed. The miserable expedient of placarding the walls of the metropolis with, 'No Bristol stones, but real India diamonds,'—'No opening Liverpool warehouses to fill London poorhouses,' &c. entirely failed. These are not the days, in our estimation, in which a few Indian appointments, thrown into the scale of the crown, would have any effect in destroying the balance of the constitution. When so many mock-patriots, and mob-popularity-hunters, are constantly on the watch for opportunities of plucking a feather from the wing of prerogative, there is no great danger of the influence of the crown soaring too high. Nor, until we can be brought to entertain the same sentiments of the representative body of the nation, which Mr. Grant appears to do, will we believe that, among the 658 members which compose this body, even half a dozen will be found base enough to forsake their party, and barter their principles, for one of those Indian writerships or cadetcies, which a corrupt minister may have stored up 'for the commencement of every session of parliament.'

We rather wonder that Mr. Grant, with his ingenuity, should not have been able, in the event of the supersession of the directors,

tors, to discover some other channel into which the Indian patronage might be diverted from the ministers of the crown. Why, for instance, should not the sons and nephews of officers wounded in the service, or of retired officers, whether civil or military, after long, faithful and meritorious services, be considered in the distribution of that patronage, which is now bestowed on the sons and nephews of the directors? Or, to effect a more general participation, why not dispose of the Indian appointments to such as, on examination, shall be found duly qualified as to talent and respectability, and thus create a fund for the relief of decayed officers, whether European or native? Another consideration might have suggested itself. It appears from evidence taken before the committee of the House of Commons, that disaffection prevails, as might naturally be expected, among the deposed rajahs, omrahs, khans, &c. who, by our conquests, have been deprived of office, power and wealth. It would be some compensation to these disappointed men, were certain situations in the government thrown open to such of their sons as might be willing to qualify themselves to fill them; and by thus uniting their interests with those of the British government in India, their attachment to it might be secured. But, though we think that the patronage might, without much danger, or loss of purity, pass into other hands than those of the directors, we should still say, let them retain it, provided they are disposed to shew a little more liberality in other respects—let them retain their army, their revenues and their dominion—let them retain even, for the present, the exclusive trade to China; but let the trade of India be open and free, and let the outports of the kingdom divide the benefits of it with the metropolis, even at the hazard of checking the growth of the latter, which is thought by many to be a sink of vice and misery quite capacious enough already.

‘On the Points at present in Dispute between his Majesty’s Ministers and the Company,’ which is the title to the fourth and last chapter, we see nothing to add to our opinions contained in a former article. It is, in fact, little more than the letter of Mr. Grant and Mr. Parry, of the 13th January, 1809, addressed to Mr. Dundas, put into another, and, perhaps, not an improved shape. Mr. Grant is pleased to reckon us among ‘the literary antagonists of the Company, who contemplate a radical change.’ We are surprised at this charge; and we call upon him to point out a single passage in our examination of the question now at issue, that can, by any possibility, be tortured into such a construction. We meant to render good service to the Company by deprecating the violence of the general clamour raised against it; we incidentally mentioned, as the opinion of many well informed persons, that a reform might advantageously be introduced into the home establishment,



lishment. The opinion, it is true, was 'anonymous,' but it was not 'justified by unnamed arguments'—it was not 'justified' at all—it was not 'argued' at all—it was, as we said before, casually mentioned: but we do not hesitate now to say, and we are ready to support it by argument, that it would be a great improvement in the home management, if the Court of Directors, like their servants in India, were prohibited from private trade; if their numbers were reduced, their salaries increased, and their patronage divided.

We will only for the present ask Mr. Grant three simple questions:—

1. Can it be expected that a director of the East India Company, who is directly or indirectly connected with ship-building on the river Thames, will, in any emergency, encourage the building of ships in India where he has no connection?

2. Can a director, who may happen to be largely concerned in the importation of hemp and naval stores from the Baltic, who may perhaps have a contract to supply the navy with them, be expected to encourage the growth and importation of hemp and naval stores, in and from India? And,

3. Can he be expected to give his time to the public concern, for which he receives 300*l.* a year, when his own immediate concerns press so much more forcibly on his attention?

With these questions we take our leave of Mr. Grant, assuring him that he is not mistaken in ascribing to us the negative merit of 'good intentions;' and assuring him also of our just and respectful estimate of the promise which this work displays of abilities to be hereafter, we doubt not, conspicuously exerted for the public benefit. If we confess that it also evinces strong prejudices, and prejudices, as we think, often unfounded, and often exaggerated, we say no more in this than that a mind evidently of masculine vigour and constitution, has nevertheless not been able to resist the powerful and incessant assailments of early impressions, of near interests, and of the best affections of nature. We disclaim (and he does us the justice to believe our disclaimer) all hostility to the East India Company: but it is one thing not to wish wantonly to invade its privileges; and another to be ready to maintain them, by the sacrifice of the common rights of those, who, without aiming at being the fellow-sovereigns of the Company, cannot quite forget that the individuals composing that sovereignty are, after all, their own fellow-subjects. We do not think the greatness of the East India Company at all inconsistent with a just consultation of the paramount interests of this country; we think it mainly conducive to the good of India. It is the advocates of the Company, and they alone, that bring into doubt the compatibility of these different, but, as we conceive, consenting interests, when they contend that

that to open India, or to let loose England, to a commercial intercourse, not unfettered but enlarged, is to overthrow the fabric of the Company's power. It is they, and not we, who moot the question, whether, *if* the choice *must* be made, Parliament ought to prefer the continued existence of the East India Company, for its own sake, on its present system, unaltered and unalterable for all time to come; or an increase of happiness to fifty millions of native subjects, and of wealth, strength, and firmness to the British empire. We deny that such is the alternative on which parliament has to decide. We contend, indeed, that the happiness of India and the prosperity of England are the objects for which parliament ought to legislate, and that the East India Company is but the means of attaining those objects; but it is surely enough for the Company, enough both for its interests and its reputation, that we admit (and we make the admission with cheerfulness and sincerity) that through its instrumentality, moulded by the wisdom, and acting under the continued superintendence of parliament, those objects may be most safely, and most beneficially pursued.

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\* \* An attack has been pointed out to us, in an Italian Journal, on an article in No. XVI. on the letters of Jacopo Ortis. It is not our intention to enter into a discussion, with any one, on matters of taste or opinion; but on a question of fact, we would not be wholly silent. The critics impugn what we delivered respecting the birth-place of Ugo Foscolo, and the existence of such a person as Jacopo Ortis. Our authority for both is the Signor Barzoni, one of whose works we have introduced to the knowledge of the reader in the present Number. This gentleman well remembered the suicide of Ortis, which a particular circumstance had strongly impressed upon his mind. His testimony was subsequently confirmed to us by another Venetian gentleman, at present, we believe, in the house of Mr. Fagan, the British Consul at Palermo.

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ERRATUM in No. XVI.

Page 316, line 6, for Gustavus III. read Gustavus IV.

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‘THE coasts of Great Brittain doe yeeld such a continual sea-harvest of gaine and benefit to all those that with diligence doe labour in the same, that no time or season in the yeare passeth away without some apparent meanes of profitable imployment, especially to such as apply themselves to fishing, which, from the beginning of the yeare unto the latter end, continueth upon some part or other upon our coastes, and therein such infinite shoales and multitudes of fishes are offered to the takers, as may justly move admiration, not only to strangers but to those that daily bee employed amongst them.’\* Such was the observation of that ‘learned knight,’ Sir John Borroughs, in the year 1633, the truth of which is as indisputable now, as it was then. If, indeed, we except the agricultural improvement of a country, there is no other source of national wealth and strength more productive and permanent, than that of the fisheries, and more particularly, when the circumstances and situation of its coasts are favourable for the prosecution of them on a grand scale. The greater the extent of coast compared with the area of the land which it embraces, the nearer will the benefits derivable from the fisheries approach to those which are drawn from the soil. Our sea-girt islands are most happily situated in both respects. In addition to a highly productive soil, the seas which surround us afford an inexhaustible mine of wealth—a harvest, ripe for gathering at

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\* The Sovereignty of the British Seas proved by Records, History, and the Municipal Laws of this Kingdom, by that Learned Knight Sir John Borroughs, Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London, 1633.

every time of the year—without the labour of tillage, without the expense of seed or manure, without the payment of rent or taxes. Every acre of those seas is far more productive of wholesome, palatable, and nutritious food than the same quantity of the richest land; they are fields which, perpetually ‘white to harvest,’ require only the labourer’s willing hand to reap that never failing crop which the bounty of Providence has kindly bestowed.

These islands are, indeed, favoured in a peculiar manner for carrying on the fisheries to the greatest possible extent. Not only the seas belonging to them, but all their numerous inlets, creeks, bays, and havens; the lochs, the lakes, and the rivers all swarm with esculent fish. They are blessed, moreover, with an abundant population to enjoy this plentiful harvest—they have capital to supply all the necessary means for collecting, preparing, and distributing this valuable article of human sustenance—they have the uncontrolled command of the sea, which not only secures their fishermen from the molestation of an enemy, but prevents the interference of a rival in the field. An increased and increasing population ensures a consumption at home; and mines of salt, as inexhaustible as the supply of fish, enable us to export with advantage the surplus produce to such foreign nations as afford, in return, those necessities and luxuries of life, that are not raised by ourselves.

But other considerations combine at this moment to excite us to a vigorous prosecution of the fisheries. Food of every description has risen to an extravagant and unprecedented price; butchers’ meat, once in ordinary use, is now nearly beyond the reach of the great mass of the people; the labouring poor can scarcely hope to taste it; and as to *fish*, whether in the metropolis or the great inland towns of England, *that* may be considered as a prohibited article, even to the middling ranks in life. If then the seas which surround Great Britain and Ireland are, and nobody will deny that they are, capable of affording an inexhaustible supply of fish—if fishermen are able with all imaginable ease to take it in unlimited quantities—and if, notwithstanding, the supply is not equal to the demand, either in the home or the foreign market, there must be some defect or discouragement, or some want of systematic regulations, to withhold so important an article of food from the community at large. Highly, however, as we estimate the public advantages derivable from the fisheries, and they can scarcely be too highly estimated, we are not sanguine enough to join in the confident expectations of Mr. Schultes, that the ‘establishment of a national fishery’ (on his own plan of course) ‘would extinguish the poor’s rate, afford universal employment, prevent the necessity of naval impress, increase trade, diminish taxes, supply constant  
and

and perpetual food, and augment the wealth of the nation annually twenty millions of pounds.' But we willingly yield our assent to the more moderate expectations of the members who form the committee of the 'Fish Association,' that, by the removal of certain obstacles to a more general use of fish in this country, sustenance may be provided for a great additional population, employment afforded for a numerous class of courageous and adventurous individuals, provision made for unfailing nurseries of seamen for our navy; and a considerable increase to the trade of the United Kingdom.

That the mine we have to work upon is in reality inexhaustible, a transient inspection will be sufficient to satisfy the most sceptical inquirer. We now know that travellers do not exaggerate, when they tell us of swarms of locusts obscuring the light of the sun; of flights of white ants filling the whole horizon like a snow shower; of herds of antelopes scouring the plains in thousands; neither are fishermen disbelieved when they speak of shoals of herrings, occupying, in close array, many millions of acres near the surface of the sea; nor when they tell us that, on the coast of Norway, in passing through the narrow inlets, they move in such deep columns, that they are known by the name of *herring mountains*. The cod, hake, ling, mackerel, pilchard, and salmon, though not quite so numerous as the herring, are all of them gregarious, and probably migrating animals. In thus ordaining that the most numerous of the finny tribe should be those which afford the most wholesome food for man, we acknowledge the benevolent intentions of an all-wise and good Providence.

We are yet imperfectly acquainted with the natural history of the herring. Its winter habitation has generally been supposed within the arctic circle, under the vast fields of ice which float on the northern ocean, where it fattens on the swarms of shrimps and other marine insects which are said to be most abundant in those seas. On the return of the sun from the southern tropic towards the equator, the multitudinous host issues forth in numbers that exceed the power of imagination. Separating about Iceland into two grand divisions, the one proceeds to the westward, filling, in its progress, every bay and creek on the coast of America, from the Straits of Bellisle to Cape Hatteras; the other, proceeding easterly in a number of distinct columns of five or six miles in length, and three or four in breadth, till they reach the Shetland islands, which they generally do about the end of April, is there subdivided into a number of smaller columns, some of which taking the eastern coast of Great Britain, fill every creek and inlet in succession from the Orkneys down to the British Channel; and others, branching off to the westward, surround the coasts of the Hebrides, and pene-



trate into the numerous firths and lochs on the western shores of Scotland. Another shoal, pursuing the route to Ireland, separates on the north of that island into two divisions, one of which, passing down the Irish Channel, surrounds the Isle of Man, the other pours its vast multitudes into the bays and inlets of the western coast of Ireland. The whole of this grand *army*, which the word *herring* emphatically expresses, disappears, on the arrival of the several divisions on the southern coasts of England and Ireland, about the end of October, to which period, from its first appearance in April, it invites the attack of a variety of enemies, besides the fishermen, in every point of its route. In their own element the herrings furnish food for the whale, the shark, the grampus, the cod, and almost all the larger kind of fishes; and they are followed in the air by flocks of gulls, gaunets, and other marine birds, which continually hover about them, and announce their approach to the expectant fisherman.

To keep up this abundant supply and to provide against all the drains which were intended to be made upon it, nature has bestowed on the herring a corresponding fecundity, the spawn of each female comprehending from thirty to forty thousand eggs. Whether these eggs are deposited in the soft and oozy banks of the deep sea, abounding with marine worms and insects and affording food for winter's consumption, or whether they lie within the arctic circle amidst unremitting frost and six months perpetual darkness, is yet a doubtful point; but the former will probably be considered as the less objectionable conjecture.

The esculent fish, next of importance to the herring in a national point of view, is the codfish, which is also considered among the number of those which migrate from the north, in a southerly direction, to nearly the same degree of latitude as the herring. But there is reason to believe that its constant residence is on the rough and stony banks of the deep sea, and that it is rarely found beyond the arctic circle, and there only sparingly and in the summer months. On the great bank of Newfoundland, on the coasts of Iceland, Norway, Shetland, and the Orkney islands, on the Well-bank, the Dogger-bank, the Broad Forties, on the northern, western, and southern coasts of Ireland, the cod is most abundant and of the best quality: in some or other of these situations the fisheries may be carried on with certain success and to great advantage from November to Midsummer. On the western coasts of Scotland and Ireland all the different species of the cod genus, usually known under the name of white fish, are plentifully dispersed. Every bank is, in fact, an inexhaustible fishery, for, with fewer enemies than the herring to prey upon it, the cod is at least a hundred times more productive. The fecundity of this fish,

fish, indeed, so far exceeds credibility, that had it not been ascertained by actual experiment, and on the best possible authority, it would have been considered as fabulous to assign to the female cod, from three to four millions of eggs.\*

Not only the hake, sometimes known by the name of 'poor John,' but more commonly by that of stock-fish, and the ling, are to be reckoned among the valuable products of the British fisheries, especially as articles of foreign consumption, but we may also include the haddock, which is another species of cod, as equally important for the supply of the home market. Haddocks assemble in vast shoals during the winter months in every part of the northern ocean, and bend their course generally to the southward, proceeding beyond the limits of the cod and the herring; but it is remarked that they neither enter the Baltic nor the Mediterranean. The two dark spots a little behind its head, are supposed to have gained the haddock, in days of superstition, the credit of being the fish which St. Peter caught with the tribute money in its mouth, in proof of which the impression of the Saint's finger and thumb has been entailed on the whole race of haddocks ever since. Unfortunately, however, for the tradition, the haddock is not a Mediterranean fish, nor can we suppose it to have belonged to the lake of Tiberias. The truth is the Italians consider a very different fish as that which was sanctified by the Apostle, and which after him they honour with the name of *il janitore*, a name that we have converted into *Johnny Dory* with the same happy ingenuity that has twisted the *girasole* or turnsol into a *Jerusalem* artichoke.

Several other kinds of white fish, as turbot, plaice, sole, and whittings are plentifully dispersed over various parts of the British seas, so as to afford an ample supply for the home market, the whole year round, without the smallest danger of that supply being exhausted or diminished.

The mackerel fishery in the English Channel continues about four months in the year, commencing in April or May. This too is a fish of passage, but, contrary to the course, of the herring, is supposed to visit the British seas in large shoals from the southward. The mackerel is chiefly caught for immediate consumption, but is sometimes pickled for winter use. Its fecundity is very great, each female depositing, at least, half a million of eggs.

The pilchard, like the herring, of which it is a species, is a fish of passage. It makes its appearance, in vast shoals, on the coasts of Devonshire and Cornwall, and in the neighbourhood of the Scilly islands, from July to September. About the time that the pilchards are expected on the coast, a number of men called *huers*

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\* Philosophical Transactions, vol. 57, p. 280.

post themselves on the heights to look out for their approach, which is indicated by a change in the colour of the water. The boats in the mean while, with their nets prepared, are held in momentary readiness to push forth in the direction pointed out to them by the *huers*. On the coast of Cornwall alone, fifty or sixty thousand hogsheads of this fish are annually salted for foreign consumption.

But of all others the salmon may, perhaps, be considered as the king of fishes; and no part of Europe is more bountifully supplied with it than the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland. At certain seasons of the year, whole shoals of this noble fish approach to the mouths of rivers, which they ascend to considerable distances, surmounting every obstacle in order to find a safe and convenient spot to deposit their spawn. From January to September they are in high season, but in some part or other of the coast are fit for use every month in the year. The salmon fishery is of great value, whether for home consumption or exportation. Prodigious quantities are consumed fresh in the London market, and in almost all the sea-port towns in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales; but a far greater quantity is salted, dried, or pickled in vinegar. The lochs and friths of Scotland and Ireland are visited by salmon in such copious shoals that more than a thousand fish have sometimes been taken at a single draught. The two most productive fisheries are that of the Tweed near Berwick, and of the Bann near Coleraine; at the latter of which, Mr. Young says, 1450 salmon have been taken at one drag of a single net. The salmon also frequents the coasts of Norway and Iceland in the summer months in prodigious quantities. Hooker describes the salmon fishery in the river Lax Elbe on the latter island, where women, as well as men, took with their hands, in a few hours, 2200 salmon.\*

The banks of the North sea, the rocky coasts of the Orkneys, and the eastern shores of Britain, afford, in abundance, two articles of luxury for the London market, though but sparingly drawn from those sources: we allude to the turbot and lobster. For a supply, however, of the former we have always had recourse to the Dutch, to whom we paid about £80,000 a-year; and for about a million of the latter, taken on the coast of Norway, the Danes drew from us about £15,000 a-year; for eels we gave the Dutch about £5000 a-year. These fisheries are calculated to give employment to not less than 10,000 seamen.

Even the oyster fishery supplies the market of the metropolis with an article of nutritious food for eight months in the year; and if cultivated with the same care in the neighbourhood of Chichester, Portsmouth, Southampton, Plymouth, the coasts of Wales,

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\* Journal of a Tour in Iceland, by W. J. Hooker.

and among the Hebrides, as at Colchester, Milton, Feversham, &c., there is not a town in Great Britain which might not be as abundantly supplied with oysters as the London market.

Notwithstanding this never-failing harvest of food within our immediate reach, the neglect of the fisheries has never ceased to be a subject of unavailing complaint from the days of Queen Elizabeth to the present time. 'It maketh much to the ignominie and shame of our English nation,' (says the learned Keeper of the Tower Records, above quoted,) 'that God and nature, offering us so great a treasure, even at our own doores, wee doe, notwithstanding, neglect the benefit thereof, and by paying money to strangers for the fish of our own seas, impoverish ourselves to make them rich:' and he complains that Yarmouth which, from a bed of sand, had risen to an opulent town, solely by the fishery, with the Cinque ports and other towns and villages to the number of 225, were, in his time, 'decayed and reduced to extreame poverty,' whilst those of Holland and Zealand were flourishing from the riches collected on our own coasts, where not less than 400 of their vessels were constantly employed to supply England alone with fish caught on its own shores. As a contrast to our indolence or indifference, a lively picture is drawn of the bustle and activity which the Dutch herring buss fishery communicated to the various tradesmen and artisans, labourers, salters, packers, dressers; &c. and of the numbers of poor women and children to which it gave employment.\* On the coasts of Holland and in its bays and inlets 3000 boats of various kinds were constantly occupied; on those of England and Scotland, in the cod and ling fishery only, they had 800 vessels, from 60 to 150 tons burden, fully employed; and each of these was attended by another vessel for supplying it with salt and carrying back the cured fish. From Bougoness to the mouth of the Thames, a fleet of 1600 busses were actively engaged in the herring fishery, to every one of which might be reckoned three others, some employed in importing foreign salt, some in conveying it to the fishing vessels, and others in carrying the cured fish to a foreign market. Thus the total number of shipping engaged in, and connected with, the herring fishery amounted to 6400 vessels, giving employment on the water alone, to 112,000 mariners and fishermen. At that time Holland could boast of 10,000 sail of shipping, and 168,000 mariners, 'although their country itselfe affords them neither materials or victuall or merchandize to be accounted of towards their setting forth.' It

\* In a pamphlet entitled 'England's Path to Wealth and Honour, in a Dialogue between an Englishman and a Dutchman,' which abounds with information on the subject of the fisheries, the whole alphabet is employed, in regular order, to enumerate the various trades-people, artisans, &c. who subsist by the herring fishery:

had a navy which supported many a long and arduous contest with that of Great Britain for the dominion of the seas; and its commerce and colonies spread themselves over the most distant parts of the globe. Many fair and populous cities rose with prodigious rapidity from a few mud hovels scattered among the swamps and morasses at the mouths of the Rhine and the Waal. So universally indeed was it acknowledged that the strength, wealth and prosperity of the United Provinces were entirely owing to the herring fishery, that an observation was in common use among themselves, that Amsterdam had its foundation on herring bones.

But the best proofs from what channel the republic of the United Provinces derived its rapid flow of wealth and prosperity, may be collected from an estimate of the population of the States General, published in Holland in 1669, which stands as under:—

Persons employed as fishermen, and in equipping fishermen with their ships, boats, tackle, conveying of salt, &c.	450,000
Persons employed in the navigation of ships in the foreign trade, wholly independent of the trade connected with the fisheries.	250,000
Persons employed as manufacturers, shipwrights, handicraft trades, dealers in the said manufactures, &c.	650,000
Persons employed in agriculture, inland fishery, daily labour, &c.	200,000
Inhabitants of all descriptions employed in various concerns connected with domestic consumption and in general use.	650,000
Idle gentry without callings, statesmen, officers, usurers, soldiers, beggars, &c. who are supported by the labour and care of those above-mentioned.	200,000

Making a total of 2,400,000.

Of this aggregate population it will appear that eleven-twelfths were exercised in habits of industry; and that 700,000, or every third person nearly, was either a mariner, a fisherman, or one employed in the encouragement and increase of their marine and the fisheries. It was the boast of the pensionary De Witt that nearly one-fifth part of the population of the United Provinces earned their subsistence by the fisheries at sea, and it was his opinion that the trade of Holland could not be supported without them, but would decay with the decay of the herring fishery, which he considered as the right arm of the republic. The States General, indeed, made no secret of the grand source of their wealth and prosperity. In one of their ordinances, relating to the herring fishery, they set out by

by declaring, 'how well known it is that the great fishing and catching of herrings is the chiefest trade and principal gold mine of the United Provinces, whereby many thousands of households, families, handicraft trades and occupations are set on work, are well maintained, and prosper, &c.' The people of England were fully aware of the great advantages derived by the Dutch from a fishery carried on principally by the latter within the seas, and frequently close under the shores, of the former. Why this country, with an apparent indifference, suffered a nation which she had so recently raised out of its dykes and mud-banks to a state of independence, to erect, by rapid stages, a grand national superstructure on the basis of British produce and protection, till she became her most formidable rival on the ocean, is a subject that has often engaged the pen of the statesman; of such men as Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Monson, Sir William Petty, Sir Roger L'Estrange, and many other able and practical politicians. Neither has there been any want of efforts on the part of individuals, or of encouragement on that of government, (though the latter might not always have been properly directed,) to correct this extraordinary supineness. Liberal subscriptions have been set on foot, and vast-sums of money contributed at various times for the establishment of fishing villages and the building and setting forth of ships and boats suitable for the purpose. Various acts of parliament have been passed from time to time for the encouragement of the fisheries and fishermen, conferring premiums, granting bounties, allowing exemptions from duties, and bestowing other indulgencies and privileges, protecting mariners, landsmen, and apprentices engaged in the fisheries from the impress, and allowing every person, who should have followed the occupation of fisherman for seven successive years, being a married man, to set up and freely exercise any trade or profession in any town or place in Great Britain. In the midst of all these encouragements, however, we have not been quite consistent. The cod and turbot fisheries were chiefly carried on by the Dutch. There are two baits of which these fish are peculiarly fond, the lamprey and the whilk, neither of which the Dutch possess, but both of which were amply supplied to them by us. Nay, it appears on evidence before a committee of the House of Commons that our own fishing vessels have been frequently kept a fortnight or three weeks in the Thames for want of lampreys, while the Dutch were carrying them away by hundreds of thousands at a time.\* But other unfavourable circumstances of greater weight than these caused the fisheries to languish in

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\* Report of the Committee for Fisheries, 1786.

England, in proportion as they flourished on the opposite side of the channel; and thus, as Mr. Schultes says,

‘ This country passively contributed to her rivals’ aggrandizement; and at the very period, namely 1695, when the Dutch and her neighbours were enjoying all the advantage of affluence, power and dominion, deriving annually from the British Sea fishery the enormous sum of twenty millions of pounds, we began to borrow money for public expenditure, and incur the national debt, which gradually increased in the same proportion as their wealth and prosperity; and (painful to remark) it appeared by a tract published in 1653, wherein the writer refers to the testimony and asseverations of merchants in Amsterdam, that we purchased our own fish at the incredible sum of sixteen hundred thousand pounds annually.\*

It may be proper, before we endeavour to point out the remedy, to trace some of the main causes, which have operated in producing that fatal disease which has so long and so obstinately impeded the progress of Great Britain towards a successful establishment of the fisheries on all or any of the numerous situations, favourable for that purpose, on a line of sea coast, not less than 3000 miles in extent.

The occupation of a fisherman may be considered generally as the offspring of poverty; the dangers of the element on which he moves, the fatigues and hardships that he has to encounter, the disease and infirmity prematurely brought on by exposure to cold and wet, the uncertainty of a market for his fish, if successful, and the certainty of starving from a want of success, are the discouraging prospects which he who embarks in the trade has to contemplate; but as necessity is the parent of exertion as well as of invention, we do not find that a want of hands for the fisheries makes any part of the obstacles which have retarded their progress. It is pretty nearly the same with nations as with individuals; that country, which has but one of its sides abutting on the sea, must necessarily be poor before it consents to become a nation of fishermen. Thus the provinces of Holland and Zealand, whose cultivable land yielded not sufficient produce for the subsistence of one-eighth part of their inhabitants, were driven by necessity to seek for the remainder on the water. But England, which had twelve times the quantity of productive land for her population, felt not the same necessity of cultivating the sea to provide subsistence, though surrounded by that element on every side. Food was neither so dear nor so scarce, that men were driven to the necessity of encountering the perils and hardships of a boisterous element to

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\* Schultes’s Dissertation, p. 5.

increase the quantity or reduce the price of the necessaries of life. The small portion of its inexhaustible stores that was drawn from its bosom was rather to supply an article of luxury for home consumption, than a merchantable commodity for the foreign market; and even that demand was scantily and precariously furnished. If the *catch*, as it is technically called, was too abundant, a great part of it was spoiled for want of a quick and certain market at hand, while the quantity itself lowered the price of those that were disposed of; if too scanty, the produce was not worth the expense of sending to a distant market, unless sold there at an exorbitant price. The uncertainty of the supply and the fluctuation of price were necessarily followed by an uncertainty in the demand; and such a state of the market being precisely suited for the establishment of a monopoly, a monopoly was accordingly established. For this purpose a narrow and confined spot of ground was set apart in the city of London, which absorbed the whole of the fish that came within the radius of its vortex, extending from Billingsgate, as its focal point, seven miles in every direction; and this little spot *virtually* monopolized all the best fish that were caught on the coast of the United Kingdom. This market is held as an exclusive privilege of the corporation of London by charter, 'which,' says Sir Thomas Bernard, 'in the greatest and most populous city in the world, restricts the sale of an essential article of life to a small and inconvenient market; and has exclusively placed the monopoly of fish in the hands of a few interested salesmen.'

'If the abuse (adds Sir T. Bernard) were limited to a mere enhancement of price upon those who value the articles of life in proportion to their dearth and scarcity, the power might be so modified in its exercise, as to be undeserving of public animadversion or interference. But it is now ascertained that, in a period of scarcity, when every effort is making by importation and economy to provide for the public necessities, a kind of *blockade* has checked the supply of the metropolis; large quantities of fish have been withheld or wantonly destroyed as they approached the market, and nearly two millions of inhabitants in London and its surrounding neighbourhood have been in a great measure deprived of an article of food, which might have lessened the consumption of butchers' meat and wheat-corn, to the relief of the whole kingdom.\*'

The evils of this monopoly are greatly enhanced by the tricks and abuses which are contrived by the fishermen, the salesmen, and the fishmongers, who, in the present state of things, are all more interested in creating a scarcity than in the diffusion of plenty. It is more advantageous to all these parties to sell a turbot at three guineas, and a lobster for its sauce at twelve shillings, than by sending three times the quantity to market, to reduce the prices

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\* Account of a Supply of Fish, p. 1 et seq.



to a sixth part of what they actually are. Great care is therefore taken that the market be precisely fed to the profitable point, but never overstocked. To effect this, they have a depôt of well-boats and store-boats ready stocked about Gravesend. In these boats a supply of cod, turbot, and lobsters are kept during the season, from whence the proper quantity is daily measured out for the Billingsgate market. In the height of the season those that get sickly are thrown overboard, but, towards the end, when keeping up the price is no longer an object, thousands of sickly and emaciated cod and lobsters are thrown into the market. Not many months ago a Russian frigate ran down one of these lobster vessels, and set 15,000 of these animals adrift in the Thames. A species of cruelty is resorted to in order to prevent lobsters, so pounded up, from tearing one another in pieces; the great claw is rendered paralytic by driving a wooden peg into the lower joint.

All attempts have hitherto failed to break this iniquitous combination. Certain fishmongers, encouraged by several noblemen and gentlemen, agreed to serve out fish at reduced prices, by having it brought from the coasts by land carriage. The Billingsgate salesmen took the alarm, raised a subscription of several thousand pounds, and bribed the servants and housekeepers of the encouragers of *land carriage* fish to put the very worst fish they could get on their masters' table; from which it soon obtained so bad a character that the new fishmongers were ruined, and the old ones contrived to add to their monopoly all the fish brought to market by land as well as water carriage.

It is of so much importance to destroy this combination, that the Committee of the Fish Association, in their first Report, consider it expedient to commence their operations with the metropolis, believing, and with reason, that the increased use of fish in London, Westminster, and their vicinity, would not fail to contribute, by their example, to introduce its general consumption into other cities and places in Great Britain. To attain this object, it appears to the committee to be absolutely necessary that the present impediments to supply and distribution should be removed.

Of these impediments, the four principal ones are the following. First, Billingsgate, being the only market, is neither adequate in size to more than a small portion of the necessary supply, nor convenient in point of access, or local situation, to the immense population which, within the last century, has extended itself to the westward, over Mary-le-bone, Paddington, Lambeth, &c. a circumstance which has necessarily impeded and obstructed the distribution and sale of fish. Secondly, the doubt and hesitation of fishermen in bringing up to this only market so large a quantity of  
fish

fish as they might procure, while so many circumstances render the sale of it both difficult and uncertain. Thirdly, the distribution and sale, arising from the local situation of Billingsgate market: 'the labour and loss of time of a poor basket-woman, who can afford to buy only a small lot of fish, must be greatly increased, by her being obliged to resort to Billingsgate between three and six o'clock in the morning, on account of her little purchase, and to return with it several miles on her head, before she can begin her sale.\* The case with regard to mackerel, which more or less applies to other fish, is thus stated by Sir Thomas Bernard.

'It is a singular but well known fact, that at the very time when there is the greatest quantity of mackerel to be caught in the part of the British channel which supplies the London market, and when that fishery is most abundant, the fishermen who frequent Billingsgate, almost wholly discontinue the mackerel fishery. This extraordinary circumstance is thus accounted for. These fishermen depend in a great measure for customers on fishwomen who attend daily at Billingsgate with their baskets on their heads, to purchase the mackerel, and carry them for sale about the metropolis. As long as these women continue their attendance on the Billingsgate market, the fishermen are secure of a certain degree of custom for their fish; but as soon as the common fruit comes into season, they give up dealing in fish; finding the sale of gooseberries, currants and the like, to produce them a larger and more secure profit, with less risk or trouble. The fishermen being thus disappointed of a sale for their mackerel, at the time when they are most abundant, give up, in a degree, their employment for the season; and an immense quantity of palatable and nutritious food is thereby annually withheld from the inhabitants of the metropolis.

'This circumstance of the want of means of sending their fish generally into the town, not only prevents the mackerel being caught; but, even after they have been caught and brought up the river, precludes a considerable part of it from ever reaching the market; for all that arrives at this period beyond the estimated demand of the fishmongers, *however fresh and good*, is thrown into the Thames, and destroyed before it reaches Billingsgate; with the consequence of enhancing the price of mackerel to the opulent part of the metropolis, and of excluding most of its inhabitants from a participation in this cheap and plentiful supply of food.†

The fourth great impediment, mentioned by the committee, to the general use of fish in the metropolis, is the *uncertainty* of price, and the total ignorance in which the public are kept as to the *daily state* of the supply. 'The housekeeper who is going to market, knows pretty correctly what will be the price of mutton, beef, bread, cheese, and almost every other article of subsistence, but

\* First Report of the Committee of the Fish Association, p. 12.

† Account of a Supply of Fish, p. 3 and 4.

has no means of guessing whether fish will, that morning, be two-pence or two shillings a pound.' She knows, indeed, that the price depends mainly on the pleasure of the fishmongers, and considers it therefore a sort of prohibited article, fit only for the tables of the rich and luxurious. Indeed the great mass of inhabitants, consisting of tradespeople, mechanics, and small annuitants, would as soon think of going into Owen's or Grange's shops to ask the price of a pine-apple, as to inquire of Grove or Taylor the prices of cod, turbot, or salmon in the height of the season and when the town is full. Hence, when it may happen that there is even a glut of fish, which however is rarely the case, as there is no mode of diffusing that information, there is none of increasing the means of sale.

There is, however, another and not an artificial impediment to the regular supply of the metropolis by water carriage, which arises from the navigation of the river Thames. Whenever there is a prevalent south-west wind, which makes it impracticable to get up the river, the fishermen take shelter in a small bay on the Essex side of the mouth of the Thames, called Holy Haven, or sometimes East Haven; here they are obliged to wait a shift of wind, and, if disappointed in this, their cargoes are thrown overboard, and they proceed on another fishing voyage. The committee therefore propose to open a communication by land carriage between Holy Haven and the metropolis; the distance is only thirty miles, of which about four or five would require a new road to be made. Were this once effected, a daily and regular supply of fish would reach town in five or six hours after its arrival in Holy Haven, and the increased expense would not exceed one halfpenny a pound.\*

The first step to the removal of all these obstacles to a more extended use of fish in the metropolis, appears obviously to be the dissolution of the present monopoly by the establishment of new markets. The evil of this monopoly is not a complaint of recent date; it would seem to have been felt so far back as the year 1749, when an act was passed 'for making a free market for the sale of fish in the city of Westminster; and for preventing the forestalling and monopolizing of fish;' yet, from some strange and unaccountable circumstances, though the population of Westminster and its connected neighbourhood has increased more than three-fold since the passing of that act of George II. no benefit whatever has been derived to this immense aggregate of population from it. The commissioners, in fact, seem to have mismanaged the concern al-

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\* Second Report of the Committee of the Fish Association, p. 6.

together,

together, and to have put themselves completely into the power of the monopolists of Billingsgate.

The present committee therefore propose, in the first place, to make the act effective, and appoint new commissioners to carry it into execution. This, we conceive, is not enough; if an additional market was thought necessary in 1749, we should say that three at least were required in 1813; and as the nearer the markets supplying different articles are situated one to the other, the more convenience will be afforded to the housekeeper, we should recommend the establishment of one for the sale of fish in the vicinity of Blackfriars-bridge, near Fleet-market; a second in the neighbourhood of the new Strand-bridge, not very distant from Covent Garden and Hungerford markets; and a third near Westminster-bridge, for the supply of the lower part of Westminster and Lambeth. The fishermen of Brighton and other parts of the coasts of Sussex and Kent would amply supply these markets with the ordinary kinds of fish by land carriage, provided two obstacles were removed. The first is the collection of the post duty on the horses employed in their fish carts, which, for one cart with four horses, amounts to twenty-eight shillings. The second is the inconvenience and uncertainty of Billingsgate market. It appears, however, from Mr. Serjeant Onslow's interpretation of the act of 44 Geo. III. cap. 98, that no duty was meant to be imposed on a mere fish-cart or caravan, *carrying fish only*; and the joint opinion of the Attorney General and the learned serjeant on the other point is, that 'there is no legal impediment to any person or persons engaging a warehouse, yard, or other convenient place, at which to receive and sell, by retail or wholesale, fish or other victuals; but such individuals cannot by law erect a market, in which to exact tolls, or other incidents to a market.\*' With submission to these learned authorities, the law for erecting one market, at least, in Westminster, exists as fully now as when it was enacted; and we apprehend that nothing more is wanting to carry it into effect than the nomination of new commissioners. Of this we trust the Committee of the Fish Association will not lose sight.

That the establishment of these markets would remove all the impediments to the general use of fish in the metropolis, has, we think, been decisively proved by an experiment made by Mr. Hale, one of the members of the Committee for the Relief of the Manufacturing Poor. He agreed with some fishermen to take from ten to twenty thousand mackerel a-day at a price not exceeding ten shillings the hundred *of six score*, or a penny a-piece; a price at

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\* Second Report of the Committee of the Fish Association p. 14.

which

which the fishermen said they could afford to supply the London market to any extent, *were they sure of a regular sale.* On the 15th June, 1812, upwards of 17,000 mackerel delivered at the stipulated price were sent to Spitalfields, and sold to the working weavers at the original cost of a penny a-piece, to which place women were employed to carry them from Billingsgate until eleven o'clock at night. Though purchased with great avidity by the inhabitants of that district, it soon appeared that Spitalfields alone would not be equal to the consumption of the vast quantities of mackerel which daily poured into the market; they were therefore sent for distribution among the poor, at the same rate, in other parts of the town; workhouses and other public establishments were also served; 'and the supply increased to so great a degree, that 500,000 mackerel arrived and were sold in one day.' The whole cost of this experiment for the distribution of *fresh and sweet* mackerel, caught the preceding day, at a penny a-piece, was fifty-five pounds ten shillings, expended chiefly in the carriage from Billingsgate.\*

But this abundant supply is not confined solely to mackerel. Herrings might be sent up to market for many months in the year, and there sold for less than a halfpenny a-piece; and cod, haddocks, whittings, flounders, &c. proportionally cheap; so that no one week throughout the whole year would pass over, without every family in this great metropolis being enabled to enjoy a wholesome meal of fish one day at least in it.

The Committee for the Relief of the Manufacturing Poor did not stop here; they contracted for 200 tons of corned cod, caught and cured on our own coast, and for 400,000 corned herrings; the former was supplied to the distressed manufacturers of Sheffield at two pence halfpenny a pound, and the latter at the rate of two for three halfpence. It cannot then admit of a doubt, that, if facilities were given for a regular demand, the supply of fish, as of all other articles, would keep pace with that demand, not only in the metropolis, but throughout the United Kingdom; and it is quite certain that so great an addition to the quantity of food would have the effect of reducing its price, which is, at all times, an important consideration, but most important at the present time, when, to use the words of the Committee of the Fish Association, 'an increasing population, which in the last twelve years has been augmented by nearly a million and a half of inhabitants—extensive manufactories requiring a great addition of food—and the supply of our fleets and armies—of our West India colonies—and of those British settlements which do not entirely provide the means of their own subsistence—call imperiously both on the public and on individuals, to

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\* Account of a Supply of Fish, p. 5 et seq.

unite every effort to provide an increase of subsistence, and to shake off that annual dependence on the uncertain and ruinous importation of wheat corn and other grain, at an expense amounting, in the same period of twelve years, to no less a sum than forty-two millions of money, sent out of the kingdom in quest of the necessary articles of life.\*

It must not be disguised however, that, such are the prejudices of the common people, and of the poor more especially, that were the supply of fish so abundant as to reduce the price to a very low rate, it would be considered as unwholesome, or not fresh, or out of season, and would consequently find few purchasers. A gradual introduction of fish as an ordinary article of food is preferable to a sudden overflow. An example set by their superiors frequently tends to the removal of the prejudices of the lower order. The late Admiral Rodney, dining at Carlton House, congratulated the Prince of Wales on seeing a plate of what he thought British cured herrings on the table, adding that, if His Royal Highness' example was followed by the upper ranks only, it would be the means of adding 20,000 hardy seamen to the navy. The Prince observed that he had paid him an unmerited compliment, the herrings not having been cured by British hands—'but,' continued His Royal Highness, 'henceforward I shall order a plate of British cured herrings to be purchased at any expense, to appear as a standing dish at this table: we shall call it a *Rodney*, and under that designation, what true patriot will not follow my example?† We fear the *Rodney*, like the monument voted to the memory of that gallant officer, has long been suspended.

But the uncontrouled command of the sea, the local and natural advantages arising out of the insular situation of Great Britain and Ireland, 'encircled by inexhaustible shoals of nourishing and gratifying food,' the equally inexhaustible mines of salt which both the land and sea afford us, are advantages so eminently superior to those which most other nations are gifted with, that we ought not to be satisfied with the supply of our home consumption—We should imitate the Dutch, and draw from our stores a copious supply for exportation to foreign countries, in exchange for other articles of consumption, and thereby increase the national wealth, strength, and industry, and 'provide a great and unfailing nursery for our navy—the bulwark, the defence, and the glory of the United Kingdom.'

Here, we must confess, the causes of former failure are neither so obvious, nor the remedy against future failure so easy. Funds were not always wanting to supply every necessary material on a

\* First Report of the Committee of the Fish Association, p. 5 et seq.

† Proceedings of the British Society at the London Tavern, 25th March, 1789.

selves, and here indeed their exertions were most required. The total change which the rebellion, and the consequent breaking up of the clans, occasioned in the situation and circumstances of the Highlanders, compelled many thousand families to seek for employment on the opposite shores of the Atlantic. This emigration depopulated whole districts. The soil was not ungrateful nor the climate ungenial; both the sea and the land offered abundant means of subsistence: but the change was too violent to admit of proper measures being taken to allure these poor people to the pursuit of the fisheries and the cultivation of the waste lands. Seduced too by false statements, and deluded by imaginary happiness, they fled from their native shores to undergo a state of misery ten times more severe than that from which they vainly flattered themselves they were escaping. Their deplorable condition in the promised land of America is thus feelingly, and we believe faithfully, described by a gentleman who spared no pains in directing his inquiries into the 'most effectual means of the improvement of the coasts and the western isles of Scotland.'

'Within these few years I have taken much pains to inquire, and have had the very best opportunities of ascertaining, the unhappy fate of many of those unfortunate people who have emigrated, either from Scotland, Ireland, or Wales, to that part of the globe; and even within these few months I have had an account of the poverty, wretchedness, nakedness, and misery of many of those people, which it is almost horrible to describe. Of money there is none to be obtained; what is carried out is soon expended; and when their clothes are worn out they have no means of replacing them. If they should even obtain employment as labourers, they can get no wages in money from their employers. If they obtain land, they can get nothing for its produce; their food a little Indian corn and water, they drag out a miserable existence, with little chance of ever acquiring the only consolation that remains, that of procuring the means of returning to their native land, in which many hundreds of these deluded people declared to my friend that they would be glad to accept the most abject employments, or even to beg from door to door rather than support the miseries of their situation in America. The women who had gone out were of all others the most wretched; nor is there, of either sex, or of any description, a single individual, who has recently emigrated to America, that would not think it the most fortunate emancipation to be landed naked on their native shores.\*

To put an effectual bar to the recurrence of so much misery on the return of peace, to prevent so many brave men and their families being lost to the country, in which the interests of humanity are no less concerned than those of sound policy, no great sacrifice on the

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\* Letter to the Right Honourable Charles Abbot on the improvement of the coasts and extension of the fisheries of Scotland, &c. by R. Fraser, Esq.

part of the public would seem to be required. These emigrations are not so much owing to a redundancy, as to a scantiness, of population. The dispersion of the inhabitants over a wide tract of country is unfavourable to the cultivation and improvement of it; it is useless to raise grain where there is no demand for it—no markets—no roads—no assemblage of people in towns, uniting in one point the various occupations of social life, and sending forth, like the heart in the human body, health and vigour to the extremities. In such a country the great landholder finds his advantage in converting whole districts into pasture for the rearing of cattle and sheep, which require not a turnpike road for driving them to a market. The same scantiness of population on the sea-coasts, where all are fishermen, is attended with the same disadvantages. The families of these poor people are in a state of constant migration; for the wives and children of fishermen are employed in gutting the fish. The women travel along the dreary coast, from bay to bay, in the cheerless months of November and December, with their infants on their backs, a little oatmeal, a kettle and a few other utensils, which an uninhabited waste could not supply: 'they commence their cold and heartless labour without shelter for themselves or their infants, without any change of their daily diet of fish and oatmeal, no house to screen the sick or the dying—the heath, the cavern, or stunted bush their only bed, the snow or the hoary frost their only covering.\*' So strongly, indeed, was the House of Commons impressed with a sense of the evils arising out of this state of the country, that it is declared in the Act † which incorporates the 'British Society,' 'that the building of free towns, villages, piers and fishing stations in the Highlands and islands of North Britain, will greatly contribute to the improvement of the fisheries, agriculture, manufactures, and other useful objects of industry in that part of the kingdom, in which the dispersed situation of the inhabitants have hitherto proved a great impediment to their active exertions; and their being collected into fishing towns and villages would be the means of forming a nursery of hardy seamen for His Majesty's navy, and the defence of the kingdom.'

Accordingly three fishing settlements were fixed on by the Committee of the Directors; one at Ullapool, on the north; another at Loch-bay, in the Isle of Sky; and the third on the south coast, at Tobermory; since which has recently been added a fourth at Pulteney-town, near Wick in Caithness. Bounties were also given at the same time and certain facilities granted with regard to the salt duties, which have subsequently been extended; but this is not enough: before any effectual remedy can be applied to the Scotch

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\* View of the Highlands, 1784.

† 26 Geo. 3.



grand scale, nor were precautions neglected for ensuring success. So early as 1580 a plan was proposed to raise £80,000 for establishing the British fishery; in 1615 the like sum was raised by a joint-stock company; in 1632 a royal fishing company was established under the sanction of King Charles I. In 1660 parliament granted a remission of the salt duties, and freed all the materials employed in the fisheries from customs and excise. In 1661 the national fisheries met with great encouragement under the auspices of Charles II. In 1677 this monarch incorporated the Duke of York and others into 'The Company of the Royal Fishery of England.' In 1713 it was proposed to raise £180,000 on annuities, for the purpose of establishing a fishing company. In 1749, by the recommendation of George II. in his opening speech to parliament, and in consequence of a report of a committee of the House of Commons, £500,000 was subscribed for carrying on the fisheries under a corporation by the name of 'The Society of the Free British Fishery,' of which the Prince of Wales was chosen, the governor. This society, which was patronized and promoted by the first men in the kingdom, promised fair for a little time, but it soon began to languish, nor could the enormous bounty of 56s. a ton prevent its total failure. The attention of parliament was again called to this great national object in 1786, when a new corporation was formed under the name of 'The British Society for extending the Fisheries and improving the Sea Coasts of the Kingdom,' which, if it does not flourish with all the vigor that could be wished, is still in existence, and we believe in an improving state.

These failures however, injurious as they might be to individuals, who contributed to the funds, were not so to the public; the towns and harbours of the maritime counties were improved, the number of seamen increased, the pilotage of the coasts better understood, and a body of expert fishermen formed, many of whom continued their occupations on the ruins of the several companies.

The success of the Dutch was owing in great measure to the steady industry of that indefatigable people. Their fishery, however, was conducted on a well-regulated system, by which all were required rigidly to abide; it was a concern, in which the whole nation might be said to partake. Every one felt it a duty to have a share in the fishery. An officer with the title of Admiral commanded the fishing squadron, whose directions all the rest were implicitly to obey. The English Companies, it is true, whether joint-stock or royal, had their regulations; but each fisherman when at sea 'was left to himself, and permitted to fish as best liketh him;' he was, in short, under no restraint or discipline. The Dutch, besides, were purely fishers; 'in season and out of season' they occupied

occupied themselves in matters solely connected with the fishery. The English combined with their fishery some other employment which but too frequently furnished an excuse for putting to sea, perhaps at the proper moment, whenever they might find themselves disposed to loiter on shore. It is an old complaint that while the provident and indefatigable Dutch went out to sea as far as the Shetland Islands to meet the herrings, the English quietly waited their arrival on the coast and in the creeks. 'The Hollanders are industrious,' says Sir John Burroughs, 'and no sooner are discharged of lading but presently put forth for more, and seek for markets abroad as well as at home; whereas our English, after they have been once at sea, doe commonly never returne againe until all the money taken for their fish be spent, and they are in debt, seeking only to serve the next market.\*' The English moreover being, as we have before observed, half traders and half fishers, were in the habit of proceeding to the mid channel and there bartering their goods for fish with the Dutch and Flemings; a practice which led by no very slow degrees to systematic smuggling, which was found to be an employment so much more genteel and easy, as well as profitable, that the fishing towns became so many depositories of contraband goods.

We may therefore not be much out in ascribing the failure of the English fisheries for the home market to a want of those facilities which would create a steady demand, and ensure to the fisherman a certain and ready sale of his produce; and of those for the foreign market, to a want of system and management in the Royal and Joint-stock Companies—to a want of funds by individual fishermen, and the unwillingness of men of capital to engage in a concern of such doubtful success;—to which may be added the indifference and want of attention arising from the mixed employment of our fishermen: perhaps, however, the failure was after all mostly owing to the Dutch having anticipated and secured to themselves the best of the foreign markets, where their herrings had obtained the character of being so much superior to ours, that it was in vain we endeavoured to enter into competition with them, even in regard to price.

If we turn our attention, in the next place, to the fisheries of Scotland, we shall find that there too they have always languished; yet all the natural inducements that can invite or compel to the cultivation of the fishery exist on the northern and western shores of that country, and more especially on its appendant islands of Orkney, Shetland, and the Hebrides. It is here that 'the British Society for extending the Fisheries' have chiefly exerted them-

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\* The Sovereignty of the British Seas proved, &c. p. 53.

ticle, there can be no doubt; but it is probable, on the other hand, that the trade and manufactures of the United Kingdom would be more benefited by the increased quantity of food thereby procured, and the national prosperity more advanced by the increased wealth of a numerous body of fishermen, than it possibly can be by the trifling sum which may accrue to the revenue from the present system of the salt laws as they affect the fisheries. We are persuaded, however, that means may be discovered effectually to prevent duty-free salt from being used for any other purpose than that of curing fish, by making it unfit for, or immediately detected if applied to, any domestic use; as tinging it, for instance, with a pale red, green or yellow colour, while liquid in the pans, and thus communicating a tint to the solid crystals, which would in no shape injure the fish.

The whole sea coast of Ireland, its bays, creeks, inlets, lakes and rivers abound with all the various kinds of edible fish and of the very best quality; yet the fisheries of this part of the United Empire have, if possible, been more neglected than either those of England or Scotland. The Nymph bank\* on the southern coast, abounding with cod, hake and ling, and presenting a fishery, perhaps not quite so extensive, but equal in all other respects, to that of the banks of Newfoundland, was a late discovery. The Liverpool market is scantily supplied from this bank; but those of Bristol, Bath, Plymouth, Exeter, Portsmouth and London might derive an ample supply of white fish from thence with greater certainty and facility than from the banks of the North Sea, the wind blowing fair from it for all those markets nine months out of twelve. But the Irish, poor and wretched as they are, and surrounded as the island is with inexhaustible fishing grounds, are either so indolent or have so little inclination to engage in the fisheries, that they have not yet proceeded a single step beyond procuring a partial supply of their own wants. They seem indeed to have less taste for a sea-faring life than their insular situation might be supposed to create, a proof of which is given in the few men which that country furnishes for the royal navy. With a population consisting of considerably more than one fourth of the whole population of the United Kingdom, Ireland does not supply more than one-seventh of the men belonging to the navy, and three-fourths of this small portion are landmen. Those few who follow the occupation of fishermen are so much prejudiced in favour of their own imperfect methods of catching fish, that they have hitherto resisted all attempts at improvement. A gentleman, it seems, by a particular

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\* So called from the vessel in which it was discovered, by Mr. Doyle, and of which an account was published in 1736.

kind of trammel net, proved to them that in a couple of hours he could take ten times the quantity of hake that they with their hookers were able to do in a whole night. The cost of one of these hookers is from £190 to £150; it is navigated by four men and a boy, and the mode of fishing is by the hook and line. A set of trammel nets with a boat costs only from £30 to £35. They employ four men, but when thrown out require no attention and do not prevent the use of the line at the same time,—the one is certain, the other uncertain. The hake, though playing about in shoals, are not always in the humour of *biting*; but they cannot escape the trammels. The hook too must be *baited*, and baits are sometimes not to be had. The poor fisherman can never hope to raise out of the produce of his labour so large a sum as from £120 to £150 to enable him to purchase a hooker; but a small boat and a net may fall within his compass, or at any rate may be purchased by a joint contribution of the boats' crew; and the feelings of proprietorship would give a spur to his activity. Yet with all these obvious advantages, such was the prejudice against this new method of taking fish, that the crews of the hookers, alarmed at the supposed diminution of their profit, occasioned by the increased supply, combined together along the whole coast and destroyed the trammel nets wherever they discovered them.\*

An enlightened society for Ireland, formed on similar principles to that of the British society for extending the fisheries, &c. in another part of the United Kingdom, might be the means of removing those prejudices. Still the same difficulties would remain with regard to the salt laws, the removal of which it is presumed would, under proper regulations, give such a spur to the Irish fisheries, as would amply compensate the loss or failure of the distant fishery of Newfoundland, neither of which are impossible contingencies. It may be lost by the war; it may fail through the exertions and success of a rival. In point of fact, it has for some years past been progressively on the decline; whilst that of New-England has continued to flourish in the same progression.

It is stated on good authority, that in the year 1805, the number of vessels employed in the American fishery amounted to about 1500, carrying about ten thousand men, who had caught from 8 to 900,000 quintals of fish, while the whole produce of the Newfoundland fishery did not exceed 500,000 quintals, and the number of vessels and men employed did not amount to one half of that employed by the Americans.† The causes of this falling off are stated to be; first, the prohibition from making such local

\* Hints for the Improvement of the Irish Fishery, by Geo. N. Whately.

† Considerations on the Expediency of adopting certain measures for the Encouragement or Extension of the Newfoundland Fishery. 1805.

laws and regulations as might be suitable to the circumstances of the inhabitants; secondly, the restriction which prevents the resident inhabitants from erecting their necessary dwellings; thirdly, the prohibition against the enclosure and cultivation of land, which prevents the inhabitants from raising any part of their provisions beyond a few potatoes; and fourthly, the restriction laid on the importation of provisions from the United States, which confines that importation to bread flour, Indian corn, and live stock, and that only on conditions not calculated to afford the inhabitants much relief. 'From a system the first object of which is to withhold that principle of internal legislation which is acknowledged to be indispensable to the good government of every community—which restrains the building of comfortable dwellings, in a climate exposed to the most inclement winter—which prohibits the cultivation of the soil for food—and restricts the importation of it from the only market, which the inhabitants have the power to go to—from such a system it is not surprising that the inhabitants of Newfoundland are not able to maintain a competition against the American fishermen.\*

We have our doubts whether the Newfoundland fishery would be worth the carrying on, provided our home fisheries were in a better state of cultivation. To send out an annual supply of food for all the men employed on this fishery, to the distance of 3000 miles, and an annual supply of fishermen and seamen, who make it a convenient stepping-stone in their emigrations to America, while the home fisheries on the coasts of Ireland and Scotland, equally productive of the same kind of fish equally good, are nearly abandoned, is, to say the least of it, a questionable policy. It adds little to the wealth and less to the strength of the empire, and it appears to us quite impossible that we can, on return of peace, carry on a competition with the Americans on their own shores.

The brief review which we have taken of the British fisheries conveys not a flattering, but we believe, a faithful, picture of their present state. The supply, as we have seen, is inexhaustible; the demand, not satisfied either in the home or the foreign market; the object, of great national importance; the means, completely within ourselves; and success, certain under a well regulated plan. We have our doubts, however, whether Mr. Schultes has suggested such a plan; like most projectors, he brings forward only the favorable bearings, and promises too much.

The outline of his scheme, if we rightly comprehend it, is this—The herring fishery to be placed under the continual support and immediate direction of the government, whose chief officers, as

\* Considerations on the Expediency of adopting certain measures for the Encouragement or Extension of the Newfoundland Fishery. 1805.

*factors or middle men*, are to inspect the curing and packing of all fish for the foreign market. The salt laws to be revised, restrictions removed, all penalties abolished, and the intervention of excise officers dispensed with. A fund of *six millions* to be raised and issued in descriptive notes of one to five pounds each, to be recalled at the end of five years, and bearing interest at five per cent. To build or purchase a fishing navy of 4000 good stout vessels, not less than 50 or 60 tons burden, each of which, with all the appropriate furniture, is calculated to cost about £3000, or the whole fishing flotilla twelve millions; one half of the value to be advanced by the fund above-mentioned. The fish to be cured on board and repacked on shore, according to the regulations observed by the Dutch. All the herrings caught and packed to be purchased by government at 25s. a barrel of sea-sticks, which, when repacked, may be disposed of at 42s. a barrel. It is supposed that each ship will take and cure annually, on an average, 600 barrels or 2,400,000 barrels on the whole, which, after repacking, will give 1,600,000 barrels of merchantable herrings. The account would then stand as under.

*Payments.*

For 2,400,000 barrels at 25s. the barrel, £3,000,000,	
in five years . . . . .	£15,000,000
Deduct five years interest on the sum borrowed	1,500,000
	<hr/>
	£13,500,000

*Receipts.*

1,600,000 repacked herrings, or, in five years,	
8,000,000 barrels at 42s. . . . .	16,800,000
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Profit to Government . . . . .	3,300,000
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Or annually . . . . .	£660,000

Of the 1,600,000 barrels he estimates 600,000 for the consumption of Ireland, and one million to the northern nations of Europe; for he observes, that as it is ascertained the latter took from the Dutch 624,000 barrels in 1653, it may be presumed, 'upon the calculations made by political arithmeticians,' there must have been a double population since that period, and consequently there must be a double demand. We are not sufficiently interested to inquire in what school Mr. Schultes learned his political arithmetic, but if his mercantile arithmetic is not grounded on better principles, we suspect that Government would have but a losing bargain by employing him as their accountant in the new national herring

herring fishery. We do not see clearly, what appears so very obvious to Mr. Schultes, how the poor's rate would become extinct by compelling each poor person to eat four salt herrings a week. His other plan, of raising 'seven millions eight hundred thousand pounds a year,' is as certain as it would be ingenious, *if*—'if two-thirds of the poor of England and Wales should earn by manual labour three shillings a week each person.' But his 'illustration' of increasing the revenue and diminishing taxes by repositories of pickled herring in every town, is, to us at least, an 'illustration' in the form of *obscurum per obscurius*.

We have a more rational and feasible 'project of a plan for the improvement of the British fisheries' by an anonymous author.\* He proposes, 1. A grand national corporation organized under the immediate protection and superintendence of parliament. 2. A capital stock of                    to be raised in shares by the sea port towns and corporations, proportioned to the advantages of locality, and amount of their trade and tonnage; an annual dividend of 5 per cent. guaranteed on the capital. 3. Conveniences for shipping, storehouses, sheds, &c. constructed in places contiguous to the best fishing grounds. 4. A free use of salt by the managers without any interference of the revenue officers. 5. The fish taken and cured to be exempt from all duties whatever; on the other hand no bounties to be given. 6. Fishermen disabled by accident, age, or infirmity, and the widows and children of fishermen to be provided for. 7. The corporation to be authorised to propose rules for the regulation and discipline of the fishery. He proposes to catch and cure in the deep sea herring fishery, for the foreign market, 900,000 barrels, and for home consumption 600,000 barrels, or 1,500,000 barrels annually, which at 24s. a barrel would be worth £1,800,000. To do this there would be required 60,000 tons of decked vessels manned with 14,000 men and boys. The cost of these vessels, with their furniture, nets, and the wharfs, storehouses, &c. he estimates at £1,050,000, which with the total annual expenditure, risk, and interest on the capital will be further augmented to the sum of £1,673,250, so that after allowing a fair profit on all the articles of expenditure, and finding employment for vast multitudes on shore, there will remain an annual surplus saving of £126,750. On the same principle on a capital of £764,000, expended on the cod fishery, he makes out a clear annual gain of £136,000 by employing 40,000 tons of decked shipping, and 4800 men and boys to catch and cure 600,000 barrels of cod fish.

The outline of the plan we consider as unobjectionable. We

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\* Plan of National Improvement, &c. Brunswick. 1803.

would only add that the shares should be reduced into so small a sum, ten pounds for instance, that every poor fisherman might have the chance of becoming a proprietor, and should always be entitled to a preference in the purchase of shares, which, in addition to the price paid for his labour would ensure him 5 per cent. on all his savings; the clear profits, after the appropriation of a fund to provide for decayed fishermen and their families, might either be applied to an increase of the dividend or extension of the capital. It is for want of some such security, that capital has not been adventured in the home fisheries; and government only can afford satisfactory security. Wherever a capital has been advanced, it has been done with the sole view of securing a monopoly, as in the case of the salesmen of Billingsgate. A real master fisherman with an establishment of vessels, boats, nets, &c. is a character wholly unknown on the coasts of Britain; but let the government guarantee the capitalist 5 per cent. for the money he advances, under proper regulations, and every seaport in the kingdom, favourably situated for the prosecution of the fisheries, would speedily furnish whatever sum might be required. Supposing a million sterling to be advanced by individuals of the various fishing stations on the coast, the annual expense to government would not exceed £50,000, while the benefits which the nation would derive from it are incalculable. We think nothing of voting twenty or thirty thousand pounds annually for carrying on the Caledonian canal, which many well informed persons consider as an useless expenditure of money; whilst the same sums annually expended on the improvement of the sea coast and on the encouragement of the deep sea fishery would add more to the wealth, strength, and prosperity of Scotland, than all the Caledonian canals which engineers have projected.

In a national point of view the extension of the home fisheries would be attended with many important considerations. By augmenting the quantity of food there would necessarily result a reduction in the prices of all the necessaries of life; the condition of the labouring poor, artificers, and tradesmen would be improved; and a permanent fishery would be the means of rearing and supporting a bold and hardy race of men for the defence of the sea coast, and of creating a nursery of excellent seamen for the navy, not less valuable, we might perhaps say, more valuable than that of the coal trade. This is a consideration of more importance at the present moment, when, after a war of twenty years duration, our old seamen are fast wearing out, and the ordinary sources of recruiting young ones greatly exhausted by the regular army and militia, into which landmen are tempted to enter by the large bounties, which exceed those given by the navy in a  
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five-fold proportion. The merchant service is no longer that nursery of seamen for the navy which it used to be. Merchant vessels are now for the most part navigated by invalided seamen and foreigners; and the Americans have robbed us of 40,000, or as some say, 60,000 seamen. We are strongly inclined to think that the late unfortunate captures of our frigates by the Americans were less owing to any disparity in the respective sizes of the ships and the weight of metal, (though that disparity is sufficiently great to account for it,) than to the circumstance of the enemy's ships being manned wholly with prime seamen, which their limited navy enables them to do; whereas in our immense fleets one third part only of the crews of the ships consists of able seamen, (among whom the petty officers are included,) the rest being made up of ordinary, landmen, and boys. We may add too that, in many of our ships, every tenth man is a foreigner. We are ready to admit that, from such inferiority of bodily strength, and of numbers versed in seamanship, this new naval enemy may occasionally have the advantage; but we repel with disdain and indignation the calumnious assertion that our seamen have become 'heartless:' an assertion so false and libellous that it could have been hatched only in the mischievous designs of some dark and malignant spirit, or in the disordered brain of a maniac; but no sooner hatched than confuted by the fact of a British frigate completely subduing, in fifteen minutes, an American frigate, her superior in size, her superior in metal, her superior in number of men. It is, perhaps, not generally known, that immediately after boarding, the *Chesapeake* separated from the *Shannon*, while the colours of the former were still flying and the ship unhurt, so that in fact the whole of her remaining crew was conquered by about 140 British seamen, with Brooke at their head, who scoured the decks and drove the whole crew into the bottom of the ship with 'irresistible fury.'

With such men, trained by such an officer, we have little to apprehend from the superior magnitude of the enemy's ships; but we do entertain very serious apprehensions lest the supply of these brave fellows should fail us. By encouraging the fisheries, however, every seaport town, every little village on the coast, and on the banks of the creeks and inlets, would become a nursery of seamen. Every spot to which boats and vessels resort must necessarily raise seamen; the very sight of them creates a taste for the sea in the neighbouring youth; and the little adventures and risks of a coasting voyage or a fishing expedition, instead of deterring, serve only to excite in boys of spirit a stronger desire to brave the 'bills of the stormy deep.' We must not flatter ourselves that the long protracted war has increased our naval power; far otherwise is the case, as every experienced officer in the service well knows.

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It is therefore the more incumbent on the government to omit no measures that may tend to keep up this 'arm of our strength,' so essential to the honour, the independence, and the security of Great Britain; and we know of no measure so well calculated to produce this effect, as that of giving every possible assistance and encouragement to the home fisheries.

But the encouragement of the fisheries in a naval point of view is almost of equal importance on the recurrence of peace, as in the midst of a war. What, we would ask, is to become of the 145,000 seamen and marines now serving in the navy, at the conclusion of the war? Supposing that 45,000 be required to be kept in full-pay, what is to become of the remaining 100,000? When the commerce of the whole world, which we now almost exclusively possess, comes to be divided among the several maritime nations of Europe and America, so great a number of discharged seamen will in vain seek for employment in our commercial marine; and if not employed in the home and foreign trade, or in some way or other, must obviously be lost to the country. We may fairly reckon however that of these 100,000 men, one in five, from long service, wounds and infirmities, will be unable to provide for himself, and will, therefore, be a fit object for the nation's gratitude, dispensed through the medium of that noble institution, towards the support of which, indeed, every seaman contributes, and is therefore the more entitled to its relief. But where are the funds to be found to provide for 20,000 additional objects, who, on every consideration, must be thought deserving the benefit of Greenwich hospital! There are at present on that establishment about 2500 in, and 10,000 out, pensioners, requiring an annual sum of £120,000. In peace the revenues must fall off greatly, as many of the productive sources will then be dried up. A national fishery would give employment to all such Greenwich pensioners as were able to be useful, whether in the ships fishing at sea, or the boats attached to the fishery, or in the various occupations connected with it on shore, the number of whom may at least be reckoned at two-thirds of the whole. It is well known that there are few of the in-pensioners, comfortable as they are, who would not rather prefer a small out-pension to enable them to pass the evening of their days among their friends, who mostly reside at some or other of the sea port towns of the United Kingdom. Now every in-pensioner costs the establishment at least £36 annually, while the largest out-pension does not exceed £18, and many are as low as £7. Hence thrice the present number of those in the hospital might be subsisted, and with greater comfort to themselves, by admitting the helpless only as in-patients, and allowing all such as were still able to do something, full liberty to go where

where they pleased. By this regulation, were the fisheries once established on a grand national plan, employment might be found on every part of the coast of the United Kingdom for a vast number of brave and deserving men, each retiring to the neighbourhood of his native spot: and here, with the addition of his small pension to his earnings, the worn-out seaman might be enabled to pass the remainder of that life, of which the best portion had been devoted to his country's service, among the friends and companions of his early days.

Every one must be fully aware of the extreme difficulty, if not impossibility, of manning the navy on the breaking out of a new war. For every ship of the line that we could send to sea, the first six months of the war, the enemy, by his marine conscription, would be able to man and equip five. But a national fishery, established on a grand scale and under proper regulations, would form such a nursery for the navy that we might then rely with certainty on a supply of seamen equal to the manning of twenty sail of the line at the shortest notice, on the speedy equipment of which the safety of the country might perhaps mainly depend.

We pretend not to know whether the attention of the government may or may not have been drawn to this important subject; but we do know that the highest considerations of state-policy—that every motive of public interest and private benefit—urge the immediate adoption of some efficient plan for the extension and improvement of the fisheries. The present state of the war makes such an undertaking the more necessary, whilst farther delay may be altogether fatal to it. It is essential to the success of any plan that our fishermen should obtain a full possession of the fishing grounds, and be in vigorous pursuit of all the various fisheries from Shetland to the Land's End, before the termination of the war. That period once arrived, the golden opportunity will have passed away. Whenever peace shall take place, we may be well assured that our ancient rivals the Dutch, who by French alliance have lost their navy, their commerce and their colonies, will, through French assistance, strain every nerve to re-create the one and regain the others. To effect this, they have the same means and the same resources which succeeded so well and so rapidly in former times. Nothing that we can possibly do, on the return of peace, will check their progress half so effectually as an immediate and vigorous prosecution of the fisheries, on our part, while the war lasts, and the getting possession, not only of the best fishing grounds, but also of the best foreign markets for the disposal of their produce. Those markets are now open to us. The Baltic, the Mediterranean, the whole coast of Spain and Portugal, the West India islands, the Brazils and Spanish America would ensure

ensure a demand for an almost unlimited quantity of salted fish. It would be idle to suppose that, on the return of friendly relations with the Dutch, we shall be able to prevent their fishing on our coasts, and in our very harbours, as they have been accustomed to do heretofore. In the last short interval of peace they came over to dredge for oysters, and to procure whilks for bait, in the very mouth of the Thames. French fishing vessels visited the banks and inlets on the coast of Ireland; and a boast was made, in the official journal of that country, that, in the course of two months, the Boulogne fishermen caught as many herrings on our side of the Channel, as produced them £28,000; and that one third of this sum was paid by English fishermen in ready money for the purchase of fish caught on their own shores!

In any negotiation for a general peace, every effort will be used by our inveterate and deadly foe to thrust forward, as a prominent feature, *the liberty of the seas*. Our naval superiority is, in fact, the *lethalis arundo* that rankles in his breast. By that superiority the spark of liberty has still been kept alive on the continent of Europe, and by it alone have Spain and Portugal been rescued from the tyrant's iron grasp. We are therefore accused by him, on all occasions, and the accusation is re-echoed by his worthy coadjutor in America, 'of wishing to exclude the universe from that element which constitutes three-fourths of the globe;' and of throwing a barrier across this 'common highway of nations.' The accusation, we need not say, is utterly unfounded. The superiority which we have obtained by the skill and valour of British seamen has been used with British generosity and moderation. But, we confess, it has frequently occurred to us, that the charge might have been answered by a public declaration, stating clearly and explicitly what those maritime rights are, 'which, to use the words of Mr. Abbot when speaking in the name of the Commons of England, 'we have resolved never to surrender.' The ground on which we stand is too firm and too elevated to require us to rest our foundation on undefined pretensions. We may, with safety, not only declare what those rights are, but further, that we shall wage interminable war rather than abate or compromise one iota of them. We hold the full and free use of the ocean, and every part thereof, by the whole universe, as a fundamental principle of public law, subject only to those regulations which have been established and sanctioned by the law of nations. England, it is true, has long claimed the sovereignty of the seas as a right which universal conquest has fairly given her; a right which we trust she will long continue to hold for her own honor and for the general happiness of mankind. Her sovereignty however is purely military, and in other respects but a 'barren sceptre;'

sceptre;' for, we repeat that at no period does it appear that she ever intended to set up any claim to a legal and possessory right of the sea to the exclusion of other nations.

That we have used the sovereignty of the seas with moderation is no idle assertion. If, by the common consent of nations, the sea has been held to be innocent, and inexhaustible, and therefore, that every one has a right to use it for navigation, and for fishing, England has not infringed either of those rights. She has exercised no prerogative of power beyond what is strictly recognised by the law of nations—assumed no privilege that could tend to the establishment of any legal right to the dominion even of her own seas. The *Mare Clausum* of Selden was certainly calculated to mislead, and it did mislead, a great part of the public on a point to which the public feeling was tremblingly alive; but the ablest statesmen of that day never thought of confounding the two questions of military dominion, and legal right of possession; or, as Vattel expresses it, 'England never claimed the property of all the seas, over which she has claimed the empire;' whilst he admits at the same time, that she had a right to take possession of the herring fishery on her coasts, though the omission of so doing caused that fishery to become common.

As the right to an appropriate fishery on our own coasts may speedily be brought into public discussion, it may be worth while to inquire how the fact stands with regard to our claims to the fishery in the seas of Great Britain—whether we have, in point of fact, at any period of our history, established a claim, by assuming to ourselves the power of granting licenses, or assigning limits, to those fisheries. There are two or three points on record that would seem to countenance the idea of the Kings of England having exercised these acts of sovereignty. Sir John Borroughs, whom we have before quoted, says, in his *Sovereignty of the British Seas*, that Philip the Second, king of Spain, obtained of Queen Mary his wife, a licence for his subjects to fish upon the north coasts of Ireland, they paying yearly for the same one thousand pounds sterling, which was accordingly paid into the exchequer of Ireland; but he produces no authority excepting the hearsay of the son of Sir Henry Fitton the treasurer. Such payment is no where on record, and, if ever made, was either a private bribe or an extortion. What appears to render this the more probable, is that the ambassadors of Queen Elizabeth openly affirmed to those of Denmark, when that power pretended to prevent foreigners from fishing between Norway and Iceland, 'that the kings of England had in no time forbid the freedom of fishing in the Irish sea, albeit they were lords of both banks.' Again, it is recorded by Camden, and quoted by a number of writers, that the Dutch asked leave of the  
governor

governor of the castle of Scarborough to fish for herring on that part of the coast, observing that 'the English always gave leave to fish, reserving the honour to themselves, but slothfully resigning the profit to others.' But Sir Philip Meadows observes that Mr. Camden has produced no authority for such an assertion; that the governor might probably, by his civilities to the fishermen, make some perquisites, and derive some emoluments, by permitting them to dry their nets on shore, fetch victuals and water, &c. but that it is not likely he had so indefinite a power, as to enable him to give leave, upon bare asking, for foreigners to fish at pleasure within the royalties of the crown; that at any rate it is manifest that no state ever did pay to the crown of England any yearly sum or other consideration for liberty of fishing upon the seas of England, for, in such case, such sum must have passed into the account of the exchequer as a branch of the royal revenues, and have there remained on record.\* He further observes that none of our leagues and treaties made either with the house of Burgundy or with the house of Austria, since the union of the two houses, or with the States General, since their disunion from both, have ever reserved to the crown of England, any annual payment, fee-farm or consideration, for their liberty of fishing in our seas; that a certain sum was never agreed, and that an uncertain one could never be demanded; that, on the contrary, all the ancient treaties from the time of Edward IV. to James I. with the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy and the princes of the Low Countries, invariably covenant on both sides that their respective subjects should freely, and without let or hindrance, fish every where upon the sea, without asking any licenses, passports or safe conducts.—For instance, in the treaty between Edward IV. of England and Francis duke of Britany, the fishermen of both nations *pourront peaceablement aller par tout sur mer pour pescher et gagner leur vivre, sans impeachment, ou disturber de l'une partie ou de l'autre,* &c. Thus also in the Intercursus Magnus made in 1495 between Henry VII. and Philip IV. it is agreed *quod piscatores utriusque partis poterint ubique ire navigare per mare, securè piscari, absque impedimento, licentia, seu salvo conductu.* And the Dutch in the time of Queen Elizabeth were never molested in the enjoyment of the same privileges.

There are two cases, however, on record, that would seem to establish the fact of a licensed fishery on the part of England. In the seventh year of King James I. 1600, a proclamation was published, inhibiting all persons of what nation or quality soever, not being

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\* Observations concerning the Domition and Sovereignty of the Seas, composed by Sir Philip Meadows. *Pepysian Manuscripts.*

natural born subjects, from fishing upon any of the coasts and seas of Great Britain and Ireland, and the isles adjacent, without first obtaining licences from the king, or his commissioners, authorized in that behalf, which licences were to be renewed yearly. This royal edict, however, which further required a rateable composition to be paid into the exchequer, proportioned to the tonnage, seems altogether to have been disregarded by the continental states, whose subjects met with no difficulty in obtaining an indefinite liberty of fishing every where close upon the English shores, and even within its bays and havens, without the least fear of molestation, by the payment of some trifling fee or gratuity. A repetition of the proclamation by King Charles I. in 1636, with the view of establishing a claim to an appropriate fishery, met with no better success. The better to enforce this edict, the Duke of Northumberland, as admiral of the fleet, was sent into the North Sea to compel the Dutch fishermen to take licences, and to pay for the same, at a moderate rate, which they gladly accepted, to secure to themselves the benefit of the fishery without molestation; but the ambassador of the States General in England remonstrated against this unprecedented proceeding and disavowed the act of their fishermen. Henry IV. of France did, however, it seems, pay England the compliment of asking permission to fish for soles on the English banks for the use of his own table; and our own Henry VIII. condescended to renew a treaty which Henry VII. had made with John II. of Denmark, in which it was mutually covenanted that 'the liegemen, merchants and fishermen of England, should fish and traffic upon the Northern Sea, betwixt Norway and Iceland, but under a proviso of first asking leave, and renewing their licences from seven years to seven years, (de septennio in septennium,) from the kings of Denmark and Norway and their successors.\*

Next as to a limited fishery. This expedient has also been tried, but with no better success than a licensed one. The precise boundaries of that marine territory, which approximates to the dominions of any prince, have never been established by universal consent. It has been held indeed as a general maxim of national law, 'that he, who is lord of both banks, is lord of the intermediate channel; but even this concession is subject to modification where that channel is the passage into open seas. Civilians unanimously agree as to the right of sea property, but differ as to the extent and quantity of that right. One living on the borders of the Atlantic, might with seeming propriety extend that right an hundred miles into the ocean; another dwelling on the shores of the Baltic or Mediterranean

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\* Sir P. Meadows, on the Dominion and Sovereignty of the Seas. *Pepysian MSS.* might

might think twenty leagues of sufficient extent; another again might maintain, that so much of the sea appertains to the land, as a man can see over from the shore on a clear day; all these notions have in fact had their supporters. But as Sir Philip Meadows observes with regard to the last, 'if a man see from Dover to Calais, I suppose the like can be done from Calais to Dover; and whose shall the sea be betwixt?' The opinion of more modern writers on the law of nations seems to assign the distance of a cannon shot from any part of the shore as the extent of marine jurisdiction, or, as a general principle, that legal dominion of the sea should extend so far from the coast as the safety of the nation renders it necessary, and her power is able to assert.\* The extent of the British seas has at all times been a fruitful theme of dispute and discussion with neighbouring nations. In the attempt to settle the honour of the flag between England and France, Richlieu proposed that French ships should strike the flag and lower the topsail to British ships in the English Channel when nearer to the English shore, and that British ships should strike to those of France when meeting nearer to the French coast. The Cinque ports considered their jurisdiction to extend half seas over: the Trinity house were of opinion that the British seas extended from Cape Finisterre to the middle of Van Statenland in Norway, and from thence northward of Scotland and the isles thereof. The Lords of the Admiralty having in 1712 called on Sir Charles Hedges, the judge of the Admiralty Court, for his opinion as to the extent of the British seas, he delivered it as follows, which our readers will perhaps be inclined to consider as that of a good courtier, rather than of a sound lawyer.

'1. I take it without any doubt that the four seas, namely, east, south, west and north, are within her Majesty's sea dominions, as Queen of Great Britain. 2. That the east and south parts of this dominion extend to the opposite shores, and if a line be drawn from Berwick to the Naze in Norway, and another from Cape Finisterre to Cape Clear, or the most western point of land in Ireland, I conceive the space within those lines has been always reputed a part of the British seas; but I cannot say this is the utmost extent of them southward, there being some opinions that carry them farther. 3. If a line be drawn from the north Foreland to Calais, and another from the islands of Scilly to Ushant, I think the space between those lines and the opposite shores describe that part of the British seas called the Channel; and the other space from the Channel to the Naze is called the German ocean.' After describing the seas of Scotland and Ireland, he goes on to say that 'if the British domi-

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\* Vattel.



nion may be extended as far from the Irish shores to the westward in any proportion that the ocean bears to the Mediterranean, the Gulph of Venice, the Euxine, Sound, Belt or White Sea, which are possessed by several princes or states, who restrain those respective dominions; the Queen of Great Britain may take in many more leagues than any of them do miles; or, if they claim by virtue of being possessed of opposite shores, her Majesty may, by the same rule, claim the western ocean beyond Ireland.\* When Sir William Temple boasted that by the treaty concluded in 1673, between King Charles II and the States General, the flag was carried to all the height his Majesty could wish, because it was stipulated in the 4th article of that treaty, 'that the States General of the United Provinces, in due acknowledgment on their part of the King of Great Britain's right to have his flag respected in any of the seas from Cape Finisterre to the middle point of the land Van Staten in Norway, agree, &c. that their ships shall strike their flag and lower their topsail, &c. Sir Philip Meadows asked, 'what has England to do with the bay of Biscay or sea of Norway? From Cape Finisterre to Van Staten is a greater stride than the British seas, (as in former treaties the article stood,) but then it weakens our standing. The limits fixed between the two capes are too wide for dominion, too narrow for respect. The crown of England claims no dominion in any seas but the British only, yet it claims respect every where and in all seas.†

More moderate as well as more rational were the ideas of King James I. as to sea dominion and marine jurisdiction. It appears from Selden, that in the year 1504, the second of his reign, he caused twelve sworn men well skilled in maritime affairs to trace out on a map the sea coasts of England, on which were drawn straight lines from one promontory or headland to another, and all that was intercepted and included within these lines was called the king's chambers and royal ports. With this sea chart was published a royal proclamation, in which they are stiled 'the places of the king's dominion and jurisdiction.' Sir Leonine Jenkins calls them 'those ancient sanctuaries where by the law all merchantmen are in safeguard, and all hostilities whatsoever are to cease, and where all parties, though in enmity with one another, are equally to pay a reverence to, and enjoy the benefit of, his Majesty's protection.'

This act of King James has been considered as impolitic, because it implied that he had no right, or, if he had, that he relinquished it altogether, beyond that boundary. It was soon evident however, that he had no intention to limit his right of the fisheries within such narrow bounds, as we have already seen by his pro-

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\* Admiralty Records.

† Letter from Sir P. Meadows to Mr. Secretary Pepys. *Pepysian Papers.*  
clamations

clamation five years afterwards, prohibiting foreigners from fishing on any of the coasts and seas of Great Britain and Ireland without a licence. In fact, in the very same year that he caused the said sea-chart to be drawn, the commissioners appointed to conclude an union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, among other things concerning the trade, mutually agreed 'that the fishing within the friths and bays of Scotland and in the seas within fourteen miles distance from the coasts of that realm, where neither English nor other strangers have used to fish, should be reserved and appropriated to Scotchmen only; and reciprocally Scotchmen to abstain from fishing within the like distances off the coasts of England.' In the same reign, Lord Carlton, the English ambassador at the Hague, was informed, that a communication had been made to the United States commissioners in London, that their subjects would then and in future be prohibited from fishing within fourteen miles of his Majesty's coasts.\* The Dutch however paid little attention to this notice. They out-numbered us in their merchant shipping in the proportion of 10 to 1,† and their navy as to number and tonnage was far superior to ours. It was manifest indeed that they were determined to try with us a vigorous contest for naval superiority, and King James did not find it prudent to provoke it at that time.

Since then no good precedent can be advanced to establish the right of Great Britain to impose on her opposite neighbours either a limited or a licenced fishery, even in her own seas, the obvious policy on her part would be that of forming a numerous and expert body of fishermen, while the war continues, which has given us the unrivalled commerce of the world, as we have long been the untroubled masters of the sea. We know of no other effectual mode of retarding the progress of the enemy in a rivalry of the fisheries, than that of a prior occupation of them; for, peace once restored, in vain we should endeavour to exclude them from our fishing grounds; the very attempt to do it would involve us in endless disputes and difficulties. If, in the midst of war, we are so indulgent or so indifferent as to permit them to fish half Channel over, they will not scruple to visit our bays and harbours in time of peace. We permit even to our enemies the enjoyment of a benefit which, under a change of circumstances, they would peremptorily refuse to us. We allow them to come out and fish without molestation, notwithstanding that fishery not only feeds their markets, but supplies their blockaded fleets with a succession of seamen—almost the only seamen whom they have the opportunity of making.

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\* Sir P. Meadows on the Sovereignty of the Seas. *Pepysian MS.*

† Hume.

We did indeed, on one occasion, seize some fifteen or sixteen of the Dutch schuyts, because, on the loss of the *Flora* frigate in 1808, the surrounding fishing boats, instead of assisting the sufferers, inhumanly made away from the wreck and left them to perish; about the same time too the Dutch had broken a cartel which they had concluded with Great Britain. But what was the consequence? The Dutch fishermen found in our easy philanthropy an amnesty for the loss of those brave men of the *Flora*, who had perished through their inhumanity; the schuyts and fishermen were restored, the order rescinded, and the Dutch fish as before without molestation.

The immense advantages to be derived from establishing a national fishery on a grand scale, must plead our excuse for extending the present article to so great a length. Happy shall we be if we have succeeded in drawing the attention of those to the subject, through whose influence and exertions alone those advantages can be obtained.

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ART. II. *An Essay towards a Theory of Apparitions.* By John Ferriar, M. D.

THE observation of Dr. Johnson, that the belief in apparitions could become universal only by its truth, and that those who deny it with their tongues, confess it with their fears, has perhaps received more consideration than it is fairly entitled to. The last remark will not carry very far at any rate, nor is it of much avail even in the very small extent to which it is applicable; for the fear of ghosts may well survive the belief in them, and is much oftener the effect of habit, than the result of conviction. It was said of a certain officer, the early part of whose life had been passed in extraordinary shifts and distresses, that a reverse of fortune, which brought plenty and ease, never could put him above the fear of bailiffs, at sight of whom he invariably fled; and it may perhaps be averred that there scarcely lives a person who does not retain a more or less painful impression from some danger which no longer exists. The first part of the sentence has however more weight, and though the universality of the creed respecting spirits cannot be argued as a proof of their visitation, it at least proves the existence of some universal causes, which must have led to such a belief. A discussion of these forms the subject of the work at present under our consideration.

The author prefaces it by declaring that he is about to open a new and unbeaten field to the composer of romance, and to present an effectual antidote to the terrors of the ghost-seer, assuring those whom

whom he invites to his 'enchanted castle' that the door will not be opened to them 'by a grinning demon, but by a very civil person in a black cap.' Instead however of ushering in his guests with the method and solemnity, which such a description implies, he has scarcely admitted them before away goes this grave personage with a hop, step and a jump, which might almost baffle the activity of Mr. Scott's goblin-page. We will tax our muscles to accompany him in elasticity and irregularity of movement. He begins by allowing that impressions have been made upon the senses of persons of credit, which were apparently præternatural;—that by such 'the forms of the dead and the absent have been seen and their voices have been heard.' Proposing to explain these reputed prodigies by physical means, he states it to be a known fact that, in cases of delirium and insanity, spectral delusions take place and often continue during several days; but says it has not been generally noticed that similar effects may have been produced by a partial and undetected affection of the brain. Deducing all fantastic apparitions from this source, he, for greater perspicuity, as he states, distributes his matter under the three following divisions:—1st. The general law of the system to which spectral impressions may be referred; 2d, the proof of the existence of morbid impressions of this nature without any sensible external agency; 3d, the application of these principles to the best authenticated histories of apparitions,' but he soon loses sight of his arrangement.

Having thus announced the plan of the author, we shall follow him as we can; but feel that we give no very favourable earnest of our activity by being stopp'd, at the very threshold, by this bold proposition. 'It is a well known law of the human economy, that the impressions produced on some of the external senses, especially on the eye, are more durable than the application of the impressing cause.' The author first illustrates this position by the description of a faculty, which he had himself possessed, in his youth, of recalling, in the dark, any interesting object that he had seen in the course of the day, and colouring the copy with all the brilliancy and force of the original; and then in confirmation of his system, cites an insinuation of Dr. Darwin in his *Zoonomia*, that this error, like the deceptions of perspective, is only corrected by experience. To this principle he attributes dreams, the supposed spectacles exhibited in the aurora borealis, and other natural illusions, illustrated by different examples. But were the impression made upon the organs of sight not, what it certainly is, a mere repetition, effected we know not how, through the force of imagination, but, in fact, permanent, and only corrected by experience; we should perceive in children the first dawn and progress of observation, as well with respect to this, as to the illusions of perspective, the process of which is easily traced.

traced. Were the impression, of which the author treats, other than imaginary, why need he have resorted to a dark room in order to renew the images with which he had been previously amused? These would have been still visible, according to his theory, (unless he means to argue yet more whimsically, that this uneffaced picture of things once seen operates to the exclusion of what is before our eyes,) though confused with the objects of his immediate view. He would have enjoyed his romantic prospects in mid-day and in a garret; the only inconvenience might have been the having his green fields dotted with a tester bed, high-back chairs and bureaux.\* This principle too is insufficient, as he afterwards virtually admits, to the establishment of his system respecting apparitions; for those who have sleeping or waking dreams, do not only copy, they imitate and compound. We confess that we have the more delight in battering this new and extraordinary proposition, because we think the doctrine singularly uncomfortable. Other 'of the external senses,' we are informed, may be capable of this real secondary affection. Now though there are many impressions which all would willingly reproduce, we believe that no one covets a second edition of squalls and broken bones. *Vous ne devez pas dire que vous avez reçu des coups de bâton, mais qu'il vous semble d'en avoir reçu*, may be a very unsatisfactory suggestion to a man who has been just cudgelled, but it is more cruel, and not a whit more philosophical, after admitting his first misfortune, to persuade him that it will be renewed at a time when there is not a twig in sight, or an arm to brandish one; especially if he has not been bastinadoed often enough for him to have corrected this impression by dint of experience. Such is the consolation afforded by 'a very civil person,' who professes to annihilate the tyranny of the imagination.

The manager, having now explained the nature of his machinery, draws up the curtain and exhibits his phantasmagoria, which presents us with legions of spirits, black, white, blue and grey. One trick in the puppetshow deserves to be recorded. One of the mortal dramatis personæ in imagination swallows the devil; a case which, in our opinion, should be referred to a confused association of ideas. From the most generous motives 'he resisted,' says Dr. Ferriar, 'the calls of nature during several days, lest he should set the *foul fiend* at liberty. I overcame his resolution, however,' he adds, 'by

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\* We do not mean to deny the retina, in some cases, retaining, for a few seconds, the impressions which it has received; but we deny the extent in which this fact has been maintained, and the inferences which have been drawn from it. Such instances are, we believe, rare, and usually considered by medical men as arising from some debility, or morbid affection of the organ.

administering

administering an emetic in his food.' Another case of a young lady, who was accompanied by her own apparition, may be ascribed to the author's own principle of insanity, as she may certainly be pronounced to have been *beside herself*.

Taking a large skip here, amongst other impediments, over lycanthropia, (in which the patient imagines himself to have become a wolf, 'an impression,' we are told, 'which has, no doubt, been produced or strengthened by narcotic potions of hyoscyamus and datura stramonium,' query, wolf's bane?) for we find that we cannot leap fair with the author, we find ourselves, amongst accessory causes of delusion, with respect to spectres, followed, as usual, by stories more or less apposite. One of them, that of M. Bezuel and M. Desfontaines, is extremely curious. These two, when boys, the eldest, M. Bezuel, being only fifteen, made a compact, which, for greater solemnity, they signed with their blood, engaging that whichever died first should visit the survivor. They were soon afterwards separated, and, at the end of two years, the agreement was fulfilled by M. Desfontaines, who had been drowned near Caen, and who appeared, on the succeeding day, to his friend. The circumstances which preceded this visitation are particularly worthy of attention. Bezuel was amusing himself one day in hay-making at a certain M. de Sortoville's, when he was seized with a fainting fit, which was succeeded by a restless night. He experienced a second fit, in the same meadow, on the following day, attended with the same consequences. Again on the third day, while on the hay-stack, he experienced a similar attack, and this was a prelude to the ghost, &c. He tells the story himself.

'I fell into a swoon; one of the footmen perceived it and called out for help. They recovered me a little, but my mind was more disordered than it had been before. I was told that they asked me what ailed me, and that I answered, "I have seen what I thought I should never see." But I neither remember the question nor the answer. However, it agrees with what I remember I saw then, a naked man, in half length, but I knew him not. They helped me to go down the ladder, but, because I saw Desfontaines at the bottom, I had again a fainting fit: my head got between two stairs, and I again lost my senses. They let me down, and set me on a large beam, which served for a seat in the great *Place des Capucins*. I sat upon it, and then no longer saw M. de Sortoville nor his servants, though they were present; and perceiving Desfontaines near the foot of the ladder, who made me a sign to come to him, I went back upon my seat, as it were to make room for him, and those who saw me, and whom I did not see, observed that motion.'

He proceeds to state, that the apparition took him by the arm and conducted him into a bye lane, where he conversed with him for nearly three quarters of an hour, and informed him of all the particulars of his death, which had taken place, as was before stated,

stated, on the preceding day. All saw him walk away; and M. de Sortoville and his footboy heard him speaking in the manner of one who was asking and answering questions. All this time, however, his spiritual companion was invisible but to himself. Their intercourse was repeated more than once. That the fainting fits were the cause of this illusion there can be no doubt, and Dr. Ferriar informs us, speaking from his own experience, 'that the approach of syncope is sometimes attended with a spectral appearance;' but it is seldom that an opportunity can be afforded, as in the present instance, of watching the gradual concoction of a ghost. The appearance of Desfontaines, like the first crude apparition seen by Bezel, was only a half length, and this mode of seeing spirits by halves appears more general than we should have supposed; for we are told, in another place, that two old ladies, who were inhabitants of antient castles, comparing notes respecting their different residences, one of them averred that hers was haunted by the appearance of the upper part of a human figure, a piece of intelligence which was received with great apparent satisfaction by the other, inasmuch as it explained to her why her mansion was visited only by the lower half. It does not appear that they resorted to the obvious expedient of tossing up *heads or tails* for double or quits. Dr. Ferriar, however, who has served up every variety of spectre, has, in addition to these semi-goblins, furnished us with an instance of a double phantom, or rather a sort of polypus ghost. We extract the story, which is taken from Lucian, as furnishing a new and amusing theory of the division of labour.

'Eucrates says that he became acquainted in Egypt with Pancrates, who had resided twenty years in the subterraneous recesses, where he had learned magic from Isis herself. "At length," he states, "he persuaded me to leave all my servants at Memphis, and to follow him alone, telling me that we should not be at a loss for attendants. When we came into any inn, he took a wooden pin, latch, or bolt, and wrapping it in some clothes, when he had repeated a verse over it, he made it walk and appear a man to every one. This creature went about, prepared supper, laid the cloth, and waited upon us very dexterously. Then, when we had no further occasion for it, by repeating another verse, he turned it into a pin, latch, or bolt, again. He refused to impart the secret of this incantation to me, though very obliging in every thing else. But having hid myself one day in a dark corner, I caught the first verse, which consisted of three syllables. After he had given his orders to the pin, he went into the market place. Next day, in his absence, I took the pin, dressed it up, and repeating those syllables, ordered it to fetch some water. When it had brought a full jar, I cried "Stop, draw no more water, but be a pin again." It was in vain, however, that he reiterated the command of *as you were*, the perverse pin continued his employment till he had nearly filled the house. "I, not able to endure this obstinacy, (continues Eucrates,) and fearing the

the return of my companion, lest he should be displeased, seized a hatchet and split the pin in two pieces. But each part, taking up a jar, ran to draw more water, so that I had now two servants in place of one. In the mean time Pancrates returned, and, understanding the matter, changed them into wood again, as they were before the incantation."

The author having, at last, dismissed his shadows, sums up his evidence by the declaration that the facts which he has stated have afforded to himself a satisfactory explanation of all difficulties respecting what he terms spectral appearances; he calls upon the physician and philosopher to examine such cases with accuracy instead of regarding them either with terror or contempt, 'and to ascertain their exact relation to the state of the brain and of the external senses;' he observes, that were this done, 'the appearance of a ghost would be regarded as of little more consequence than a head-ache,' and finally congratulates himself on having 'released the reader of history from the embarrassment of rejecting evidence in some of the plainest narratives, or of experiencing uneasy doubts when the solution might be rendered perfectly simple,' and thus he reconducts his guests to the entrance of his enchanted castle.

'Prosequitur dictis portâque emittit eburnâ.'

We fear that the doctor's nostrum will not turn out the perfect specific he imagines.

*'O vous qui craignez tant les esprits,  
Et qui les craignez sans y croire,'*

may, as we have before stated our opinion, be applied to the largest class of those for whom he prescribes. On these all medicine will be thrown away; their morbid propensities must be left to wear themselves out, or if any potion can avail, it is a disease wherein the patient must minister to himself. There is, however, another description of actual, or possible, ghost-seers, who might, perhaps, profit by such a discussion of the subject; but this determined assailant of the world of phantoms has left unattempted the two strongest works, behind which they may intrench themselves. Every one who has experienced a violent nervous attack, or witnessed the effect of it on others, and indeed every one who has had the nightmare in daylight, must, if they think at all, have found in such causes an explanation of ghosts, and will have easily conceived to themselves a more diseased state of organs, which might represent phantoms more vivid, more precisely figured, and more permanent than those with which they have been visited. But the difficulties with regard to accepting this, as a general solution of the mystery, are, first, the evidence we have of more persons than one having witnessed these appearances; and, next, that of some event, which could



could not, by natural means, be known at the time, having been thus manifested; a circumstance which appears at once to explain the cause and to attest the truth of such a visitation. These two defences are, however, certainly more assailable from the previous demolition of the outworks which surrounded them.

The great point to be considered with regard to the supposed verification of ghosts by the testimony of more than one person is, that if we give the witnesses credit for being honest, it would be going much too far to allow them to be unprejudiced. In the great majority of cases of this description which are in circulation, it is to be observed, that the minds of those who have seen such sights, were prepared for the reception of the wonderful by circumstances either of time, place, or conversation. Men, in this situation, resemble instruments tuned to the same pitch, which, if a note of one be struck, will repeat the sound on a corresponding string. The following story may serve as an illustration. A traveller in the east found himself in a village where there was a great outcry against vampires. It may be necessary to premise, that the vampire of spectral history is a dead body which has the privilege of sucking the blood of the living. So universal was the belief that the magistrates granted a general search warrant, and the traveller accompanied a great number of the inhabitants to the church yard for the purpose of putting it into execution. The grave of a person suspected was opened in his presence, and while *he* saw nothing but a putrid and macerated carcass, the rest beheld, in the same object, freshness of complexion, and corpulence, in short, all the known indicia of the delinquent's profession, and were much inclined to give the dissentient an opportunity of practising it, in his own person, for obstinately maintaining his opinion. Here all the assistants but the stranger were predisposed to belief; but it may be shewn, by another instance, that the imagination of one person will reflect the images represented by that of another, even where it has not been previously wrought upon and prepared for such an impression. A modern poet who, though he has exercised a powerful command over the world of spirits, is certainly free from superstition, accompanied a friend one evening to a place in Edinburgh, where they sold oysters. They were shewn into an inner room, and sat down to table. Here they were joined, as they believed, by an unknown person, whom neither of them knew; but it is to be remarked, that his appearance was unaccompanied by any circumstances of terror. He neither swallowed his oysters, shell and all, or did any thing which could subject him to suspicion. They lost sight of him they knew not how; and on going into the next room and inquiring about their uninvited guest, were assured by those who had remained there during the whole time they

they were within, that no one had passed through that apartment, which afforded the only means of access to their own. It may, perhaps, be objected to any inference drawn from this anecdote, that the imagination of the two gentlemen in question had probably been warmed with wine. Perhaps so: but *le peril monte la tête comme le vin*, says Madame de Staël, and fear is as quickly communicated as an electric shock. We may also consider optical deceptions, which have been generally mentioned by Dr. Ferriar amongst the causes of ghost-seeing, as one explanation of these better attested stories; but they are of much too rare occurrence to be admitted as a universal solvent of apparitions.

With respect to the second class of spiritual anecdotes, which includes all accounts of visitations, where some event appears to coincide with the spectacle represented by the imagination, we must recollect that we hear only of those where the result corresponds with its supposed signification; the thousand instances in which it does not, are never communicated. A young man, a writer in India, is surprised by the appearance of his mother (whom he had left in England) bathed in tears. He conceives this to be an intimation of his father's death, communicates what he has seen to a friend, and this person, under the idea of giving him a lesson against credulity in the future disproval of his fears, desires him to make an entry of all the circumstances in his pocket-book. The sensible intention of this friend is disappointed by the verification of the vision. Take, on the other hand, a story which may well weigh against the preceding. Three brothers, out of four, sleeping in the same room, when boys, dream that their father is dangerously ill, or dead, yet nothing had passed which might naturally have suggested to them so painful an idea. His death would have been but one wonder the more, but he long survived the triple omen by which it was apparently figured. The fact is, whimsical combinations are continually taking place, which, when they involve nothing which savours of a ghost, we are content to consider as the effect of what is called chance; if they do, we must cut the knot in one case as well as in the other. Many of these are as much out of the reach of calculation as any story of second sight. We take one as an instance. A short time ago, a seaman, belonging to the *Arrogant*, died, and the wages due to him were claimed by his brother, named John Carr, living at No. 4, Spicer Street, Shadwell. On inquiry, however, it was found that Mary Carr, his sister, residing at Lowth, in Ireland, had been appointed his executrix. Orders were given for sending her the papers necessary to her receiving whatever might be due; but these were, by some mistake, forwarded to the direction of the first claimant, at No. 4, Spicer Street, Shadwell. In this street there were two Nos. 4,  
and

and at one of these actually dwelt another woman of the name of Mary Carr, who, having possessed herself of the papers, attended at the Navy Pay Office, and received the money.

Still we have not traced the illusion to its source: if we have explained the causes which have fortified, or appeared to prove the truth of this belief, it is more difficult to explain how the mind first acquired it,—how it first came by the idea of a ghost; and unless we were prepared to argue that this is innate, we know but one solution of the difficulty, which is the supposing it to spring out of the universal belief in the immortality of the soul; whether this be a traditional fragment of revelation, or an induction formed from dreams. To these the savage always ascribes divinity. The Indian, therefore, whose imagination first represented to him, in sleep, the image of a deceased friend, though, in his dream, he might imagine him still alive, would, on waking, conceive his apparition to have been indicative of another state of existence. Respecting the ready adoption of the creed, we shall find no difficulty, when we consider how universally our hopes and fears rest upon a world beyond our own; and, perhaps, there is no more striking proof of the predisposition of the human mind to that weakness, which forms the subject of the present essay, than the instinctive dread of darkness, remarkable in children, who have escaped the taint of nursery superstition. The gloom of itself seems to dispose the mind to melancholy, and a vague feeling of insecurity leads the imagination to people it with such terrors as it can furnish and dress up, out of its preconceived ideas. A father and mother, who had taken every possible precaution to preserve an infant daughter from all the horrors of the church-yard, observed in her an evident apprehension of being alone in the dark. They naturally concluded that their care had been fruitless, but, on examining into the object of her fear, she confessed that this was no other than ‘*Ell-wide*.’ She had heard the word used by her mother, and, not knowing that the said *Ell-wide* was ‘base and mechanical,’ being struck with the majesty of the name, and receiving ‘*ignotum pro magnifico*,’ had adopted him as an object of respect, precisely upon the same principle on which the late worthy member for Sussex cheered, at the bare mention of the hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia.

But we feel that we have caught the contagion of story-telling; we have been too long occupied in this *Στοιμαχία*, we willingly drop our weapons, and retire from the contest.

ART. III. *Correspondence of the late Gilbert Wakefield, B. A. with the late Right Hon. Charles James Fox, in the Years 1796—1801, chiefly on Subjects of Classical Literature.* 8vo. pp. 232. London; Cadell & Davies; Edinburgh, Blackwood; Dublin, Keene. 1813.

THE diffusion of wealth, literature, and curiosity; the increased disposition to read, and the increased ability to buy books, have not only added to the number and fertility of living writers, but have also occasioned the press to groan under a vast additional load of posthumous publications. No sooner does an eminent person die, than his scrutoire is ransacked, and his friends are solicited for materials to make a volume. His works are sought for with almost as much regularity as his last will and testament; and by the time the latter has been proved at Doctor's Commons, the former are almost ready to appear in Paternoster-row. Nor is this process applicable to professed writers alone. A few sketches, or hints, or a fragment found in his port-folio, or verses ascribed to him; or, if none of these things exist, the never-failing resource of his correspondence, by the kindness of friends, and the diligence of publishers, is quite sufficient to raise a man after his death to the dignity of an author who, in his whole life, never entertained any settled thoughts of becoming one. This practice is not unattended by advantages. It adds to the public stock of harmless amusement. It often preserves important facts, and sometimes even rescues valuable compositions from oblivion. Besides, it gives us a deeper insight into human nature, by exhibiting to us nearer at hand, and at moments of carelessness and confidence, those persons, whom we had been accustomed to admire at a distance, when veiled by prudence, and protected by forms. On the other hand, it must be owned, that it not only ministers to a laudable desire for knowledge, but tends, quite as much, to gratify that low illiberal curiosity which is nourished by idle anecdotes of private life, and that malignant enviousness which comforts itself for the general superiority of great men, by contemplating their weaknesses and defects. Perhaps, after all, it is more for our advantage to maintain inviolate the respect due to the best specimens of our nature, than risk it by unnecessary disclosures—to embalm the illustrious dead, than deliver them over to the dissector for the sake of throwing new lights upon the intellectual anatomy of man. All indeed would be well, if the task of selecting from posthumous papers were performed with honesty, and with tolerable discretion; but in nine instances out of ten we have to lament a failure on one side or the other, and the reputation of the dead is sacrificed to the imprudence, vanity, or rapaciousness of the living.

The fate of Mr. Fox, in this respect, has always appeared to us  
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peculiarly hard. He left behind him a reputation to which none but the very highest excellence in literature could have added. It was a reputation which not even his bitterest enemies ventured to call into question. The feelings of political animosity seemed overcome by a generous sentiment of exultation in that genius and eloquence which added perceptibly to the stock—great as it is, of English glory. His whole conduct, and some points of his character, were the subject of endless dispute, but his talents were left to be estimated by the zeal of his followers, and if the ‘Historical Fragment’ had never seen the light, they might without much contradiction have indulged themselves in triumphantly conjecturing ‘how well he would have written had not politics and pleasure denied him leisure for literary pursuits.’ But the work appeared, and at once precluded all such speculation, by as great a disappointment as ever occurred in the literary history of the world. It failed instantly and totally. The partiality of friends, and the magic of a great name were unable to sustain it for a single day. Yet no book was ever more fairly dealt by. The public was certainly desirous to admire it if that had been possible; Mr. Fox’s political adversaries were not active in decrying it; his followers shewed a decent regard to his memory by praising it at the risk of their own character for taste. The sages of the north too did their duty without shrinking, and boldly proclaimed a new era in our literature. But all efforts were fruitless. The defects were too striking to be concealed or extenuated; and in the work of an author who (as we were told) had formed so high a notion of the dignity and simplicity of history—a work upon which he had bestowed so much time and so much anxious care—for which journeys had been undertaken, and libraries searched, the public were astonished to find a style inaccurate, though laboured, cold at once and declamatory; and the narrative of events more than a century old deeply tinctured with the prejudices of his own age and his own party.

In some instances too, the tendency of the work is such as we should have been better prepared to meet with in the writer of a German drama than of an English history. Without entering into any discussion of Mr. Fox’s political opinions, we may be allowed to complain when they evidently interfere with the just appreciation of character, and the very sense of right and wrong. It is impossible to read the sentimental story of Monmouth, (upon which Mr. Fox has put forth all his strength,) without being persuaded that in the estimation of the writer, disloyalty, like charity, is a merit of so transcendent a kind, that it may serve to cover almost every sin. Monmouth was, even to his last moments, singularly disregarding of the obligations and even the decencies of domestic

domestic life; his understanding was feeble, and he wanted even courage, the only virtue that can throw lustre upon the character of a weak man engaged in great transactions. Mr. Fox endeavours to make of him a sort of hero of romance; and the fate of this unfortunate but guilty person, excites in his breast, at the distance of four generations, a more tender sympathy than he ever deigned to express for the whole clergy and nobility of the most ancient civilized monarchy in the world, plundered, exiled, and butchered, in his own time, and almost before his own eyes. Not that we are inclined to consider coldly such an event as Monmouth's execution, or to censure the emotions of a generous pity. But Mr. Fox evidently feels for him a greater interest than belongs to his character, or even to his misfortunes. He extenuates his failings not only with that indulgence which flows from a just and humane consideration of the infirmities of our common nature, but with the affectionate eagerness of a partizan.

We have always regretted that the publication of this unfortunate work was not prevented by the exercise of a sounder discretion in his surviving friends. It diminished the reputation of a great man, without (so far at least as we are aware) any one advantage beyond the mere gratification of public curiosity to compensate for the loss. If, indeed, Mr. Fox had already appeared before the world with distinction as an author; if, like the great man whose disciple he once boasted himself to be, his literary had corresponded to his political fame, the mischief of publishing even the 'Historical Work,' would have been comparatively small. The failure of a single posthumous performance would have signified little when the public judgment had already been fixed by happier efforts. From that nothing could be inferred, but that Mr. Fox, in common with many other eminent persons, was not able to command his own talents equally at all times, and on all subjects. Unfortunately, however, his whole character as a writer has been staked upon one performance, which can attract notice only by its astonishing disproportion to the talents of him who produced it; and one of the greatest English orators and statesmen is introduced into the world of literature only to take his place in the inferior classes of English authors. We think it hard upon the memory of so great a man as Mr. Fox to place him in a point of view in which he must appear decidedly inferior to those that are the natural objects of comparison with him. Equal, in the judgment of his contemporaries, to Bolingbroke or to Burke, he ought not to have appeared as an author at all, except in some work which would have placed him by their side, in the first ranks of literary fame. It may be said that great indulgence is due to an unfinished posthumous performance,

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published

*The real Reason for the Publication is was  
the Publication itself. - It was this: - Mr  
Fox's son gave £5000 for  
and this is*

published without the consent of the author. To this we answer, in the first place, that such an appeal to the candour of the world is always a little hazardous. People are apt to judge of a thing as they find it, and without sufficient consideration of the circumstances under which it appears. Such indulgence too was less likely to be shewn to a work which was announced with something of confidence and parade, which so far from deprecating criticism seemed to challenge no slight or vulgar praise. An unusually long approach prepared us for the beginnings, at least, of a magnificent building. We were unavoidably led to expect something of power and effect. It was ushered into public notice, as if it were destined '*labenti succurrere sæclo*,' to begin a reformation in politics and literature—to recal our style and our principles to the ancient standard of purity. Expectations such as these once imprudently excited, it is not easy to satisfy, and not safe to disappoint; and when lofty pretensions have been once advanced and rejected, it is too late to take the benefit of that tone of apology and extenuation which, if earlier employed, might have obtained for the work a more favourable reception.

We think too, that Mr. Fox's friends would have done well to recollect, that the lapse of years naturally tends to regulate the public judgment of his talents more by his writings, and less by every other criterion. As a statesman he was never long enough in power to accomplish any measures that could carry his name with glory down to posterity. His talents as an orator form his great and undisputed title to fame. But of his speeches no full authentic record remains. The generation that witnessed his astonishing genius for debate, will soon have passed away, and the warmth of their enthusiasm will be but feebly reflected upon the minds of their posterity. 'How much more then would you have been affected if you had heard him?' said *Æschines*. But *Demosthenes* had lost nothing except the advantage of his own delivery; Mr. Fox will have lost every thing, and his reputation for eloquence will stand upon the mutilated fragments in the newspaper reports, and the suffrage of his contemporaries. It is no doubt true, that in a free and powerful country, at an enlightened period, to have remained for five-and-thirty years in a great popular assembly without a superior, and with only one equal, is a proof of talent, such as no reasonable man in any age will feel inclined to contest. But after all, '*distinction*,' '*superiority*,' '*excellence*,' are only relative terms, and are applied at different times with equal confidence and enthusiasm to express very different degrees of real positive merit. The value of contemporary admiration must depend on the character of the age; and, even on the most favourable supposition, something

*inferred, Mr Fox's Reputation!*

something may be allowed for fashion, accident, prejudice, and the peculiar taste of the times. How much ought in justice to be ascribed to these causes it is never very easy, and becomes every day more difficult to ascertain. Where, if we may so express ourselves, an opinion is to be pronounced upon an opinion, in order to get at the ultimate object of judgment, the whole subject is involved in considerable obscurity. Men are naturally disposed to fly from these uncertainties—from traditionary veneration, and the eulogies bestowed by their progenitors upon the heroes of their own day, to some surer and more authentic measure of positive excellence. And if such a criterion actually exists, a *monumentum literis mandatum*, in which the man speaks for himself, something that they can see with their own eyes, and not through the magnifying halo of contemporary prejudices, it will have a great, perhaps an undue influence upon their opinions. Its proximity, and distinctness, render its effect equal to that of weightier, but more distant objects. Now this is just the evil we apprehend from the ill-advised publication of Mr. Fox's History. When posterity observe both from the part he played, and from the unanimous suffrages, so far as they can be collected, of all those that flourished along with him, how high was that station which he held among the great men of his own time; and when, on the other hand, they read this work, and form upon it that judgment which is, we believe, already, with but little variation, the judgment of all tolerably impartial persons, we are not without apprehension that they will transfer, in some degree, their opinion of the writer, to the orator and politician, and conclude, however erroneously, that Mr. Fox, though an able, was an over-rated man. And this is a conclusion from which they cannot possibly escape, except by a fair re-consideration of the various and weighty testimony in his favour, both external and internal, and by a more just and philosophical allowance than is generally made, for the mortifying inequalities of human genius. We are sure that any attempt to uphold the work, (besides its probable insincerity,) is only calculated to do harm to the memory of Mr. Fox. Our approbation of it could only serve to persuade future generations of our utter want of impartiality, and by that means shake their confidence in all our other judgments upon him. We must give up his History, if it is only for the sake of preserving unimpaired his other titles to glory; and the justice of our general admiration of him may be vindicated, by calling to mind, that all his fame as a statesman could not save him from entire failure as a writer.

We have been led to these remarks by the appearance of the Correspondence betwixt Mr. Fox and Mr. Gilbert Wakefield. It is certainly not liable to the objections we have just been stating to



the publication of his *History*. Mr. Fox is not presented to the world in the light of a professed author. The only question that those who sanctioned the publication had to determine was, whether or not these letters, written hastily, and without the remotest thought of their ever being submitted to the eye of the world, are such as do honour to the memory of an illustrious statesman? and we are clearly of opinion, that they were right to decide it in the affirmative. Some letters upon the same subjects printed at the end of Mr. Trotter's *Life*, and which indeed formed the only valuable part of that publication, had inspired us with a wish to see more, and we are happy to find that the materials existed for gratifying it.

The letters now before us are chiefly employed upon some of the nice points of Greek criticism, but they derive their interest, not from the light they throw upon the questions relative to the 'digamma,' and the 'final  $\nu$ ,' but from the portraits they give, in some features most amusingly contrasted, of Mr. Wakefield and of his illustrious correspondent.

Gilbert Wakefield, as most of our readers are probably aware, was known to the world partly as editor of several classical works, partly as an author of several ill-tempered, ill-written, and injudicious pamphlets on political subjects. He was a commentator of the old school, learned, laborious, peevish, insolent, presumptuous, and never meddling with matters of taste but to shew how completely nature had denied him that faculty. In religion he was bred a sectarian of the Hackney school, but we understand, that, for the latter part of his life, he belonged to no congregation whatever, and the form of Christianity he professed was peculiar to himself. He had early imbibed the principles of the French Revolution in all their ferociousness, extravagance and absurdity, and he adhered to them with primitive zeal, long after the horrors to which they had given birth had frightened half their original converts back into reason. In short he was a 'vir clarissimus,' grafted upon the crab-stock of a Jacobin dissenter—a sort of septembrizing Gronovius—better fitted indeed for grammar than for politics, but carrying into both a spirit of insolent dogmatism and precipitate innovation.

The bond of connection betwixt this singular personage and Mr. Fox was natural enough. Mr. Fox's thirst after classical learning made him desirous to engage in correspondence with so eminent a scholar, and Gilbert Wakefield was no less eager to cultivate an acquaintance with Mr. Fox under the pleasing idea of his being a Jacobin—an error of which it must be owned Mr. Fox did not take much pains to cure him. The correspondence once begun

continued

continued at intervals for about five years, and until near Mr. Wakefield's death, though it does not appear that there was ever any personal acquaintance between them. In point of learning the advantage was (as may be easily imagined) on the side of Mr. Wakefield. The study of the classical writers had been the great business of his life, and as his memory was tenacious, and his industry unremitting, he had gained a very extensive acquaintance with ancient literature. Mr. Fox, when a boy, had been remarkable for his classical attainments, and he preserved through life a strong relish for the Greek and Roman writers. His more active employments, however, had left him but little leisure for such pursuits, and till about the time at which his correspondence with Mr. Wakefield commenced, he had done little more than keep up his Eton stock by occasional and desultory reading. He was an elegant, but time had not allowed him to become a profound scholar, and he writes to Mr. Wakefield with the unaffected modesty of a person who seeks to be instructed, and who is not at all desirous to conceal from his instructor the extent of his own deficiencies. He speaks of himself as unacquainted with several authors that are commonly enough read, even by those that are not considered as deeply learned. Of Apollonius Rhodius he had seen nothing but the extracts in the Eton selection; and we find him inquiring after an edition of Aristophanes in a way which shews that he had but recently begun to cultivate an acquaintance with the Greek theatre. But whatever Mr. Fox wants in learning, as compared with his correspondent, he makes up in taste, and in the power of reasoning; two qualities, particularly that of reasoning, in which Mr. Wakefield was as much below, as the other was above the common run of mankind. In this way the balance is more than restored, and it is curious to observe, how his acute and accurate understanding, operating upon comparatively scanty materials, enables him, upon points where they differed, to contend with advantage against an adversary whose mind was stored with facts he was incapable of arranging, and premises from which he knew not how to elicit the proper conclusions.

Mr. Wakefield was an honest and strictly moral man, but he had the misfortune to be peevish, scurrilous, and dogmatical, even beyond what is permitted to a verbal critic. His ill temper is indeed somewhat subdued by his respect for Mr. Fox. But still there are quite sufficient indications of what he could be, and what from his other writings we know that he was. The harshness of the critic only serves to render the tone of Mr. Fox's correspondence more pleasing. It was reasonable to expect that in point of grace and courtesy the statesman should be superior to the dissenting minister.

nister. But Mr. Fox owed his advantages to nature as much as to habit. His letters are written in a delightful strain of frank unaffected politeness—reflected immediately from that benevolence of which all politeness, however diversified by conventional forms, is designed to be the image. We are greatly mistaken if mere acuteness and knowledge of the world could produce a similar result. Good breeding, in the sense in which Mr. Fox was well bred, implies a warm heart and nice feelings. All the letters of which the public are yet in possession are to persons inferior to him, as well in station as in talents, and we think them models of that species of correspondence. Nothing can be more kind or more delicate. His manner has nothing in it of what is called condescension—that thin veil which insolence throws over superiority only to make it more conspicuous. His kindness is plain, manly, unstudied. He takes a tone of equality without doing any thing to shew that he has come down to it. His advantages were too great for him to be ignorant of them himself, but his modesty and good nature were always on the watch to prevent the display of them in any way that could be painful to others. We doubt whether, in the whole of this correspondence, a single expression could be pointed out from which it could be fairly inferred that Mr. Fox thought himself a wiser or a greater man than Mr. Wakefield.

We have a good specimen of them both in Letters 23 and 24. At the beginning of the shooting season in 1799, Mr. Fox had the misfortune to hurt his hand, by the bursting of his gun. Mr. Wakefield, impelled (as he expresses it) ‘by an ardent desire for Mr. Fox’s approximation, as nearly as possible, to his own notions of perfection,’ takes this opportunity to lecture him upon the cruelty of shooting; and, in the hope of inducing him to renounce that barbarous amusement, quotes him a long sentence from Cicero about the ‘indignæ hominē docto voluptates.’ Here was some temptation to sneer; but this strange burst of fanaticism produces from Mr. Fox a good humoured and perfectly serious answer. As it is short we insert it.

‘Sir,

I ASSURE you I take very kindly your letter, and the quotation in it. I think the question of “How far field sports are innocent amusements,” is nearly connected with another, upon which, from the title of one of your intended works, I suspect you entertain opinions rather singular; for if it is lawful to kill tame animals with whom one has a sort of acquaintance, such as *fowls, oxen, &c.* it is still less repugnant to one’s feelings to kill wild animals; but then to make a *pastime* of it—I am aware there is something to be said upon this point. On the other hand, if example is allowed to be anything, there is nothing in which  
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all mankind, civilized or savage, have more agreed, than in making some sort of chace (for fishing is of the same nature) part of their business or amusement. However, I admit it to be a very questionable subject: at all events, it is a very pleasant and healthful exercise. My wound goes on, I believe, very well; and no material injury is apprehended to the hand, but the cure will be tedious, and I shall be confined in this town for more weeks than I had hoped ever to spend days here. I am much obliged to you for your inquiries, and am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

C. J. FOX.

This however did not satisfy Mr. Wakefield—he returns to the charge, and not content with having proscribed shooting, involves hunting in a still severer sentence. That he pronounces to be ‘the most irrational and degrading spectacle in the world, and’ (rising by an unexpected climax) ‘an admirable proluision to those delectable operations which are transacting in Holland and elsewhere.’ It may perhaps be necessary to acquaint our readers that ‘the delectable operations in Holland,’ for which men’s minds had been steeled by the cruelties of a fox-chase, were certain efforts which the British ministry of that day was wicked enough to make, in order to assist the misguided inhabitants of that country in throwing off the mild and rightful dominion of the Executive Directory of France. Luckily however he goes off to Ovid’s *Tristia*, and in the next letter Mr. Fox contrives to glide gently out of the controversy.

It is but justice to Mr. Fox to observe, that he is evidently desirous of confining the correspondence to literary topics. That however was rendered impossible by his learned friend’s horror of English despotism, and zeal for French happiness and freedom. Mr. Wakefield insists upon mixing a little politics with his Greek. And a more deplorable example of rancour and folly than is exhibited in the few remarks upon public questions that are scattered up and down these letters, it would be difficult to find. In the year 1797, after all the massacres and proscriptions which for five years had desolated and disgraced France, we find him expressing a decided preference of the French to the English political character. He is quite charmed with the ‘gipsey jargon’ of the revolutionists, even when it was already beginning to grow obsolete. One of his letters ends thus—‘Excuse me, if in the French style, which appears to me most manly and becoming, even for the sake of variety itself, I conclude myself, “ever yours, with health and respect.”’ He thinks the practice of tying up malefactors at Newgate execrable—is thrown into utter consternation by the sentence upon Lord Thanet and Mr. Ferguson—considers the nation as sunk into the lowest state of degradation—

gradation—and on one occasion, when he is pressed rather hard by Mr. Fox in an argument about the digamma, he apologizes for his own inability to furnish a more satisfactory reply, by intimating that there had not yet been revolutions enough in the world to dispel the obscurity that hangs over such topics. ‘But these studies,’ he says, ‘are really in their infancy, and will continue so till better forms of government leave the human race more at leisure to cultivate their intellects.’ The present state of Greek literature in France might have inclined even Mr. Wakefield to doubt the efficacy of a revolution in settling questions as to the ‘digamma.’ It is not to be supposed that we blame Mr. Fox for not entering into a refutation of such doctrines as those of Mr. Wakefield; but we cannot help saying that he is far too complaisant in his way of assenting to them. It could not escape a person of Mr. Fox’s sagacity that Mr. Wakefield was a pure unadulterated Jacobin, a deadly fanatical enemy to the whole established order of this country, civil and ecclesiastical. Yet we find him (p. 18) talking of the opinions *we* profess, as if he had been a politician of exactly the same school. But these were the unhappy years of Mr. Fox’s life, when long disappointment had ended in despair, and when, unmindful of all that was due to himself and to his country, he was content to purchase a short-lived hollow popularity among miscreants whom he must have abhorred, and fanatics whom he must have despised, by sacrificing for ever the confidence of the sound, the judicious, and the governing part of the community: Hence that strange *anti-patriotic* feeling by which, in the discussion of all questions betwixt England and any other power, he seemed to be actuated. He had come at last to feel a prejudice against the nation which had preferred his rival, and he had learnt to look, with indifference at least, to the subversion of that order of things in which he found no place proportioned to his talents. Yet if there ever was a man far removed by nature from that sect with which he now formed a preposterous union, it was Mr. Fox. He was unfitted from playing the part of a Jacobin, by the absolute want of all the necessary qualifications. He had neither the coarseness, the ferocity, nor the ignorant insolent contempt of all that is ancient and established. He was in every thing a gentleman of the highest class. His education—the connections he had formed in life—his habits and feelings, all purely liberal and aristocratic. He was the creature of polished society, such as it existed under the ancient monarchies of Europe. He belonged originally to the good old school of Walpolian Whigs—prudent practical persons—a little too fond of jobbing—quite contented with the constitution as they found it, and disposed to hold high the honour of the country  
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in its intercourse with foreign nations. He had not a single point of contact with the philosophizing assassins who, about twenty years ago, first appeared as candidates for the government of the world. He was neither bold nor hasty in his application of general principles, and no man was ever less inclined by his own nature to sweep away present liberty, present comfort, and present security, in order to lay a foundation for ideal perfection at a distant period. His eloquence too was of that chaste argumentative sort which can only be addressed with success to an educated and intelligent audience. From the loftiness and simplicity of his mind, the delicacy of his taste, a certain natural shyness which might at first be mistaken for coldness and reserve, he was utterly incapable of condescending to those paltry artifices, and performing those mountebank tricks which are necessary to captivate the multitude. In the act of cajoling a mob, he was infinitely surpassed by persons whom, in point of talents, it would be quite ludicrous to compare with him. He was an awkward unpractised demagogue, and a lukewarm unwilling reformer. From justice and humanity he was anxious for the happiness of the lower orders, that is, of the bulk of mankind, but no minister would have been ever less disposed to admit them to a large share in swaying public measures. When his friends absurdly called him 'the man of the people,' they seemed to have forgot that the great act of his life was a struggle against the people. He made his stand against them upon the forms of our government—upon that constitutional fiction by which the House of Commons is supposed *always* to speak the sense of the nation. An appeal to the country was that which he affected to execrate as a crime, and the man of the people spent ten years in an ineffectual endeavour to persuade them that one half of the aristocracy, with himself at their head, ought to rule, in spite of them and the other half.

Such was Mr. Fox, who, by the power of circumstances, which it required something more of firmness and high political virtue than he possessed, to resist, was led, in the most important crisis of his political life, to play a part directly opposite to the natural bent of his own inclinations and character. Formed to hold with a high hand the reins of government in a tempered monarchy, he became the apologist of an insane and flagitious revolution, an advocate for the public enemies of the state in all its contests with foreign powers, the rallying point of disaffection, the terror of good, the hope and support of bad citizens.

But we have been insensibly led on to say more than we ought or than we intended of Mr. Fox's political character. Our chief concern with him at present is as a scholar and a man of taste. The most interesting

int resting parts of this little publication are those in which Mr. Fox incidentally gives his opinion upon some of the ancient writers. We are sorry that they are not more numerous: for though upon such topics it is not fair to expect much novelty, or that what is new should be right, particularly from a man writing hastily and without the responsibility of publication, yet it is impossible not to feel curious about all the articles of Mr. Fox's literary creed. So great an authority might well induce one to reconsider the most established doctrines, and when they do not differ, we feel our confidence increased by the coincidence.

In the first place, we cannot help again remarking Mr. Fox's strong attachment to classical learning. It was the delight of his early days, and his proficiency in it afforded the first prelude of his future glory. He never wholly abandoned it even in the meridian glow of occupation and pleasure; and he reverted to it in his latter days with all his characteristic eagerness. We dwell upon this fact, because we think the authority of so great a man—of a man so little liable to be influenced by vanity or prejudice—may serve in some degree to shelter the lovers of such studies against the censure of those haughty critics who are inclined to treat them as childish, pedantic, or (worst of all) *useless*. We are therefore glad to have it upon record, that, in the full vigour and maturity of his understanding, with the free choice of pursuits before him, Mr. Fox's leisure was employed—not (as we presume it ought to have been) in endeavouring to discover a six hundred and twenty-fifth metal—not in improvements in the art of bleaching and dying—not in examining the mechanism of the steam-engine and the spinning-jenny—not in teaching to a yet unenlightened world the true philosophy of wheel-carriages, but in reading and re-reading the poets, historians, and orators of Greece and Rome.

We proceed to lay before our readers a few extracts. They will be pleased to hear the opinion of one of the greatest orators of modern times, upon Cicero.

P. 85. 'By the way, I know no speech of Cicero more full of beautiful passages than this, (pro M. Cælio,) nor where he is more in his element. Argumentative contention is what he by no means excels in; and he is never, I think, so happy, as when he has an opportunity of exhibiting a mixture of philosophy and pleasantry; and especially when he can interpose anecdotes and references to the authority of the eminent characters in the history of his own country. No man appears indeed to have had such a real respect for authority as he; and therefore when he speaks upon that subject he is always natural and in earnest; and not like those among us who are so often declaiming about the wisdom of our ancestors, without knowing what they mean, and hardly ever citing any particulars of their conduct or of their "dicta."

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All that relates to Cicero in this passage appears to us true and striking, and we also subscribe the concluding remark, though not probably with the extensive application of it that Mr. Fox intended.

Ovid was a great favourite with Mr. Fox. In the same letter he says,—

‘ I have always been a great reader of him, and thought myself the greatest admirer he had, till you called him the first poet of antiquity, which is going beyond even me. The grand and spirited style of the *Iliad*; the true nature and simplicity of the *Odyssey*; the poetical language (far excelling that of all other poets in the world) of the *Georgics*, and the pathetic strokes in the *Æneid*, give Homer and Virgil a rank, in my judgment, clearly above all competitors; but next after them I should be very apt to class Ovid, to the great scandal, I believe, of all who pique themselves upon what is called purity of taste. You have somewhere compared him to Euripides, I think, and I can fancy I see a resemblance between them. This resemblance, I suppose, it is, which makes one prefer Euripides to Sophocles; a preference which, if one were writing a dissertation, it would be very difficult to justify.’

In another place (p. 107) he says, ‘ I have read over, possibly for the hundredth time, the portion of the *Metamorphoses* about *Pythagoras*; and I think you cannot praise it too highly. I always considered it as the finest part of the whole poem; and possibly the *Death of Hercules* as the next to it.’

Mr. Wakefield had advised him (a proof by the bye how very limited he supposed Mr. Fox’s classical knowledge to be) to read the famous chapter in *Quintilian* containing the comparison between the Greek and Roman writers. Mr. Fox says (p. 108) ‘ I have read again (what I had often read before) the chapter you refer to in *Quintilian*, and a most pleasing one it is; but I think he seems to have an opinion not quite high enough of our favourite *Ovid*; and in his laboured comparison between *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, he appears to me to have thought them more alike, in their manners and respective excellencies, than they seem to me. It is of them, I think, that he might most justly have said, “*Magis pares quam similes.*”

We have before noticed how little Mr. Fox had read of *Apollonius Rhodius*.—He proceeds in the same letter—

‘ I have no *Apollonius Rhodius*, and have never read of him more than there is in our *Eton “Poetæ Græci,”* and the *Edinburgh Collectanea*; but from what I have read, he seems to be held far too low by *Quintilian*; nor can I think the ‘*æqualis mediocritas*’ to be his character. The parts extracted in the above collections are as fine as poetry can be; and, I believe, are generally allowed to have been the model of what is certainly not the least admired part of the *Æneid*. If he is in other parts equal to these, he ought not to be characterized by *mediocrity*. I wish to read the rest of the poem itself, and partly to ascertain



ascertain how much Virgil has taken from him: but I have not got it, and do not know what edition of it I ought to get. I should be much obliged to you if you will tell me. Shaw is one of the latest, but I think I have heard of it spoken of. If at the same time, you would advise me in regard to the Greek poets in general, of the second and third order I mean, which are best worth reading, and in what edition, you would do me a great service.

Not long after he reads Apollonius through—

‘Soon after I wrote to you last I read Apollonius. (in Shaw’s edition, for I have not been able to get Branch’s. and upon the whole had great satisfaction from him. His language is sometimes hard, and very often, I think, prosaic; and there is too much narration: but there are passages quite delightful to me, and I think his reputation has been below his merit. Both Ovid and Virgil have taken much from him, but the latter less, as appears to me, than has been commonly said. Dido is, in a very few instances, a copy of Medea; whereas I had been led to suppose that she was almost wholly so: and of Hypsipyle, whose situation is most like Dido’s, Apollonius has made little or nothing.’

Again (194) he says—

‘I know it is the fashion to say Virgil has taken a great deal in this book 4th, from Apollonius; and it is true that he has taken some things, but not nearly so much as I had been taught to expect before I read Apollonius. I think Medea’s Speech in the 4th Argonaut. v. 356, is the part he has made most use of. There are some very peculiar *breaks* there which Virgil has imitated certainly, and which, I think, are very beautiful and expressive: I mean particularly v. 382 in Apollonius, and v. 380 in Virgil. To be sure the application is different, but the manner is the same: and that Virgil had the passage before him at the time is evident from what follows.

Μήστις δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἴριος,  
στεινυμένης καμάτισσι.

compared with

Supplicia hausurum scopulis et nomine Dido  
Sæpe vocaturum.

It appears to me upon the whole that Ovid has taken more from Apollonius than Virgil.

There are more passages of this kind; but what we have given will serve as a specimen.

Mr. Wakefield writes in a stiff, heavy, pedantic way. We suspect he had no true feeling of the beauties of those authors in reading whom he was chiefly employed. Whenever he quits the beaten path and trusts to himself he is sure to go wrong. When his opinions are not trite they are utterly preposterous. Plato and Aristophanes are the two Greek authors he cannot get through. He thinks Ovid the first poet of all antiquity; and among the favourite passages to which he refers in support of this judgment is the *Elegy*  
on

on Tibullus. Now if we had to point out an instance of a fine subject unsuccessfully treated, we perhaps could not do better than mention this very elegy. Nothing can be more puerile and jejune. It is altogether worthy of the miserable couplet with which it concludes.

Ossa quieta precor placidè requiescite in urnâ,  
Et sit humus cineri non onerosa tuo.

But Mr. Wakefield had heard it was good, or guessed from the subject and the author, that it ought to be so, and that was enough.

We shall however trouble our readers with one extract from his letters, because it gives what appears to us a fair and not ill-drawn character of a very extraordinary man—the late Professor Porson.

‘I have been furnished with many opportunities of observing Porson, by a near inspection. He has been at my house several times, and once for an entire summer’s day. Our intercourse would have been frequent, but for *three* reasons. 1. His extreme irregularity and inattention to times and seasons, which did not at all comport with the methodical arrangement of my time and family. 2. His gross addiction to that lowest and least excusable of all sensualities, immoderate drinking: and 3, the uninteresting insipidity of his society; as it is impossible to engage his mind on any topic of mutual enquiry, to procure his opinion on any author or passage of an author, or to elicit any conversation of any kind to compensate for the time and attendance of his company. And as for Homer, Virgil, and Horace, I never could hear of the least critical effort on them in his life. He is in general devoid of all human affections; but such as he has are of a misanthropic quality: *nor do I think that any man exists for whom his propensities rise to the lowest pitch of affection or esteem.* He much resembles Proteus in Lycophron:

ἢ γέλως ἀπὶ χθρταί  
Καὶ δακρυ.

Though I believe he has satirical verses in his treasury for Dr. Bellen-den as he calls him, (Parr,) and all his most intimate associates. But in his knowledge of the Greek tragedies and Aristophanes; in his judgment of MSS., and in all that relates to the metrical proprieties of dramatic and lyric versification, with whatever is connected with this species of reading; none of his co-temporaries must pretend to equal him. His grammatical knowledge also, and his acquaintance with the ancient lexicographers and etymologists, is most accurate and profound: and his intimacy with Shakespeare, B. Jonson, and other dramatic writers is probably unequalled. He is, in short, a most extraordinary person in every point of view, but unamiable; and has been debarred of a comprehensive intercourse with the Greek and Roman authors by his excesses, which have made those acquirements impossible to him, from the want of that *time* which must necessarily be expended in laborious reading, and for which no reading can be made a substitute. No man has ever paid a more voluntary and respectful homage to his talents, at

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all times, both publicly and privately, in writings and conversation, than myself: and I will be content to forfeit the esteem and affection of all mankind whenever the least particle of envy or malignity is found to mix itself with my opinions. My first reverence is to virtue, my second only to talents and erudition—where both unite that man is estimable indeed to me, and shall receive the full tribute of honour and affection.'

The style of Mr. Fox's letters is (as our readers will have already remarked in the extracts we have given) light, easy, natural, and correct. It is the unstudied language of a scholar and a gentleman. In his 'History' he seems to have been encumbered by some theory as to style, or either from the original faultiness of the theory itself, or from his not having practised the art of writing sufficiently to enable him to realize his own notions of excellence, the whole composition has an air of awkwardness and embarrassment. Here he is free from this self-imposed restraint, and consequently, we think, appears to far greater advantage as a writer of familiar letters, than in the dignified character of an historian. On all occasions he shews (what we are always glad to remark and eager to praise) a strong preference of simple idiomatic turns of expression to what is perhaps generally thought more dignified or graceful language. In all highly civilized countries there are two classes of people that are constantly tending to withdraw a language from its true standard. In the first place, half-educated people, who think that the best proof they can give of their taste and knowledge is to depart in all cases as much as possible from those forms of expression that are in use among the vulgar—Secondly those of an over-refined disposition, who are tired of all that is common, and who, for the benefit of readers as fastidious as themselves, exercise a perverse ingenuity in substituting new words and new combinations instead of those that formerly prevailed in correct writing and good company. To these must be added, when we are speaking of our own country, those half-foreign writers of Ireland and Scotland—but particularly of Scotland—whose industry and genius, contending against great advantages, have procured for them so high a place in our literature. The joint influence of all these threatens our language with a change which in no very long course of years will make Swift obsolete and Addison vulgar. Mr. Fox was sensible of this danger, and laboured to avert it. Nothing was more remarkable in the language of his speeches than its simplicity and *anglicism*; and as they unfortunately could not be preserved, we are glad that something at least should remain to record his authority by the most effectual of all means—his example.

- ART. IV. 1. *Letters to Sir W. Drummond.* By Rev. G. D'Oyly.  
 2. *Letters to Rev. G. D'Oyly.* By Vindex. 8vo. pp. 113. London; Sherwood and Co. 1812.  
 3. *Remarks on Sir W. Drummond's Œdipus Judaicus.* By Rev. George D'Oyly, &c. 8vo. pp. 218. London; Cadell and Davies. 1813.

SOME of our readers may, perhaps, have heard of a new commentary on the Hebrew Scriptures, entitled *Œdipus Judaicus*. With a reserve which does not always attend the consciousness of truth and sincerity, the discoveries contained in the book have been withheld from the general eye, and confined to those initiated persons whose degree of apprehension and habits of thinking were supposed not to disqualify them for an introduction into the greater mysteries, to which it is dangerous to admit over-scrupulous and discriminating inquirers. Owing, however, to some negligence in the hierophant, a copy of these ἀποκρύφα has fallen into the hands of Mr. D'Oyly, a person who is not only destitute of the qualities deemed requisite to its perusal, but who also labours under certain positive disabilities, such as sound learning and accurate judgment. This appears in nothing more, than in the use which he has made of his advantages. Instead of complimenting the author, on the acquaintance with the Asiatic alphabets which he displays, he ventures to doubt\* the soundness of that knowledge. Instead of acquiescing in the *ipse dixit* of the philosopher, he discusses his arguments, and questions his conclusions. Instead of expressing astonishment at the multiplicity of quotations, he inquires into their accuracy and pertinency; and instead of admiring the originality of the ideas, he detects them in a French writer, who had before been kept behind the scenes. It is, indeed, not a little unfortunate, that the author's intention of keeping the distribution of the book within his own hands should have been thus frustrated; and we cannot be surprised at the warmth of his anonymous apologist, Vindex, on finding that a copy of it had been so unworthily disposed of, in defiance of all his prudence.

Our readers, we are sure, will sympathise with Sir W. Drummond, when they understand what slight respect Mr. D'Oyly has shown for his learning, and perceive that the friendship professed in the *Œdipus* for the Scriptures, has appeared enmity in his eyes,

\* Nothing, we observe, excites the indignation of Vindex more than this presumption. 'I shall suggest to you,' he angrily answers, 'that if you mean to dispute Sir W. Drummond's knowledge of the Oriental tongues, I think you might as well consult his published works—for example, his *Essay on a Punic Inscription*, containing a variety of biblical criticism, *royal quarto*; his remarks on an inscription in the island of Malta, in the Ninth Number of the *Classical Journal*, &c.'

owing, perhaps, to his having read the book without first undergoing the necessary process of medicating the intellectual ray with the compound used by the initiated. That they may enter upon the subject with proper feelings, we will acquaint them with the object of the work.

'The intention of the *Œdipus Judaicus* is principally to convert into allegory portions of the Old Testament, which have been always received as historical. For instance: the Book of Joshua conveys an allegorical representation of the reform of the calendar. The existence of the persons and places mentioned in that book, is not denied; but it is contended that when they occur in it, they are used not to designate persons and places, but to convey an allegorical meaning: viz. the name Joshua, is a type of the sun in the sign of the Ram; Jericho means the moon in her several quarters; Jordan is not the river known by that name, but a serpent, the hieroglyphic for the sun's annual orbit. Thus the author proceeds through the whole book, forcing every proper name into some connexion with astronomy; and then affirming that it is used not as a proper name, but as an allegorical symbol. In support of this system he eagerly takes advantage, as may be supposed, of every *number* occurring through the book, which corresponds with any number frequent in astronomy. The twelve tribes of Israel shadow the twelve signs of the Zodiac, or the twelve months of the year. When Jericho is compassed *seven* times, there is an allegory of the seven days of the week. When *five* kings of the Amorites war against Joshua, the five intercalary days are typically represented.'—*D'Oyly's Remarks*, pp. 4, 5.

Now the method of proof, by deriving the proper names from some astronomical term, is certainly attended with one advantage, which is thus pointed out by Mr. D'Oyly.

'It is in the nature of things impossible to *disprove* any proposed method of deducing the etymology of a word, however absurd, fanciful, and strained it may appear to every considerate mind. We may give reasons for rejecting it as highly improbable, and for receiving another, perhaps, as drawn from a far more obvious source; but this is all that we can do; if any person should persevere in maintaining that his own is the best derivation, the question must be left to the judgment of others: it is impossible to *prove* that he is wrong. In some old Monkish histories, the word Britain is derived from Brutus, a supposed descendant of Æneas: now, we may produce reasons without end for disbelieving any connection to have subsisted between Britain, and a person named Brutus; and for either acquiescing in our inability to derive the word at all, or for greatly preferring some other mode of deriving it: but we can do no more; we cannot *confute* the person, who maintains that it certainly is derived from Brutus, and that every other mode of deriving it is comparatively forced and improbable.—Precisely in the same manner, when our author affirms that the word "Amorites" is derived from a Hebrew word signifying a Ram\* (the astronomical sign of

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\* *Œdip. Jud.* p. 207.

Aries); that Balaam comes from a word signifying "to swallow," with allusion to the celestial Dragon;\* Deborah, from Aldebaran, the great star in the Bull's eye,† &c.: we cannot possibly *confute* him, or positively *prove* that he is wrong; we can only hint that these derivations are not *very* obvious or probable, and refer the matter to the common sense of mankind.—p. 20. 'But the unfortunate part is, that every one of the intended derivations might be safely granted to the author, and yet not a single step of advance would be made towards the proof of his allegorical system. Let Sir W. D. prove, in the best manner he is able, the derivation of Hebrew proper names from astronomy. If he should succeed, he would only prove what is antecedently extremely probable, on the supposition that astronomy was a science greatly cultivated, and the only science cultivated, in those early times. For, on this supposition, it would be most natural that very many words and names in the language should bear express allusion to this favourite science. But what more would be proved? They would remain proper names still; they would denote, as before, real persons and places; and the books in which they are mentioned would still contain real histories, instead of being immediately converted into allegorical fables.'—p. 17.

'We will now enable our readers to judge for themselves of the advantages accruing to the cause of revelation, by the allegorical scheme. They remember the four first verses of the Book of Joshua. In the commentary on that passage, contained in the *Œdipus Judaicus*, it is endeavoured to establish,

'That by the words Joshua the son of Nun, we are to understand instead of a real person, the son of another real person, called Nun—"the sun in the sign of Aries, which rises above Cetus or the whale"—that the word Jordan, in this passage, does not signify the river known by that name, but is used metaphorically to signify the ecliptic; that the word translated wilderness, having for its true signification the boundary of the land, is here conceived to mean the horizon; Lebanon the author supposes to have been a name given to the sun, and probably the rising sun; Euphrates he concludes to mean the light of the Zodiacal constellations; and all he can do for the word Hittites at present, is to observe that it is frequently connected with others which bear a distant reference to astronomy.' 'This is the substance of the commentary: and now the meaning,' he says, 'of the allegory seems pretty clear. The style being changed, the equinoctial sun hailed the Saviour, and identified with the Ram or Lamb, opens the year, and is feigned as leading the twelve Zodiacal signs along' (read across) 'the ecliptic.' 'As our author performs so very imperfectly the important part of pointing out what sense will come out from these four verses, on the supposition that his commentary is well founded, and that he has proved the abovementioned words to bear the symbolical meanings which he proposes; I will perform this part for him. Of course, we must take it for granted, that he intends the other words in the passage

\* *Œdip. Jud.* p. 255.† *Ib.* p. 348.

to retain their received meanings; and especially the word "Moses" to remain a proper name, designating a real person, as it always has done; for, assuredly, he would not have omitted to favour the world with his new discoveries respecting this name, if he had made any. On the whole, then, his interpretation of the four first verses of Joshua stands thus:

"Now after the death of Moses, the servant of the Lord, it came to pass that the Lord spake unto the *Sun in the sign of Aries* (which constellation rises above the Whale), Moses's minister, saying, *Moses my servant is dead: now, therefore, arise, go over this ecliptic, thou and all this people, unto the land which I do give unto them, even unto the children of Israel. Every place that the sole of your foot shall tread upon, that have I given unto you, as I said unto Moses; from the horizon and this rising Sun, even unto the flux of light, the light of the zodiacal constellations; all the land of the Chettim, and unto the great sea, towards the going down of the sun, shall be your coast.*"—p. 32.

We attribute it to the misfortune which we suffer in common with Mr. D'Oyly, of not belonging to the initiated party, that, to our understanding, there appears to be a mistake in calling this allegory. In true allegory the principal and secondary subjects are kept distinct; here they are confounded, and the representative subject, the passage of the Israelites, and the thing represented, the passage of the sun, being mingled together, the result is unintelligible absurdity. Moses's minister might, *possibly*, be the representative of the sun in the sign of Aries, but the sun in the sign of Aries could not be actually addressed as the minister of Moses. This ignorance of the nature of allegory, which was known, no doubt, to exist in the persons for whose use the book was intended, is presumed throughout the whole commentary. In a subsequent narrative, it is pretended that Rahab is a personification of space or latitude, who was worshipped as a deity by the Tsabaists:

"— the two men sent out from Shittim "seem to represent," in the reform of the calendar, "the two degrees added to each sign, or the two days added to each lunar month:" that is, the two days added to the lunar months of 28 days, so as to make the year consist of 360 days.

"Thus his version runs as follows: "The Sun in Aries sent out of the heavens two men (meaning two days added to the lunar months), to spy secretly, saying, go view the land, even the moon (or the lunar months); and they went and came into a harlot's house, named "Space or Latitude," and lodged there: and it was told the king of "the moon," &c.—the allegory continues; Space or Latitude personified, hides the two men (meaning the two days added to the months or the two degrees added to the signs), in the roof of the house, lets them down by a cord through the window, stipulates with them that her house should be spared at the capture of the city."—p. 36.

Again, in the course of the history, Joshua conducts his army against a place called Ai: he brings with him 30,000 chosen men,  
of

of whom he selects 5000 to be placed in ambush; the place is at last taken, and 12,000 of the inhabitants are slain. But Ai, it seems, is the calendar; the 30,000 men represent allegorically the thirty days of the month; the 5000 men placed in ambush, the five intercalary days; and the 12,000 men slain after the capture of Ai, the twelve lunar months. Our readers will still observe the same confusion of the literal and allegorical meaning. 'The Reformer, coming to destroy the calendar of the Tsabaists, brings against it the thirty days of the month; the five intercalary days are placed in ambush; after the calendar is destroyed, the twelve months are put to death by the Reformer, &c.'—p. 39.

There are some hypotheses so prepossessing in themselves, that we willingly go great lengths in order to receive them. Such, for instance, is that of Bishop Horne concerning the Psalms, which inclines us to overlook or pardon many forced conceits and overstrained interpretations. We doubt whether it will be generally thought that this new version of the historical Scriptures is entitled to the same favour. Yet such as it is, we find that it cannot be supported without sundry departures from the Hebrew idiom, and alterations of the words, without a defiance of the common rules of interpretation, and a remarkable abuse of the astronomical terms employed—for instance:—

'The author explains, in his Preface, (p. xxvii.) what he means by the term *Paranatellon*: he says that, by the paranatellons of a sign, he means those extra-zodiacal stars, which rise above the horizon, or sink below it, during the time that the sign takes to rise or set. He derives this explanation from his wonted instructor, Dupuis, (*Orig. de tous les Cultes*, v. 3, p. 191,) and I believe it is perfectly correct; the word seldom occurs with modern writers on astronomy, but ancient astronomers used it in this sense. But in what degree does our author adhere to this explanation, or appear even to understand what it means? We may have some means of judging of this by several of his expressions, which I shall subsequently notice; but we may judge, best of all, by a delineation of the sign of Leo with its paranatellons, which he gives in the 16th plate of his *Œdipus Judaicus*. In this delineation, the sphere being projected on the plane of the ecliptic, he has drawn lines (representing secondaries to the ecliptic) from each extremity of the sign of Leo, to the pole of the ecliptic, meeting the ecliptic again on the opposite side: and he describes the constellations included between these, to be the paranatellons of Leo. Thus, such is his radical ignorance of the subject of which he treats, he evidently supposes that those constellations which have the same longitude with Leo, and those which differ in longitude by 180°, rise and set at the same time with Leo. He discusses the matter, in fact, as if the pole of the ecliptic was placed in the horizon; and he appears to be totally unconscious that the elevation of the pole above the horizon makes the entire difference in the relative risings and settings of the stars. Such is the profound know-



ledge of astronomy which our author brings to the discussion, and such the clearness of ideas which he himself displays, when he assumes the office of enlightening the minds of others.'—p. 75.

Again, it suits his purpose to affirm that 'the ship Argo descends into the horizon when the sun rises, at the time of the year when it is in Capricorn;' and he therefore affirms it. 'But,' says Mr. D'Oyly, 'I will request the reader to adapt a celestial globe to the latitude of Egypt—30 N. lat.—he will then find that only a part of the constellation Argo ever rises at all above the horizon; and that every part of it has actually sunk entirely under the horizon, before Capricorn begins to rise, and therefore, before the sun, when in Capricorn, can possibly rise.'—p. 94. It also makes a part of his system, that the sacrifice of the Paschal lamb was a memorial of the transit of the equinoctial sun, and copied from an Egyptian festival. To prove this, it is necessary to pervert the sense of several Jewish Rabbins; and after all, we are to suppose that a ram (i. e. the sun in Aries) was worshipped, because he was sacrificed; and that the solemnity was copied from Egypt, because it appears in fact that the lamb was chosen as a victim, for the express purpose of opposing the Egyptian worship.

"But, say the Rabbins, (it is Sir W. Drummond who speaks,) there was nothing in the Egyptian festival, similar to the custom of the Israelites, in marking the doors, &c. with blood. My opinion is, that there was something very like it. St. Epiphanius says that, about the vernal equinox, the Egyptians had been accustomed, from very remote antiquity, to celebrate the festival of the ram or lamb. At this festival, he adds, they used to mark every thing about them with red. I have not a copy of Epiphanius by me; but I am pretty certain that I have read a passage in him to this effect."

'Sir W. D. (subjoins Mr. D'Oyly) was singularly unfortunate in not having a copy of Epiphanius by him, at the time when he wrote this passage; but I shrewdly suspect that he was more fortunate in having a copy of Dupuis by him, and that he derived from him his method of quoting Epiphanius's words. Dupuis (vol. 3. p. 56) speaks in this manner, "St. Epiphane parle également de la fête de l'agneau, ou du belier, établie en Egypte, dès la plus haute antiquité. Dans cette fête on marquoit tout de rouge pour annoncer le fameux embrasement de l'univers, et elle étoit, comme la paques, fixée au commencement du printemps." Now, what must be the surprise of the reader, when he finds that these writers give a most complete and thorough perversion of Epiphanius's words, and that this author says not a single syllable about an *Egyptian festival of the Ram*, at which every thing was smeared with red, nor speaks at all of any custom subsisting among them *from very remote antiquity*? I will refresh Sir W. D.'s memory, and produce for him the part of Epiphanius which has given rise to this singular perversion.

'Epiphanius is speaking of a sect of Jews, called the Nazareans,  
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who, while they believed in Moses as a lawgiver sent from God, held to be false and spurious the accounts given in the Pentateuch, and, though they conformed to many Jewish ceremonies, rejected every sort of sacrifice. In arguing against these for their disbelief of the Pentateuch, he mentions the following external proof, supplied by an Egyptian custom subsisting in his day, of the truth of the events which are recorded to have taken place at the first institution of the Passover. "But, of the lamb slain in the country of the Egyptians, there is still among the Egyptians celebrated a tradition, even among idolaters: for, at the season when the Passover took place there, (and this is the beginning of spring when is the first equinox) all the Egyptians through ignorance take some red paint, and stain the sheep, stain the trees, the fig-trees, and other things, saying that, as is reported, on that day, fire totally consumed the world; but that the red appearance of blood is a preservative from such disaster."—p. 134.

We must now express our obligation to Mr. D'Oyly for enabling us to judge what sort of interpretation the astronomical allegory gives, and shewing us so skilfully on what foundation it stands. It must be evident to all our readers that it can demand no attention or regard, except what is reflected from the importance of the object it assails. For ourselves, we should certainly have supposed that Sir W. Drummond had printed his lucubrations for the sole amusement of laughing at the zeal which is felt, and the talents which are employed, in defending the cause of religion, were it not for the serious tone of a reply to the first letters of Mr. D'Oyly, published under the title of *Vindex*. There can, we think, be no doubt that *Vindex* is intimately acquainted with the real object and intention of the *Œdipus Judaicus*: indeed he evinces a partiality for the original work which could scarcely be exceeded by the author himself. Now *Vindex* is so far from denying the author of *Œdipus* to be in earnest, that he is angry with Mr. D'Oyly, for apprehending any danger from the allegorical commentary, notwithstanding its author's innocent intentions, who argues, not only that 'the allegorical is often the real sense of the Scriptures, but that if the Old Testament be read with this understanding, it will be found to exalt the character of the Deity as highly as can be imagined by the limited faculties of man.'—*Letters by Vindex*, p. 46. It is no doubt the severest trial to which innocence can be brought, when it is mistaken for guilt; yet it might have mollified *Vindex's* resentment at Mr. D'Oyly's 'misapprehension,' if he had reflected that in spite of the authority of some fallible fathers, and other less sincere friends of revelation, there may be persons so simple and short-sighted as to confound allegory with fable, especially when their connexion is so close, that *Vindex* himself does not always distinguish clearly between them. 'Many have thought, (he says, p. 108.) that Sesostris, Taaüt, Hercules, &c.

were real persons; but it is evident, if it were so, that their history has been abundantly mixed with allegory.' Now our readers will agree with us, that in this passage at least we might substitute the word fable for 'allegory,' without any violation either of the sense or the fact, and will not wonder, therefore, at our requiring a strong case of necessity to be made out, before we admit into an historical record an interpretation of so problematical a nature, that it is liable to be mistaken even by those who are more conversant than we pretend to be in the 'typical, allegorical, and figurative style of the ancient Orientalists.'—p. 46. But as this is a matter of general and supreme importance, we will consider it with all the seriousness to which Vindex pretends.

To prove the necessity of his explanation, Sir Wm. Drummond 'has instanced those passages of the Old Testament, from which, if they be taken literally, we might be led to connect ideas of locality and materiality with our notions of the Deity. Thus he doubts whether it be possible to separate such ideas from the literal interpretation of various texts, in which the Deity is described as dwelling in the sanctuary. He contends, however, that these passages bear a figurative sense, and that when thus understood they must tend to elevate our ideas of the greatness and glory of God.'—p. 51.

Now it must be allowed that the evil effects of the erroneous opinions here attributed to Jews and Christians, have had full time to operate, and that we have ample means to judge of their operation. If the Jews were really led by the literal interpretation of their Scriptures to a false or inadequate notion of the Supreme Being, we should find the evidence of this in every page of their religious and moral history: for it is no imaginary alarm to suppose, that mistaken ideas as to the nature of the Deity will lead to corresponding errors in practice. It would be easy, if this were the place for it, to shew that the moral and religious character of every nation, from China to Peru, bears a very close analogy to their actual belief as to the character of the Deity. But it is quite sufficient to refer to the popular religion of the Greeks and Romans, with which we are so familiarly acquainted, and in which the gods of the state and the gods of the poets were much more confounded than might be imagined from Varro's systematic division. The general belief, every one knows, was in deified men: men who, during their lives, had excelled their contemporaries in the temperament of mind or body, and who had not all, as we are told of Hercules, evaporated their mortal particles at the funeral pile, but retained the vicés of humanity with the power of gods. Here, certainly, the irrational mythology was not contradicted by a rational worship: no one need be told that the religious festivals of the ancients were absurd and licentious, and that they

they were more or less so, in proportion to the character of the particular deity in whose honour they were celebrated; while the argument as to individual practice was as general as it is natural, *Ego homuncio hæc non faciam?* Sir William Drummond, therefore, who is well acquainted with antiquity, apprehended incalculable mischief, if an interpretation were suffered to continue current which ascribed '*locality, materiality, mutability, or unworthy passions*' to the Creator. We are only surprised that it never occurred to him as a just conclusion, that he must be mistaken in supposing such errors could arise from the plain language of the Jewish scriptures addressed to the understanding of a reasonable being, since the effect had never actually appeared in the general belief of the nation. In this respect, what is the real fact? Is it not, that from the earliest date of history to the christian era, the Jews alone had adequate or consistent notions of the Creator? Is it not, that the abstract conceptions on the subject of the divine essence, which we meet with in the Hebrew writings, are as far superior to the excursions of ancient philosophy, as the public devotional worship which existed among the Hebrew people was superior to the popular festivals of Greece and Rome? Throughout the Hebrew nation the Deity was honoured under the same consistent character: viz. as so entirely and solely the governor of the universe, that he was the only proper object of worship, and at the same time as a Being so spiritual, that he could not be either worshipped or represented under any sensible image. This general impression was conveyed from their history to their devotion; and from their worship to their morality. In the peculiar nature of their literary compositions we trace it in a manner not to be mistaken. Inferior in every other species of literature, the Hebrews abounded with poetical addresses to the Supreme Being which infinitely surpass any similar attempts that can be brought into comparison. Their writings contain ideas of omnipotence and omnipresence disgraced by no sensible images; they concur in representing the same invisible and spiritual Being to be the Creator of the world, and the guardian of mankind; above all, they excel in describing the moral attributes of God, his justice, and goodness, and mercy, as existing together, and not counteracting one another. That union of the natural and moral sublime, which forms the acknowledged and distinguishing beauty of the Hebrew poetry, was inspired by the belief generally residing in that nation, of the unity, power, and majesty of the Creator.

Here then we are presented with a phenomenon, considerable in itself, but still more extraordinary when contemplated with reference to the alleged fact of the tendency of the Jewish scriptures. That the Jews should have possessed a more sublime system of belief,

belief, and practised a purer mode of worship than any other ancient nation, is in itself sufficiently remarkable: but that this should be the case, in spite of scriptures tending to degrade the object of their belief and worship, is absolutely unaccountable. Will it explain this problem, to tell us, 'that the learned Jews (like the learned Egyptians and Chaldeans) had their esoteric doctrines? and to contend, at great length, that the allegorical parts of scripture were fully understood as such by the priests and prophets of Judea?' p. 24. We are glad, by the way, to find that there were learned Jews; they have not always been treated with so much courtesy;—but this compliment must not silence us, or prevent our asking what the esoteric doctrines of the Egyptian or Grecian philosophers contributed towards purifying the general practice of their countrymen? The esoteric doctrine of the Egyptians, whatever it was, did not withdraw the mass of the people from their senseless superstition; that of the Chaldeans did not check the worship of the heavenly bodies. The unity, if we may believe Warburton, was taught in the mysteries; yet the ancient hymns are mere depositories of the popular follies. But with regard to the Jewish people; though it is true, that the belief and language of Plato will no more bear comparison with those of Moses, than the conjectures of Copernicus with the demonstrations of Newton: yet it is notorious that a still more remarkable difference confronts us, as we descend in the scale of learning and cultivation. From the highest to the lowest of the people, all worshipped the same God, according to the same form, in the same temple. This fact, and the strong contrast it marks between the Jews and all other ancient nations, is by no means generally treated with the attention it deserves. The familiarity with their history, which we acquire in early infancy, important as it is on many accounts, yet weakens the force of the impression it is calculated to excite; and which it would infallibly excite in every intelligent mind, if the account of their history and polity were first conveyed to us at a period of maturer judgment, and viewed in sober comparison with the other records of antiquity. From the midst of darkness, error, and dispute; from scenes of licentious worship and degrading superstitions, we turn to an unhesitating faith, and a sublime devotion: all around is a desert, a wilderness, and gloom; from the centre of which the Hebrew religion rises to our view, set up like a bright and shining pillar to record the creation of the world, and the God who demands the homage of his creatures.

We confess that under all these circumstances, which must have occurred, it would seem, to one so conversant with history and philosophy as Sir Wm. Drummond, it requires all the strong assurances which *Vindex* gives us, to make it credible that he had no  
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other view than to exalt the character of the Scriptures. Certainly, however, we had rather retain a friend than contend with an enemy: and since Sir William professes to hold out the right hand of amity, we will, if possible, attribute the ridicule which he has rather too freely bestowed on the literal interpretation, to his paternal anxiety about his own hypothesis: a feeling, however unphilosophical, from which philosophers are not always free, and which sometimes leads them to indulge in a warmth of expression not less unwarrantable than otherwise unaccountable. We cannot help fearing indeed, that less candid critics will rather conclude Sir Wm. Drummond to have proposed his objections against the received interpretation of the Old Testament, for the sake of his allegory, than to have resorted to the allegory for the sake of the difficulties. The question, in fact, is not, whether no passages may be culled from the sacred volume, which under the disadvantage of a verbal translation and of the alteration in style and manners, may appear liable to cavil, but whether they ever did, practically, lead to the consequences which the author apprehends. The question is not, whether misemployed ingenuity, coupled with an outrageous defiance of the decent respect with which the common feelings of mankind are wont to invest these high and holy subjects, can succeed in introducing a ludicrous image into writings of a sublime and serious import; but whether it ever did so, to the practical injury of the people to whom these writings were addressed. To this question their history returns a decided negative. But Sir Wm. Drummond, a scholar and a philosopher, and the author of an allegorical commentary, which he calls *Cædipus Judaicus*, affirms that this is their tendency. *Utri creditis, Quirites?* At any rate, as the measure of allegorising an historical narrative appears at first sight somewhat violent, however qualified by the benevolence of the intention; it seems but common prudence to require, before we submit to so harsh a remedy, some sufficient assurance of the existence of the disease: and the evidence which the case demands is not the assertion of the empiric, armed with his knife, or offering his panacea; but an actual weakness, and a visible interruption of the ordinary functions of a healthy constitution. As a proof that the Jews did not exhibit these morbid symptoms, we appeal to the religious belief inculcated in their law, declared in their worship, implied in their sacred literature, and acted upon in their code of morals.

The passages of the Old Testament with which the author of the *Cædipus Judaicus* is most inclined to quarrel (as we collect from *Vindex*) are those which record the several divine appearances. These, it seems, convey an idea of materiality. Of materiality! To whom? To the Jews? who while they addressed the Deity as 'dwelling between the cherubim,' addressed him also as  
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'dwelling with him that is of a contrite and humble spirit.' *Isaiah*, 57. Or to the Christians? who are expressly warned against any false interpretation by the declaration, 'No man has seen God at any time.' But as every one who is qualified to think at all upon the subject attributes these appearances to the immediate messengers of God, authorised to speak in his name: and as we do not, from our own experience, find it necessary to understand the exact nature of a communication, in order to believe that any communication was made;—we must take the liberty of passing this subject, only remarking, that it seems a little unworthy of a master of many languages, to dispute about the word 'angel,' as if he only understood English.

The principal support, however, of the allegorical system, is sought in the much disputed history of the extermination of the seven nations. The author 'thinks indeed that this history if literally understood, would lead us to form notions derogatory to the character of God, as the wise, just, and merciful governor of the world.' p. 98. Mr. D'Oyly had quoted Bishop Watson.

'You think it repugnant to God's moral justice,' says the learned Prelate to Paine, 'that he should doom to destruction the crying or smiling infants of the Canaanites. Why do you not maintain it to be repugnant to his moral justice that he should suffer crying or smiling infants to be swallowed up by an earthquake, drowned by an inundation, consumed by a fire, starved by a famine, or destroyed by a pestilence? The word of God is in perfect harmony with his works; crying or smiling infants are subjected to death in both.'—'Why do you not spurn, as spurious, the book of Nature, in which such facts (as earthquakes, &c. with all their dreadful consequences) are certainly written, and from the perusal of which, you infer the moral justice of God? You will probably reply that the evils which the Canaanites suffered from the express command of God, were different from those which are brought on mankind by the operation of the laws of nature. Different! in what? Not in the magnitude of the evil, not in the subjects of sufferance, not in the author of it.'—pp. 99, 100.

To this Vindex replies:

'I am induced to think that there was a difference. The evils inflicted on the Canaanites resulted from an extraordinary interposition of the divine authority. Evils brought on mankind by the operation of the laws of nature cannot be said to be produced by any such interposition. If the literal interpretation of the Book of Joshua be followed, it is evident that God specially interfered to destroy the seven nations. In the Book of Nature, from the perusal of which I infer the moral justice of the Deity, I can find no example of his interference with the course of nature's laws for the purpose of destroying his creatures.'—p. 103.

In spite of the distinction which this reply professes to establish,  
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we still adhere to the Bishop's argument; and cannot see that the history concludes any thing more against revelation, than the acknowledged existence of evil disproves natural religion. Whether Vindex has considered this knotty question with the accuracy it requires, we have room to doubt, when we find mention made, page 102, of 'a law of nature, permitted indeed by God to operate, but not specially ordained by him, out of the course which nature would otherwise have taken.'

The Deity, it is evident, has allowed great imperfections to exist, both in the natural and moral world. That he could have exempted either, or both, from any evil, is a necessary result of his independence and power. If therefore he could, and did not, the calamities produced by plagues and earthquakes must be attributed to his permissive plan; and that war disturbs the happiness of nations, and cuts short the lives of individuals, must be part of a series of events, present to the divine mind from the foundation of the world. Though his hand is not immediately seen in each particular instance, yet each instance is involved in the general laws established by his will. If, therefore, it was morally wrong that the course of nature should be undistinguishing, or irreparably unjust that the calamitous consequences of war should be universal, the course of nature could not have been so ordained, or the course of human affairs permitted to run into such an evil, either by the God of Deists or Christians. To apply this to the point in hand. That the exterminated nations, considered in a mass, deserved the vengeance of a moral governor by their idolatry and depravity, can no more be disproved on the one hand, than it is denied on the other that there must have been various degrees of demerit, though there was no exemption from the common fate; or that many innocent children, as in every condition and generation of the world, were involved in the punishment of their fathers' guilt. It cannot be pretended by the Deist, that in the usual course of things, uniform regard is paid to the merits of mankind. And what is the conclusion drawn from this inequality? That it will be rectified by retribution in a future state. To the horizon by which our view is bounded, we may justly attribute the perplexing appearance which many of the particular instances of evil convey to our minds: when we see brought within a narrow space what the Creator's comprehensive survey combines with the view of his general dispensations. To us it is an insulated event; to him it is a part of an immense scheme. Our minds are overwhelmed with the present distress, which the Deity sees, not with indifference, but in conjunction with other events, and with the future retribution of which we know nothing. It is not in reality more contrary to justice, that the innocent should share the fate which the guilty have deserved, than that



that virtue should be depressed, whilst vice is triumphant and prosperous. Instances of the former case are of less frequent occurrence; yet either might justly appal us, but for the conviction that the author of the law to which such inequalities are owing holds the recompense in his own hands. In the divine view, to which the eternity awaiting the sufferers under any general calamity, in all its completeness and perfection, is no less present than their immediate misery, that misery is but a point in an interminable line; and appears what it will soon appear, retrospectively, to the sufferers themselves, in comparison with the 'great and unbounded' prospect lying before them.

Vindex adds, p. 103, 'There is also a difference, I humbly think, with respect to the means employed. The unconscious elements, obeying the primordial laws which God gave to nature, sometimes desolate whole cities, and lay waste whole districts. We find that men, that moral agents, were employed to destroy the Canaanites. As moral agents, the Israelites ought not to have been cruel, unjust, rapacious. As moral agents, they ought to have believed that God cannot delight in rapine, bloodshed, and robbery; &c.' At first sight, this is plausible. But what was the situation of the Israelites? It appears on the face of their history, that at the period in question they were living under a theocracy: under the immediate superintendence of the Supreme Being, to whom they owed and paid, not only the worship due to the Creator, but the allegiance due to a temporal sovereign. Their moral duty therefore, in the present case, was simply obedience. It was not their business, though it is thought to be ours, to doubt the justice or canvass the reasons of a judicial determination, of which they were the executive ministers. Where, again, are the Israelites to learn 'that God delights in robbery and bloodshed?' In the judgment which so positively assured them, that he delights *not* in idolatry and wickedness? When they were thus individually employed to wield the sword of divine justice against a guilty nation, and to succeed to the forfeited possessions, they would see in the dispensation the fulfilment, not the violation of moral justice; and the lesson they would imbibe, would be an awful conviction of the severity with which the Moral Governor of the world, who is uniformly represented in their law as just as well as merciful, treats wickedness and punishes idolatry. It was a practical example of the destiny impending over themselves, if they yielded to the guilty actions which they had been specifically enjoined to avenge in others.

There is one, and only one more cavil, of which we cannot be content to leave Vindex in undisturbed possession. Mr. D'Oyly had justly argued, that 'amongst the Jews thus deplorably mistaken,

ken, in supposing that they were reading the history of their ancestors, when they were merely reading astronomical allegories, must be included those who lived immediately subsequent to the date of their supposed histories.' Upon this Vindex takes occasion to inquire, 'Was the Pentateuch certainly written by Moses, and was the book named from Joshua *written by him?*'

'It cannot be denied,' he continues, 'that there are many interpolations in the books mentioned above, if they be, indeed, the same that were written by Moses and Joshua. I conceive it to be needless to point them out. They are sufficiently known. But it may be doubted by some, whether these be interpolations, or not, because it does not seem necessary to consider them as such, unless it be a matter of previous determination, that we shall ascribe the books to Moses and Joshua. There may be persons, who think it sufficient for the purposes of faith to believe that these books were written by some inspired person, without insisting on their being composed by Moses and Joshua;—especially as there is no scriptural injunction, which makes this a necessary article of belief. In a book of the Scriptures, now indeed excluded from the canon, it was distinctly stated, that the books, which might have been really written by Moses and Joshua, had been lost, and that the deficiency had been supplied by the inspired Ezra. There can be no doubt that several of the most distinguished Fathers of the Church have fallen into this error, if an error it certainly be. For my own part I pretend not to make any decision. I only wish to urge, that I see nothing either absurd, or impious, in considering it as a question, upon which every one may be at liberty to think for himself.'—pp. 27, 28.

We shall not be withheld by the delicacy which is so laudable in Vindex, from reminding our readers that the interpolations which he thinks '*sufficiently known*,' consist in the substitution of the modern for the obsolete name of two or three towns mentioned in the Pentateuch; and in an allusion which we find in Deuteronomy to the kings of Israel, and which evidently implies a writer subsequent to the establishment of the monarchy. The former instance we naturally ascribe to an honest but misjudging copyist, who was more anxious that the sacred text should be immediately understood by his readers, than to preserve it entire; the latter was undoubtedly introduced into the text from a remark originally appended to the margin. The known effect of similar errors, which are found in every ancient writer, is to furnish strong presumption against the authenticity of the passage in which they occur; but who would pardon the critic that should question the reputation of the work in which they are found, on grounds so slight and so easy of solution, even if it had no other evidence in its favour than the general testimony of antiquity?\*

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\* Whoever wishes to see the principal arguments for the genuineness, and antiquity of the Pentateuch brought together within the compass of half an hour's reading, will do well

In what follows, we must observe that the exclusion of what is commonly called, the second book of Esdras, from the canon, is not the consequence of banishment, as Viudex leaves us to suppose, but of illegitimacy; and that the book is said to be '*now indeed excluded from the canon,*' with the same propriety as a man might be spoken of as now dead, who had never been born: inasmuch as it never had an existence in any canon, Jewish, Roman, Catholic, or Protestant. With respect to the alleged loss of the writings of Moses and Joshua, and the supply of their deficiency by the '*inspired Ezra,*' if this account were founded on any credible authority, it must really prove what the writer professes to have received, immediate inspiration; for this alone could transport Ezra from his own natural style, in which the return from Babylon is related, to the authoritative manner and lofty tone which characterize the books of Exodus and Deuteronomy. But as it must be totally vain to address internal evidence to a person who can read what is commonly called the second book of Esdras, without perceiving it to be the composition of a writer conversant with the Christian Scriptures, and in particular with the epistles of St. Paul: we will take other ground, and briefly ask of Viudex, how he intends to account for the agreement between the Samaritan and Jewish Pentateuch? The ancestors of the Samaritans, it is well known, seceded from their brethren soon after the death of Solomon. Allowing, therefore, the authority of the uncanonical Esdras, the coincidence between their copy, and the Hebrew, can only be ascribed to one of the three following causes: either he adopted the books from the Samaritans, which had been preserved by them as sacred and authentic during their separation; or he persuaded the bitter enemies and rivals of the tribe of Judah, to credit his imposture, and accept his forgery; or his own account must be believed to the letter, and the agreement of the copies must be referred to miraculous inspiration. Here is unquestionably a phenomenon which can only be explained by one of these solutions, and we readily leave objectors to Moses, and believers in Esdras, to take their choice among them.

It is curious, in a philosophical point of view, to observe the anomalous state of the reasoning powers exhibited by acknowledged sceptics. Their peculiarity seems to consist in a promptitude to receive any thing as true, provided it be not confirmed by revelation. They cannot think it credible, that God should declare to man the purpose of his being. They cannot believe, that in order to prepare the way for a more general promulgation of his coun-

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well to consult a pamphlet by Dr. Marsh, entitled '*The Authenticity of the Five Books of Moses vindicated,*' in which the objections here alluded to are refuted with all the acuteness and perspicuity which so eminently characterise the learned professor.

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sels, he preserved among a particular people the records of the creation,—that he testified his existence, and bore witness to his design, by rescuing that people from bondage through miraculous interpositions of power:—that he assigned them a particular country, and prescribed to their observance peculiar ceremonies, as a memorial of the miraculous evidence by which he had proclaimed them the chosen depositaries of the records entrusted to them:—that, finally, he forbade them, under pain of grievous national misfortunes, from adliering or apostatising to the senseless idolatry of the neighbouring nations, but enjoined them to worship one God, as the creator of the world, who had given them sensible evidence of his existence and power. 'This, it seems, a deist cannot reconcile to his ideas of credibility; notwithstanding its apparent agreement with reason, and the general situation of mankind; notwithstanding the phenomena which are solved by its truth, and the difficulties which embarrass its rejection; notwithstanding the evidence of a long series of writings by which it is supported, and the historical testimony by which it is confirmed. But the stubbornness of the sceptics' incredulity in some cases, bears no proportion to the avidity of their belief in others. They *can* believe that God created man, and left him ignorant of the circumstances of his origin: that he gave him a mind capable of receiving ideas, yet did not enable him to express those ideas in language. They *can* believe that a nation existed, venerating certain monuments, and sacredly observing certain institutions, in memory of certain events, which events never took place:—a nation annually celebrating a very particular ceremony, and habitually consecrating all their first-born male children, in memory of a deliverance, which never occurred—a nation possessing laws expressly founded on facts of which the records are interwoven with them, and which appeal to the knowledge of the facts professed by the first receivers of the law, when the facts themselves never happened. They *can* believe, that the Jewish people received themselves, and entailed upon their posterity, without any assignable cause, statutes expressly forbidding them to intermix with other nations, though they were anxiously desirous of that seemingly innocent intercourse; statutes binding them to abstain, on certain appointed seasons, from business and amusement; to leave their land uncultivated one year in seven, and to desert their abodes and go up to their capital annually,—and all this on pain of certain imaginary vengeance to be inflicted by they knew not whom. Lastly, they *can* believe, that the people, in gratitude for these burthensome edicts, held their law in such veneration as to read parts of it publicly once in seven days, and the whole of it every seventh year; not allowing the lapse of time, or change of cir-

cumstances to justify the wilful alteration of a single letter of the original; and were so zealous in defence of this voluntary burthen, as to sacrifice their lives in vindication of it—for no stronger reason, or more cogent obligation, than because it had been promulgated by one of their fallible ancestors. Surely, these symptoms of infidel credulity betray strong proofs of a diseased state of the intellectual organs. At all events, they may satisfy us that believers are not alone subject to the charge of undervaluing the laws of evidence; of overlooking difficulties and embracing inconsistencies, or of subscribing to the strong language of the ancient father, *Credo, quia impossibile est.*

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ART. V. *Vagaries Vindicated; or, Hypocritic Hypercritica. A Poem addressed to the Reviewers.* By George Colman the Younger. London. 1813.

THE first virtue of a Reviewer, and that for which, in general, he gets the least credit, is *patience*. To read, to quote, to dissect dulness and absurdity, are tolerable, or perhaps we should say, intolerable trials of temper: but to abstain from answering our answerers, is (and of this we may be permitted to judge) the greatest exertion of critical self-denial. Our angry antagonists are so sure to be in the wrong, and to prove us in the right, to flicker about the light which we hold out to them till they burn their wings, that it is with the utmost difficulty we refrain from saying in a succeeding Number, that our ‘observations on ——— and ——— have been enforced and elucidated with laudable accuracy, but rather too much of satiric severity, by ——— and ——— themselves, in their admirable “Answers to the unfounded Aspersions, &c. &c.”’

But—‘laud we the Gods!’ here is ‘an answer’ which we may, nay, which we must notice. It professes to be not merely an answer, but, in one sense, an original work, and not an original work only, but *a poem*,—a regular poem, of eight hundred or a thousand heroic lines!—magnificently printed in quarto, with appropriate mottos in Latin and English, an Advertisement abounding with fury and pleasantry, and notes amounting almost to the dignity of a perpetual commentary.

Our senior-junior, ‘George Colman the Younger,’ has printed (we dare not say published) this exquisite poem to prove two things, First, That the dulness and obscenity of his former work are perfectly justifiable, and that our reprehension of these laudable characteristics was perfectly unjustifiable; Secondly, That he despises our reprehensions aforesaid, and treats them with *silent contempt* and *utter indifference*. And we must in candour confess, that

that his poem proves the truth of the first of his positions, just as strongly as it does that of the second.

His leading argument in defence of his obscenity is expressed in the following very cogent lines—

‘ Once more, then, to my first imputed crime,—  
Those double meanings that disgrace my rhyme ;  
Why, all who understand them know no more  
Of evil, than they understood before ;  
And all who do not, are no wiser grown,  
Would critics let the simple souls alone.’

By this reasoning our readers will observe, that nothing can be more innocent than the grossest double entendres, the most downright filth, because, according to this excellent dilemma, those who understand the obscenity understood it before, and those who did not understand it before, would still remain in utter ignorance, but for the mischievous zeal of critics, who explain these horrors to uninitiated innocence.

Now, if we had followed this author with a dirty commentary, if we had explained and glossed upon his filthy innuendos, we should have been almost as bad as himself ; and he would have had good ground (not indeed of self-exculpation, but) of accusation against us. But certainly our remarks are not liable to this imputation ; we were not so wanting in taste and decency as to quote any of his double or his single meanings. Of his dulness and absurdity we gave, to our own annoyance and the disgust of our readers, some specimens ; but of his *other* quality, we contented ourselves with saying that he eminently possessed it : and we had too much respect for our office, our readers, and ourselves, to descend into particulars and run the risk of spreading the contagion, by exhibiting the spots and plague-marks of his infected *Vagaries*.

For the same reasons we shall not now pursue him into the other parts of his defence,—*defence* do we say ! his *applause*, of

———— ‘ the laugh-exciting equivoque,  
The *salt* allusion, and the *broad*er joke.’—p. 58.

For all reviewers, but for us in particular, he entertains, as we have already hinted, the most profound, but the most *silent*, contempt, which he expresses somewhat in the Irish mode, by the most violent and obstreperous abuse.—Take a sample—

‘ Come, *hackney’d* critic, shock’d at every speck  
In my o’er censured Lady of the Wreck ;  
Pope of a *prostituted* press ; who choose  
To thunder bulls against a *trifling* muse ;  
A half Tenth Leo—*sensual* as he,  
But no encourager of poetry :

Come, *canting* Chiron—*Mentor from a stew*;  
*Vocal* impartialist of a Review; &c.—p. 12.

All this perhaps may have a meaning; probably, if it resembles the rest of this ingenious author's works, it may even have a *double* meaning, but that it can in any case mean indifference and silent contempt of his critics, is what Mr. Colman, or even an abler advocate of absurdity, would find it hard to convince us.

But we must not give up too much time to Mr. Colman and his Answer. If we were malevolent towards him, we should make large extracts from his 'poem;' but we have no enmity to him or to 'his *trifling* muse,' as with great truth and candour he characterizes his intellect; he may *trifle* as long as he will, but he shall not *corrupt*, not at least undetected and unchastised.

Mr. Colman affects a taste for Shakespeare; we hope he will thank us for recalling and recommending to his serious consideration the admonitory observation which Henry the Fifth addresses to one who had a thousand times more gaiety and wit, and not many more years than Mr. George Colman the Younger—

————— 'Fall to thy prayers, old man:  
 How ill white hairs become a fool and jester!'

ART. VI. ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ ἩΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΑΙ. *Euripidis Heraclidee.*

*Ex recensione* Petri Elmsley, A. M. *qui annotationes suas et aliorum selectas adiecit.* Oxonii, excudebat Samuel Collingwood. 1813. pp. 144.

IF the comparative merit of the three great tragedians were to be estimated from the quantity of their writings which have been preserved to us, Euripides would undoubtedly bear off the palm: and it seems not unreasonable to conclude, that the critics of antiquity thought most highly of that poet, whose works have been handed down to posterity the least impaired. Certain it is that Euripides was more universally read than either of his brother tragedians; his poems are more frequently cited for the purposes of illustration by writers on ethics; and we know that Chrysippus made such extensive use of the *Medea* of Euripides in a certain treatise, that the work was called in derision, 'the *Medea* of Chrysippus.' In point of fact, however, these circumstances afford but an uncertain criterion; since other causes may be assigned, sufficient to account for the superior care with which the tragedies of Euripides seem to have been preserved. One is to be found in his moralizing and sentimental turn; and in the vast number of precepts applicable to the ordinary relations of life, interspersed through all his writings. In the perusal of his plays we see no traces of that

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'fine frenzy' which bursts out in almost every scene of Aeschylus; our attention is not kept on the stretch by that sustained and majestic tone which is the peculiar characteristic of Sophocles; but there is more which comes home to every man's reason and feelings, less poetry indeed, but more common sense. Euripides was unquestionably a more attentive observer of human nature than either of his predecessors in the drama; he was more versed in the learning of the times, and a better philosopher. In the first and last of these points his superiority was so conspicuous, that his enemies (of whom he seems to have had not a few) insinuated that he was assisted in the composition of his dramas by Socrates. Hence his plays were better adapted for the instruction of youth, and more frequently cited by writers on ethics and physics; the natural consequence of which was, the multiplication of copies of his works. A poet who expressed, in simple and perspicuous language, precepts adapted to the mechanic and the husbandman, no less than to the hero or the king, and who clothed in melodious numbers the most abstruse doctrines of natural as well as moral philosophy, would of course be more generally read than those, whose superior polish or loftier flights of poetry could be justly appreciated only by men of refined feeling and liberal education. And that this was the case with Euripides, is proved in a remarkable manner, by the well-known story of the Athenian captives, who returned after the Sicilian expedition, from which it appears, that even the common people of Athens had the verses of this poet at their fingers' ends.

The peculiar merit of Euripides is thus sensibly and shortly stated by a critic of antiquity. 'Menander's accurate and graceful delineations of character, surpassed all the strength and raciness of the older comic poets; and the sweetness and persuasiveness of Euripides, although it fall short of the dignified elevation of tragedy, render him very useful to a man engaged in active life, and powerful in representing the manners and passions of his characters. Being not unskilled in philosophy, he intermingles with his poetry precepts and axioms serviceable to all conditions of men.'

From these causes it proceeds, that the general estimation in which the plays of Euripides were held, is by no means inconsistent with the fact of his poetical inferiority; a fact, of which we know, from the testimony of Aristophanes and Dio Chrysostom, that the critics both of the same and subsequent ages were sufficiently sensible. Both those excellent judges condemn in him as a defect, the very quality, which probably procured to his works so general a circulation, viz. his sententiousness. Euripides was lamentably given to moralize. In the very midst of some pathetic apostrophe or burst of passion, an impertinent γνώμη foists itself in, and



destroys all the effect. In the Supplices, Adrastus, in the greatest distress, makes piteous application to Theseus, prostrating himself on the ground and embracing his knees. Theseus, instead of answering, begins a soliloquy on the sum of human happiness and misery, between which he institutes a comparison extended through fifty lines, the result of which is, that there are three orders of citizens, of which the middle one is best behaved, and in consequence he professes himself unable to give any assistance to Adrastus. Some editors of ancient authors have, with a laudable regard for their readers, taken care to indicate the occurrence of a *gnome*, by planting opposite to it a finger post, or by inclosing it in inverted commas; the obvious purpose of which is, to point out all those parts which may be omitted without detriment to the sense. By means of this device we are enabled to go very expeditiously through Euripides, who is decorated with as many of these direction-posts as any of the cross ways in the neighbourhood of London.

Another gross fault in Euripides is the introduction of low or ridiculous characters, or of ludicrous speeches in the mouth of grave personages. If it has been objected to him that he makes his slaves and heralds talk like philosophers and princes, it is no less true that his kings and heroes sometimes descend from the elevation of the buskin into low and colloquial phraseology. Every reader of taste must be disgusted with the vulgar and absurd scene of the Orestes, in which the Phrygian slave is introduced. At v. 729 of the play before us is a remarkable instance in which the judgment of the poet forsook him, or accommodated itself to the humour of the spectators. The low jocularly of the servant, and the energetic feebleness of Iolaus, who hobbles slowly across the stage praising his own celerity and vigour, reminds us of the valour of Sir Andrew Aguecheek. The voraciousness of Hercules, the great *gourmand* of antiquity, is injudiciously displayed in the most interesting and critical part of the Alcestis, and it is not in the dignified tone of royalty that Menelaus threatens to give an old man a bloody corcomb, who refuses to deliver up to him a certain letter. The principal defects of Euripides are well summed up in the following words. Τὸ δὲ πανουργὸν, κομψοπρεπὲς τε καὶ γνῶμολογικὸν, ἀλλότριον τῆς τραγῳδίας. Of his inconsistency there are many instances; some of which Musgrave has noticed in the present play. It was remarked of him long ago, ἐναντία πολλάκις ἑαυτῷ λέγει.

Of the seventeen tragedies of Euripides which have survived the general wreck of literature, those which stand first in the common arrangement, are unquestionably the first also in merit. And this probably is the reason, why they have experienced the fate of favourite children, who have been caressed and nursed up, while the younger branches of the family lay in piteous plight, crying in  
vain

vain for assistance. So much has been done for the first seven or eight plays by skilful bonesetters, that we have them now tolerably free from dislocations and flaws, and in so respectable a condition, that they would probably be recognized by Euripides as his legitimate offspring. One or two indeed have fallen under the hands of very violent operators, and have been almost entirely rebuilt upon a new model, ὥστε μηδένα Γυνῶναι φίλων ἰδόντ' ἄν ἄθλιον δέμας, while the remainder have been obliged to rest contented with an occasional visit bestowed upon them ἐν παρόδῳ by some compassionate critic, and to envy the more fortunate lot of their elder brothers and sisters.

The Heraclidæ, who experienced rough treatment during their lifetime, have long remained in a neglected state, without any particular demerit on their part; on the contrary M. Prévost, who made them a present of a French dress, thinks them a very deserving family. It was therefore with great pleasure that we found them introduced to us by Mr. Elmsley, washed and combed, and their clothes neatly mended. They are now fit company for genteel people; and may take their place by the side of the queen of Troy, the prince of Argos, the fifteen Phœnician ladies, and the princess royal of Colchos.

Mr. Elmsley in the volume before us gives a corrected text, a collation of the Aldine edition, select annotations of preceding commentators, and his own very valuable remarks. We are certainly under the full influence of that laudable propensity of critics, which disposes us to find fault; but we are nevertheless compelled to acknowledge, that Mr. Elmsley's annotations are one of the happiest mixtures of critical and illustrative remark that has ever been bestowed upon any portion of the Greek drama. We do not agree with him in all his restorations of the text, nor in all his interpretations, and we shall freely state the grounds of our dissent; but these points of difference are few and unimportant, in comparison of the instances in which we recognize the hand of the skilful critic and the judicious interpreter. We shall now specify the principal features which distinguish the present from preceding editions, and suggest to Mr. Elmsley's consideration a few remarks which may perhaps tend to its further improvement.

V. 1. Πάλαι ποτ' ἴσθι τούτ' ἰμοὶ διδογμένοι. We prefer τοῦτό μοι διδογμένοι, the reading of Stobæus. The emphasis should be thrown upon τοῦτό, and not upon the pronoun, which to a certain degree it is, as the verse now stands. The same reasoning does not apply to v. 818. of the *Medea*.

3. Ὁ δ' εἰς τὸ κέρδος λῆμ' ἔχων ἀνιμνέιν. '*Propensum in lucrum plerique interpretes. Malim lucro deditum.*' P. E. We render it, *solutum in lucrum*. Virgil, *Aen. IV. 530. Solutur in somnos*. Georg. IV. 198. *nec cor-*

*pora segnes In Venerem solvunt.* Herod. II. 173. ἀνίτας ἰαυτὸν ἐς παρτίαν. Androm. 723. Ἀνιμένοι τι χρῆμα πρσιβυτῶν γίνεσ. i. e. *solutum in usum.* Plato Rep. VIII. p. 447. ἀναιδὸς καὶ λίαν ἀνιμένος. i. e. *solutus.*

7. Ἐξὸν κατ' Ἄργος ἡσύχως ταῖνι---ἡσύχων P. E. We prefer Mr. Elmsley's second correction, ἡσύχων, which he rejects. Aesch. Eum. 888. Ἐξίστι γὰρ σοι τῆσδε γαμῶρι χθονὸς εἶναι δικαίως εἰς τὸ πᾶν τιμαμένη. [*Vulg.* τῆσδ' ἡ ὑμῶρου. Aldus τῆσδ' ἡ ἑμῶρου.] Soph. El. 911. ἔργα μὲν πρὸς θεοὺς ἔξιστ' ἀκλειέστω τῆσδ' ἀποστῆναι στίγης. V. 366. οὐν δ', ἐξὸν πατρὶς Πάντων ἀρίστου παιδὶ κεκλησθαι. [*Vulg.* παῖδα.]

8. πῶνι Πλείστον μετίσχοι εἰς ἀνὴρ Ἡρακλῆι. — Πλείστον P. E. a correction which we do not think necessary. Aesch. Pers. 325. Κλίαν ἱπάρχος, εἰς ἀνὴρ πλείστον πῶνι Ἐχθροῖς παρασχόν. Soph. Trach. 460. οὐχὶ χάτιρας Πλείστας ἀνὴρ εἰς Ἡρακλῆς ἔγχευ δῆ; Herodot. VI. 127, & ἐπὶ πλείστον δὲ χλαδὴς εἰς ἀνὴρ ἀπείκετο. The phrase εἰς ἀνὴρ occurs also Soph. Oed. T. 1380. Κάλλιστ' ἀνὴρ εἰς ἦν γι ταῖς Θήβαις τραφίς. Xenoph. Anab. I. ix. 12. Καὶ γὰρ οὐν πλείστοι δὲ αὐτῶ. ἐπὶ γι ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἰφ' ἡμῶν ἰπεθόμεσαν καὶ χρήματα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἰαυτῶν σώματα προῖσθαι. Ibid. 22. Δύρα δὲ πλείστα μιν, οἶμαι, εἰς γι ἀνὴρ ὦν, ἰλάμβανι διὰ πολλά.

19. Πίμπων ἐπὶ γῆς πυνθάνοιθ' ἰδρυμένους. Mr. Elmsley reads ὅποι, and quotes Mr. Porson's authority for taking ὅποι, *quasi esset ὅπου.* Our opinion is this; ὅποι signified *whither*, and ὅπου *where*; and when the sense required ὅπου and the metre admitted it, we do not think it probable that a Grecian would have used ὅποι. The copyists, we know, perpetually interchanged πῶ, ποῖ, and πῇ, and since we may preserve an uniformity of usage, without injury to the metre, the laws of sound criticism oblige us so to do, rather than retain a word which signifies one thing, and say that it must be taken as if it were quite another. In v. 529. where the construction is precisely similar to that of the verse before us, Mr. E. retains the common reading, Ἥγειθ', ὅπου δαῖ σῶμα κατθανοῖν τόδι. In v. 46. for Ζητοῦσ', ὅπη γῆς πύργου οἰκισόμεσθα, he gives ὅποι. One MS. has ὅπου, the true reading. Soph. Oed. 369. Ζητοῦσα τῇν σῇν, ποῦ κατοικοῖη, τροφῇ. In v. 744 of the Helena, ὡς ἔχουθ' ὑῤῥημα, οὐ τ' ἰσμεν τύχης is Tyrwhitt's correction. *Vulg.* εἰ τ' ἰσμεν.

21. Πόλιν προτιμῶν Ἄργος οὐ συμκρὰν φίλῳ Ἐχθρῶν γι θέσθαι, χ' αὐτὴ εὐτυχοῖνθ' ἄμα. Mr. Elmsley adopts *προτείνων*, the correction of Canter, and conjectures that φίλοις should be substituted for φίλῳ, but remarks in the notes, 'Conjecturam meam, *προτείνων φίλοις*, hodie *supervacaneam esse suspicor.* Genitivum enim in simili locutione adhibet Herodotus IX. 4. Ταῦτα δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπίστευτε, προίχων μὲν Ἀθηναίων οὐ φίλῳς γνώμας, ἐλπίζων δὲ σφίας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης, ὡς δορυαλῶτου ἐούσης πύσης ἐπὶ Ἀττικῆς χώρας. Now, that the words *προίχων μὲν*, &c. cannot mean *holding out to the Athenians no friendly intentions*, is clear, for more reasons than one. In the first place, Mardonius did hold out to the Athenians friendly intentions, and sent both embassies for that very purpose, ἡμεῖς μὲν μεγάλα προτείνοντες, ἰφ' οἷσι ὁμολογῶμεν ἰθὺλοισι. Secondly the sense which Mr. Elmsley gives to *προίχων*, belongs solely to the middle voice *προίχεται*; See Thom. Magist. p. 740. Duker on Thucyd. I. 140. Völschewier. Callim. Eleg. p. 224. Aem. Port. Lex. Ion. in v. We conjecture that for *προίχων* Herodotus used some such word as *προτείνων*.

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The passage of Euripides ought, we conceive, to stand thus; Πόλις προ-  
τείνει Ἄργος, οὐ σμικρὸν φίλον ἔχθραν τ' ἴσισθαι. *Holding out to them, that*  
*Argos would be no contemptible friend, and no contemptible foe.* This is  
confirmed by v. 156, where the same alternative is held out by Copeus.  
At all events φίλον must not be coupled with προτείνων, which requires  
a dative case, as in Aesch. Prom. 775. Eurip. in Stob. p. 453.\*  
Lastly we do not think, with Mr. Elmsley, that καὶ is united to αὐτὸν  
by *crasis*, but that it suffers elision, and should be written χ' αὐτὸν  
rather than χαῖτόν. Thus χ' ὄσπερ is for καὶ ὄσπερ, and χόσπερ of  
χῶσπερ for καὶ ὄσπερ. In v. 174, are the words χ' ἦν μίσω πολλὸς χρόνος.  
Mr. Elmsley remarks, 'Ex ὅ is fit ὄν, ex καὶ ὄν, χροῦν, quod reposui.'  
We should proceed thus: from καὶ and ὅ is formed χ' ὡ, and from χ' ὡ is  
formed χῶν. Mr. Elmsley prints ὅτ' ἂν for ὅται. We think that ὅται,  
ἑσῶται and ἑπιδῶν were anciently written as one word, and that their  
component particles, as the Grammarians say, *arctissime cohaerent*.  
Thus ἰὼν is compounded of ἰ ἂν, *if by chance*, ἑπὶ τα, *after*  
*these things*, which was shortened into ἰτα. If ὅτ' ἂν were written sepa-  
rately, we should probably find some passage, where a word is inter-  
posed between the two particles, of which we do not remember an  
instance.

38. τῆνδ' ἀφικόμεσθ' ὄρν. Other editors have ὀδόν, which is also  
adopted by Mr. Elmsley, who observes, 'Ζωδίων pro ζωρίων restituendum  
Scholiastæ ad Apoll. Rhod. I. 1265.' The passage is this, ὅ δ' ὀδοτροί,  
ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐπιπλεόντων ζωρίων, where ζωρίων is a mere blunder of the  
Oxford printers; the Edition of H. Stephens has ζωαρίων, as it is cited  
by Phavorinus p. 1286, 9.

52. εἴθ' ὅλοι, χῶ πύψας ἀνὴρ. — πύψας ὁ ἀνὴρ tacite et praeter ne-  
cessitatem Barnesius. P. E. Barnes's correction is not indeed necessary,  
but we think it highly probable. Alcest. 754. Ἐρρις νυν αὐτὸς χ' ἡ  
ξυνοικήσαρά σοι. In v. 519, of the Supplices of Aeschylus Mr. Porson  
restored Οὗτοι πτερωτοῖς ἀρπαγαῖς Σ' ἐκδωσομεν.

53. ὡς πολλά δὴ — ἡγγυίας κακῶ. — ὡς πολλά δὴ P. E. a correction  
which we do not conceive to be absolutely necessary. ὡς does not sig-  
nify *adeo*, as the Latin version has it; but is used for ἑπὶ, as in Hecub.  
971. Phoen. 1678. Orest. 795. 1603. Hipp. 1115. Alc. 207. 800. Suppl.  
394. Cycl. 167. Soph. Ant. 66. Aj. 274. Phil. 118. El. 470. Aesch.  
Prom. 517. 1066. Theb. 980. Pers. 563. It is also to be restored  
to Oed. Col. 45. for ὥστ'.

64. Οὗτοι βίᾳ γ' ἔμ', οὐδὲ τοῖσδ' ἀξίς λαβών. 'Vim particularum οὗτοι—  
γ' in hoc versu melius Anglice quam Latine explicare possum, *Surely*  
*you will not take us away by force.* A more accurate translation  
would be, *Assuredly you shall not take us away by force.* The particles  
οὐδ' τοι, to the best of our recollection, are never used except in posi-  
tive assertions, where no doubt is expressed. See Alc. 718. Phoen.

\* Helen. 452. Ἄ' μὴ προσίλα χεῖρα, μὴδ' ὅθει βίᾳ. We had formerly corrected,  
Ἄ' μὴ πρὸταται χεῖρα. Now, however, we believe the true reading to be, Ἄ' μὴ πρὸς τῇ  
χεῖρα. Herc. Fur. 1218. Τί μοι προσίεν χεῖρα, σημαίνει φόνον; Read, Τίν' αὖ, προσίεν  
χεῖρα, σημαίνει φόνον; or, Τίν' αὖ προσίεν, χεῖρι σημαίνει, φόνον; Thucyd. VI. 86.  
ἄλλαν προσίεντες φέβον. See Ruhnkens on Timaeus, v. 642.

Ἄλλ' ὅδε γὰρ δὴ βασιλὺς χώρας Τῆσδε. Once only we have found the simple particle μὴ in a similar situation. Soph. Ant. 626. Ὅδε μὴν Αἴμων. Mr. Elmsley observes, that καὶ μὴν in the above formula is not followed by γι in the same sentence, 'quod in diversa significatione plerumque post eas collocatur.' The particles καὶ μὴν occur without γι in Alc. 653. Suppl. 1009. Aesch. Prom. 254. 1080. Theb. 446. Choeph. 172. Soph. Oed. T. 1005. Ant. 558. 1054. In the Alcestis, v. 713, for Καὶ μὴν Διὸς γι μίξον' αἱ ζώοις χρόνοι, read, μίξονα ζώοις χρόνοι.

141. Ἐκ τῆς ἱμαντοῦ δραπίτας τούτους ἔχων. Mr. Elmsley prints Ἐκ γῆς ἱμαντοῦ, but afterwards properly recalls the old reading. Xenoph. Cyr. I. p. 14. ἔξω τῆς ἱμαντοῦ. Anab. IV. viii. 6. ὅτι καὶ ὑμῖς ἐπὶ τῇ αἱματίᾳ ἔρχισθε. For δραπίτας τούτους, Scaliger and Barnes read τοῦτο δὲ δραπίτας, which we prefer, with Mr. Elmsley. Sophocl. *ap. Stob.* l. ix. p. 227. Grot. Τί τοῦδε χάσμα μίξον αἱ λάβοις ποτι.—For τοῦδε the edition of Trincavellus has τούτου. Plutarch in *Æmil. Paul. sub init.* quotes, Φῦ, Φῦ τί τούτου χάσμα μίξον αἱ λάβοις—which is probably the genuine verse of Sophocles, though it is there cited without the author's name. The whole fragment we would read as follows, Φῦ, Φῦ, τί τούτου χάσμα μίξον αἱ λάβοις, Ἡ γῆς ἐπιφαιῦσαι τε, κατ' ἐπὶ στήγῃ Πυκνῆς ἀποῦσαι ψικᾶδος εὐδοῦσθαι φρονί; We cannot forbear enlivening the dulness of our minute criticisms by comparing the above fragment with the following lines of Tibullus l. i. 45. *Quam juvat immites ventos audire cubantem, Et dominam tenero continuisse sinu! Aut gelidas hybernus aquas cum fuderit Auster, Secutum somnos, imbre juvante, sequi.*

O, when the growling winds contend, and all  
The sounding forest fluctuates in the storm,  
To sink in warm repose, and hear the din  
Howl o'er the steady battlements, delights  
Above the luxury of vulgar sleep.

ARMSTRONG, *Art of Health*, I. 288.

To return to our Greek, Aesch. Pers. 733. Ναί' λόγος κρατεῖ σαφηνέσ' τοῦτό γ' οὐκ ἔνι στάσις. Read, τῷδε γ' οὐκ ἔνι στάσις, which was first changed into τούτῳ γ' and then into τοῦτό γ'. Compare with the old editions Soph. Phil. 1203. El. 230. and see Eurip. Hecub. 310. as cited by Aspasius in Aristot. fol. 1. b. Phaethon Fragg. III.

144. Αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτῶν. *Nos in nosmet.* κατ' αὐτῶν P. E. who says, 'Persuasum habeo, Sophoclem et Euripidem nunquam αὐτὸν et similia de prima aut secunda persona usurpasse.'

145. Πολλῶν δὲ καλλῶν. 'Notæ sunt locutiones πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι, πολλὰ καὶ δινα, πολλὰ καὶ κακά, et similes, in quibus καὶ nihil sententiæ addit. Noster Suppl. 573. Πολλοὺς ἔτλην δὲ χατίρους ἄλλους πόρους.' P. E. This mode of expression was familiar to all the best writers. Homer Il. X. 44. Ὅς μ' υἱὸν πολλῶν τε καὶ ἰσθλῶν εὖνιν ἔθηκε. Theognis. 426. Πολλοὺς αἱ μισθοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἔφερον. Hecataeus *ap. Demetr. de Eloc.* 12. οἱ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι πολλοὶ τε καὶ γελῶδοι. Aesch. Pers. 244. Ὡςτι Δαρίου πολὺν τε καὶ καλὸν φθειραὶ στρατόν. Agam. 63. Πολλὰ παλαίσματα καὶ γυμνασθῆ. Soph. Trach. fin. Πολλὰ δὲ πῆματα καὶ καινοπαθῆ. Eurip.

Alc.

Alc. 708. ἀποδοῖς πολλὰ καὶ ψευδὴ κακὰ. Andr. 942. πολλὰ καὶ κακὰ. Chionides *ap. Polluc.* X. 43. Πολλοὺς ἐγὼ καὶ κατὰ σὲ κακίας. Plato *Lys.* p. 106. πολλοὶ καὶ καλοὶ. Xenoph. *Symp.* p. 152. ed. Schneider. πολλὰ καὶ σοφὰ λέγειν. Demosth. *Ol.* III. 9. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ καλὰ.

153. Συμφεράς κατοικτίσιν—κατοικτίειν P. E. Alcest. 700. εἰ τὸ παροῦσαι κατθανεῖν πείσεις αὐτὴν Γυναιχ' ὑπὲρ σου, κατ' ἐπιδίδεις φίλος. Read ἐπιδίδεις.

154. Φέρ' ἀνίθεις γὰρ, τοῖσδε τ' εἰς γαῖαν παρίεις, 'Ημᾶς τ' ἰόσας ἐξάγει, ἢ κερδανεῖς; The Latin version has, *hos dimittens in nostram terram*. It should be, *his admissis in tuam terram*. Suppl. 468. ἀπαυδῶ—'Αδραστο εἰς γῆν τῶνδε μὴ παρίεαι. In the verse before us τοῖσδε τ' is Reiske's correction for τοῖσδε γ'. Androm. 809. 'Η κατθάει, κτείνουσα τοὺς αἰχμῶν κτανεῖν. Read κτείνουσα γ' οὗς.

164. ποῖα πιδί' ἀφαιμεθαῖς Τυρυνθίας θῆς πόλεμον Ἀργείοις ἔχουσιν; Mr. Elmsley very happily restores Τυρυνθίας γῆς.

169. Mr. Elmsley quotes a fragment of Alcæus, of which the concluding words are, Τόδ' εὖ γε κῆμα τῷ προτέρῳ νομῶ Στείχει, παρῆξι δ' ἄρ' ἐμὸν πόνον πολλὴν Ἀντλῆν. He corrects πόνον πολὺν Ἀντλῆν. Mr. Gaisford in his notes on Haphæstion p. 336. had previously restored πολὺν, and reads the preceding words thus, τόδ' εὖτε κῆμα τῷ προτέρῳ. We think the following correction more plausible. Τόδ' αὖ τὸ αἶμα τῷ προτέρῳ ὅμοι Στείχει. This second wave comes on like the former. A description probably followed of the third wave, or τρικυμία.

173. Μάχονται ἀνηβήσαντες. *Cum verbum ἀνηβᾶν semper significet repescere, literis sejunctis emendandum Μάχονται ἂν ἡβήσαντες.* Picron *Verisim.* p. 176 quoted by Mr. Elmsley. The correction is right, but not the reason. ἀνηβᾶν sometimes means simply *to grow up*. Callim. *H. Jov.* 56. Ὁξὺ δ' ἀνέβησας, ταχίνοι δὲ τοὶ ἡλθοὶ ἰουλοὶ. where see Ernesti's note. Hesiod. *Op. Di.* 116. Ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡβήσουσι, καὶ ἡβας μέτρον ἔσται. Read, Ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἀνηβήσουσι. A contrary fault in Aesch. *Suppl.* 601. was corrected by Mr. Tyrwhitt, as mentioned by Mr. Elmsley.

188. We have here an excellent note upon the promiscuous use of the names Ἄργος and Μύκλαι for the same city. Something similar occurs in the Latin poets, who confound the neighbouring towns of Pharsalia and Philippi. (See Heyne on the first *Georg.* 489.) And in the Evangelists Matthew and Luke, who identify the Gergesenes and Gadarenes.

198. Εἰ γὰρ τόδ' ἴσται, καὶ λόγους κρίνουσι σοῦς.—κρίνουσι. Barnes *κρανοῦσι*. P. E.

201. ἡ γὰρ αἰσχὺν πάρος Τοῦ ξῆν.—'αἰσχὺν in bonam partem accipi potest, pro dedecoris vitandi studio.' P. E. We are surprized that none of the commentators should have quoted Juvenal's *animam præferre pudori*.

204. 5. λίαν γ' ἱπαινεῖν—ἄγαν γ' αἰνούμενος. Mr. Elmsley with justice rejects γ' in both verses. The last syllables of ἄγαν and λίαν are long. Menander *fr.* 228. τὰ λίαν ἀγαθὰ δυσκολαίνουσι πάλιν. Read, Ἀγαθὰ τὰ λίαν, as in another fragment preserved by the Scholiast on Plato p. 14. Ἀγαθὰ τὰ λίαν ἀγαθὰ. The intrusive particle γ' is to be exiled from v. 668. of the Rhesus, τοὺς ἄγαν γ' ἱβρύμινους.

224. Σοὶ γὰρ τὸδ' αἰσχρὸν χωρὶς, ἢ τε πόλει κακόν. — ἢ τε τῇ πόλει Erfurdt. Σοὶ γὰρ τὸδ' αἰσχρὸν, ἢ τε σὴ πόλει κακόν P. E. We think the following conjecture is a nearer approximation to the genuine reading, Σοὶ γὰρ τὸδ' αἰσχρὸν, καὶ πρὸς, ἢ πόλει κακόν. Helen. 962. Ἀπὸδος τε, καὶ πρὸς, σοῖσσι, or perhaps χάμα, τῇ πόλει κακόν. Plato Crit. 5. p. 75. ὅρα, μὴ ἄμα τῷ κακῷ καὶ αἰσχροῦ ἢ σοὶ τε καὶ ἡμῖν.

228. Μηδαμῶς ἀτιμάσῃς τοὺς Ἡρακλείους παῖδας εἰς χίρας λαβών. — λαβεῖν P. E. A similar error infects the Supplices of Aeschylus v. 58. οἶκτον οἰατρὸν ἄων Δοξάσει τις ἀκού=ων ὅπα τῆς Θυρίας Μήτιδος οἰκτρᾶς ἀλόχου. Read, οἶκτον οἰκτρὸν αἰών Δοξάσει τις ἀκού=ειν ὅπα τῆς Θυρίδος.

233. Ωκτιεῖρ ἀκούσας τάσδε συμφοράς. — τῶνδε P. E. Æsch. Suppl. 654. Μήποτε λοιμὸς ἀνδρῶν Τάνδε πόλιν κενῶσαι. Read Τάνδε.

238. Τοὺς σοὺς μὴ παρώσασθαι ξένους. — τοῦσδε μὴ π. ξ. P. E. v. 252, however, is not exactly in point, as Demophon is there addressing Coepreus.

259. τοῦ θεοῦ πλείον φρονῶν. — πλείω P. E. with two MSS. Soph. Ant. 768. Δράττω φρονίτῳ μίջον ἢ κατ' ἀνδρ' ἰών. Read μίջον, as in v. 933 of this play, μίջω τῆς τύχης φρονῶν πολὺ. It may not be amiss to observe, that πλείον φρονεῖν means to be, or to think one's self more wise, in which sense also μάλλον and ἄμεινον φρονεῖν are used; but μίջον φρονεῖν is, to have higher notions of one's self.

323. Ὑψιλὸν αἶρω — αἶρω Porson. ἀρῶ P. E. for αἶρω, the future of αἶρω.

372. This Epode we would arrange as follows, adopting Mr. Elmsley's excellent emendation of εὐ χαρίτων ἔχουσαν in v. 380, for εὐχαρίστην ἔχουσαν.

εἰράνα μὲν ἔμοιγ' ἀρί-  
σται, σὺ δ', ὃ κακὸφρων ἀναξ,  
λέξω, εἰ πόλιν ἤξεις,  
οὐχ οὕτως ἂ δ' οὐκίς κυρή-  
σεις· οὐ σοὶ μόνῃ ἔγχος. οὐδ'

ἰτία κατάχαλκος.  
ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν παλῶν ἱρα-  
στάς μὴ μοι δορὶ συνταρά-  
ξης τὰν εὐ χαρίτων ἔχου-  
σαν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἀνάσχει.

In v. 377, we have omitted ἵστιν after κατάχαλκος, inserting τῶν in the following verse. The system is thus reduced to regular choriambics.

385. Οὐ γὰρ τι μὴ ψεύσῃ γε κήρυκος λόγος. ψεύσῃ γ' ὃ κ. λ. Heath. — ψεύσῃ σι P. E. We would combine both emendations, and read ψεύσῃ σ' ὃ κήρυκος λόγος.

386. Ὁ γὰρ στρατηγὸς εὐτυχὴς τὰ πρὸς θεῶν, ἔστιν, σάφ' οἶδα, καὶ μάλ' οὐ σμικρὸν φρονῶν, εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

'Vitiosum esse ἵστιν ex eo apparet, quod rarissime ἵστιν in initio versus legitur, nisi initio sententiæ, vel saltem post aliquam pausam sive distinctionem. Dedi igitur ἵστιν, veniet, quod miror Musgravo in mentem non venisse.' P. E.

387. Καὶ μάλ' οὐ σμικρὸν φρονῶν. 'In his verbis nonnihil haereo.' P. E. Read καὶ μάλα σμικρὸν φρονῶν. Aesch. Pers. 325. Καίται θανὼν διλαῖος, οὐ μάλ' εὐτυχὴς. Ibid. 387. Καὶ νῦξ ἰπήνι, καὶ μάλ' Ἑλλήνων στρατὸς Κρυφαῖον ἐκπλεῖν εὐδαμῇ καθίστατο. Suppl. 466. Ἀτὴς ἄβυσσος πύλας, οὐ μάλ' εὐπρεπὲς. 922. Κλαίεις ἄν, εἰ ψεύσεαι, οὐ μάλ' εἰς μακράν.

430. Εἰς

430. Εἰς χεῖρα γὰρ ξυψήσαν. Valckenaer reads 'Ος χεῖρα, which we approve. The common phrase εἰς χεῖρας ἵσται τι, which Mr. Elmsley adduces, is surely quite inapplicable to the verse before us.

448. 'Ω δυστάλαινα τοῦ μικροῦ βίου σίβη. Mr. Elmsley compares Hec. 661. Med. 1028. We add Helen. 1038. ὃ τάλαινα' ἰγὺ κακῶν. El. 1143. Οἱ μοι, τάλαινα τῆς ἡμῶς πάλαι τροφῆς. Read, Οἱ ἰγὺ τάλαινα. Aesch. Pers. 495. Οἱ ἰγὺ τάλαινα ξυμφορᾶς κακῆς, φίλοι. 517. Οἱ ἰγὺ τάλαινα διαπεπρωγμένου στρατοῦ. A similar construction occurs Hec. 215. 449. Or. 219. 829. 1027. Iph. T. 1490. Helen. 1243. Aesch. Theb. 921. See Porson on v. 384. of the Phoenissae.

467. Τί γὰρ γίγντο ἀδελφὸς Εὐρυσθέῳ πλείον Θανάτος; The Latin version is *Quid enim Eurystheo plus accederet, te homine seno mortuo?* It should be, *Quid enim Eurystheo proderit.* Helen. 329. Πρὶν δ' οὐδὲν ἀδελφὸς αἰδέσθαι, τί σοι πλείον Δυστυμῆν γίνοιτ' ἂν; Theocr. Ep. VI. 1. 'Α δαίμων τοῦ Θέου, τί τὸ πλείον, εἰ κατωταξίῃ; Δάμωροι δηλῆντος ὕπας οὐδύρμονος; Leonidas Analect. l. p. 234. Φεύξομαι, ἔρως, ὑπὸ γὰρ σὲ, τί δὲ πλείον;

481. 'Αλλ', εἰμὶ γὰρ — Mr. Elmsley properly omits the comma before εἰμὶ. To his instances of ἀλλὰ γὰρ, besides the seven which we have enumerated at v. 119. may be added the following; Phoen. 1773. 'Αλλὰ γὰρ τί ταῦτα βροτῶ καὶ μύσῳ οὐδύρομαι; Helen. 1401. 'Αλλ' ἔπειτα γὰρ θυμάται ὁ τοῦς ἡμῶς; Γάμους ἰτοίμους ἐν χειρὶ ἔχων δουλῶν. Herod. VI. 124. 'Αλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως τι ἐπιμαρφόμενοι. Xenoph. Anab. III. ii. 32. 'Αλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περαινὺν πῶν ὄρεα. Lex. Sangerm. MS. ap. Ruhnken. ad Homer. H. Cct. p. 36. 'Αλλὰ γὰρ, ἀντὶ τῷ δὲ. Εὐπλοῦς Βάπτεις — ἀναρτίστην ἂν, καὶ οὐ βιβζωνίης, ἀλλὰ γὰρ στίφονος ἔχον.

499. Ἐν τῇδε κεύχουσθα σὺ βῆσαι λόγῳ. Mr. Elmsley conjectures κεύχουσθα. are we hindered?

505. Κινδύνῳ ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐχ' αἰεῖσθαι. Mr. Elmsley gives οὐκ αἰεῖσθαι, and illustrates the phrase, κινδύνῳ αἰεῖσθαι, with his usual learning and accuracy. Of v. 957. of the Supplices of Æschylus, Mr. Elmsley says, 'neque αἰρήσῃ cum Aldo, neque αἰεῖσθαι cum Robortello, sed αἰεῖσθαι legendum videtur.' We remember to have seen this correction proposed about three years ago, in the pages of a contemporary Journal, as Mr. Porson's. The verse in question should be read thus: 'Ἔσται τὰδ' ἡδὲ πύλεμοι αἰεῖ σοι ἴσας. Pelasgus orders the herald to take himself off; to which he answers 'Ἔσται τὰδ'. I will. So in Homer when Scamander says, 'Αλλ' ἄγε δὲ καὶ ἴασσι, Achilles replies, 'Ἔσται ταῦτα, Σκάμανδρ' διοτρεφίς. See Porson on v. 1033. of the Iph. in Aul.

544. ἰδιωτέρως. — ἰδιωτέρως P. E. who observes that comparative adverbs most commonly end in ON, superlative in A. He reads κατέξω for καταξίως in Soph. Œd. C. 911. V. 69 of the Helen should, we think, be read thus, Πανταὶ γὰρ οἶκός ἄξι, ὡς προσκυάσαι. Vulg. ἄξως προσκυάσαι. In v. 290. of the same play, ἀπαλὸς πάλω παρθενοῖσιν, the commentators have not perceived that πάλω is used adverbially. Soph. El. 902. 'Αλεκτρα γὰρ ἀποκρυπύσσει, ἀσπρίναιά τι.

554. ἀλλ' ὑπερβίβεις Τόλμῃ τι τάλμα καὶ λόγῳ χρυσῷ λόγος. 'An loquendum, ἀλλ' ὑπερβίβεις Τόλμης τι τάλμα καὶ λόγῳ χρυσῷ λόγος? Aesch. Prom. 921. 'Ὅς δὲ κεραικὸν κρίσσει' αἰεῖται φλόγα, Βροντῆς θ' ὑπερβόλλουται καετιγὲς κτυπῶν. P. E. If we mistake not, ὑπερβόλλουται always governs an accusative



accusative case, as in Orest. 437. 1660. Aesch. Ag. 308. In v. 1321 of the Ion, for *θριγκοῦ τοῦδ' ὑπερβάλλω ποδὶ*, should unquestionably be read, for more reasons than one, *θριγκοὺς τοῦσδ'*. Secondly, *ὑπερβάλλω*, without a case, signifies, *to be pre-eminent*, as in Arist. Plut. 109. *Ἀτίχως ὑπερβάλλουσι τῇ μοχθηρίᾳ*. With a case, it signifies, *to pass over*, as in the instances above specified; or *to exceed*, as in Xenoph. Hier. IV. 8. *τὰ ὑπερβάλλοντα τὰ ἴκανα, πολλά ἴστί*; but the genitive case is subjoined only to the middle voice; see Dawes M. C. p. 248. Herodot. I. 124. VI. 9. VII. 165. IX. 71. We therefore correct the verses of Aeschylus thus, *Ὅς δὴ κεραυνοῦ κρείσσοι' εὐρέσει φλόγα, Βροντὰς θ' ὑπερβάλλοντα κατὰ κτυπῶν, excelling the thunderbolts*.

573. *Χάρι, προσέπουσ' ὕστατον πρόσφθιμά μοι*. — *πρόσφθιμα* δὲ P. E. We suspect that Euripides wrote *ὑστάτοις πρόσφθιμασι*. Unless we are deceived by Beck's admirable Index (to which we beg leave to express our obligations) *πρόσφθιμα* is not elsewhere used by Euripides in the singular number. In v. 777. of the Troades Mr. Burges has restored *πρόσπτυμα*.

593. *Εἴη γὰρ μέντοι μηδὲν*. — So 637. *Ἦκω γὰρ μέντοι χάρις σοὶ φέρει μέγα*. *γὰρ μέντοι* is to be read for *γὰρ μὲν δὲ* in Soph. Electr. 1243. Aesch. Suppl. 240. 272.

597. *Ἄλλ' ὃ μέγιστον ἐκπέπουσ' εὐψυχίας — εὐψυχία* Scaliger, which Mr. Elmsley confirms from Alc. 645. Suppl. 841. We add Aesch. Pers. 184. *Κάλλει τε τῶν νῦν ἐκπεπιστώμενα πολύ*. But in v. 442. of the same play, the accusative is used, *Ψυχὴν τ' ἄριστον κυνέηναι ἐκπεψῶς*.

612. *παρὰ δ' ἄλλων ἄλλα Μοῖρα δῶκε*. To the parallel instances, which Mr. Elmsley cites, may be added Solon. Eleg. V. 75. *Ἄτῃ δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναφαίνονται, ἧν, ὅπῃται Ζεὺς Πέμψῃ τισομένην, ἄλλοτ' ἢ ἄλλος ἔχει*. XIII. 4. *Χρήματα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει*. Read, *ἄλλοτ' ἢ ἄλλος ἔχει*.

618. *Ἄλλα σὺ μὴ προσπιτῶν τὰ θεῶν ὑπερ*. — *προπίτῃν τὰ θεῶν φέρι*. P. E.

634. *Φορετὶς τις ἦλθ' οἰκείος, ἣ ξυνισχόμεν*. — *ξυνισχόμεν*. P. E.

639. *Ὑλλου πειστής*. The reader should be referred to Ruhnken's illustration of the word *πειστής* in his notes on Timæus, p. 212.

644. In his note on this line, Mr. Elmsley notices a mistake of Ambrose Philips, who, in the Ode of Sappho to Venus, translates the words *αἶψα δ' ἐξίοντο*, *The birds dismiss, (while you remain,) Bore back their empty car again*; which interpretation, although completely opposite to the real meaning of the words, was suggested by Mlle. Le Fèvre, and commended by Addison as a pretty conceit. The same mistake had been made by M. Longuepierre, or, in classical Latin, Longopetræus, who translates thus, *Vous étiez descendue à peine, et promptement Ils réprirent la route*.

646. *Τί χρῆμα' αὐτῆς πᾶν τόδ' ἐπλήσθη στέγος*; 'Nota interrogationis vel post τί χρῆμα, vel in fine versus collocari posse monet Reiskius, qui citat Cycl. 99. *Τί χρῆμα; Βρομίου πόλιν ἵοιμεν εἰσβαλεῖν*.' P. E. The exact state of the case is this; τί χρῆμα; with the mark of interrogation immediately following, signifies, *what is the matter? how now?* Hippol. 919. *Ἐα, τί χρῆμα; σὴν δάμαρδ' ὀρῶ, πάτερ, Νεκράν*. Suppl. 103. *Ἐα. Τί χρῆμα; καινὰς εἰσβολὰς ὀρῶ λόγων*. Aesch. Prom. 298. *Ἐα, τί χρῆμα; καὶ σὺ δὲ πόνον ἰμῶν ἤκεις ἐπόπτῃς*; Theoc. XXI. 25. *Μὴ λαβέμαι; τί*  
τὸ

Palamedes, *τυμπάνων ἰάκχοις*. Aesch. Pers. 940. Πέρην πολυδάκρυον ἰαχάν. Read ἰακχοι. In v. 1150. of the Electra ἰάχῃσι is a *ditrochæus*, the *iota* being made long by the argument, as in Troad. 328. Heracl. 844. Helen. 805. 1924.

753. Καὶ παρὰ θρόνον ἀρχίταν. This rare word ἀρχίτης, which occurs also in Electr. 1149. is to be restored to Aeschylus Pers. 1003. Βεῖᾱσι γὰρ ἀρχίται στρατοῦ, which we conceive to be far better than ἀγρόται, the common reading, ἀκρόται that of Robortellus, or ἀγρίται, the conjecture of Toup.

779. Φθινὰς ἡμέρα. By these words Brodaeus understands the last day of the month, Musgrave the first; to whose opinion Mr. Elmsley accedes: 'Nullus enim dies majori jure φθινὰς ἡμέρα appellari potest, quam is, in quo sit solis et lunæ coitus (conjunctio).' This reason is not quite correct: for supposing the first day of the month to be really what its name imports, *νομηνία*, since the time of a syhodic revolution of the moon is only 29d. 12h. 44'. 2'', it is evident that the conjunction of the two luminaries would take place on the 30th day, or ἔτη καὶ νία, which name, as Plutarch tells us, was given it by Solon on this very account, because during part of that day the moon was old, and for the remaining part new. On no account therefore can φθινὰς ἡμέρα be referred to the first day of the month. It signifies, probably, either the last, or the 21st, on which day they began to reckon the days μηνὸς φθίνοντος.

778. 'Retinendum κεύθει, quod pro κεύθεται ponitur.' Musgrav. 'Κεύθεται non est Graecum. Hujus enim vocis sola activa forma usurpatur.' P. E. i. e. *apud Atticos*. Iliad Ψ. 244. Θείομεν εἰς ὃ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγχευ αἶδῃ κεύθωμαι. Apollon. Rhod. IV. 535. Τούνεκεν εἰσέλι νῦν κεύθῃ ὕδῃ κεύθεται αἶψα.

782. Ὀλολύγματα πάννυχιοις ὑπὸ παρθένων ἰαχεῖ ποδῶν κρότοις. 'Ordo est, Ὀλολύγματα ἰαχεῖ ὑπὸ πάννυχιοις κρότοις παρθένων ποδῶν. Resonant ululatus ad nocturnos plausus virgineorum pedum.' P. E. The order is rather, Ὀλολύγματα ὑπ' ἰαχεῖ πανν. κ. π. π. or Ὀλολύγματα ἰαχεῖ ὑπὸ παρθένων ποδῶν πάννυχιοις κρότοις. — for ὑπὸ, in the sense of *ad*, requires a genitive case; Bacch. 155. Μέλπει τὸν Διόνυσον βαρυβρόμῳ ὑπὸ τυμπάνων. Soph. El. 710. Καλκὴς ὑπαὶ σάλπιγγος ἦεν. (Cf. v. 630.) Homer. Il. Σ. 492. Νύμφας δ' ἐκ θαλάμων δαΐδων ὑπὸ λαμπομενάων Ἥγινεον ἄνα ἄστῃ. Hesiod Scut. 280. Αἱ δ' ὑπὸ φορμύγγων ἀναγον χρόνον ἰμερέοντα. Archilochus *ap. Schol. Aristoph. Ran.* 1426. ὑπ' αὐλητῆρος αἰείδων. Pindar. Ol. IV. 4. ὑπὸ ποικιλοφρέμιγγος αἰοιδᾶς. Herodot. I. 17. ἰστρατεύετο δὲ ὑπὸ συρίγγων τι καὶ πικτίδων. (where see Wesseling.) VII. 21. ὤρουσσαν ὑπὸ μαστίγων. *Sub* is used by Horace in the same sense, *Sub cantu querulæ despice tibiæ*.

784. Δίστοια, μύθους σοί τι συντομωτάτους Κλέιν, ἔμοι τι τῷδε καλλίστους φέω. — τοῖσδε καλλίστους. P. E. i. e. λέγειν.

793. Ὁ μὲν γίγνῃ οὐκ ἔστιν Ἰολέως ὅδε; Mr. Elmsley's conjecture, Ὁ μὲν γίγνῃ οὐκ ἔστιν Ἰολέως ἔτι; gives better sense. We might read, Ὁ μὲν γίγνῃ οὐκ ἔστιν Ἰολέως, οὐκ ἔστι δῆ; Orest. 1074. Σοὶ μὲν γάρ ἔστι πάσις, ἔμοι δ' οὐκ ἔστι δῆ. 1079. κῆδος δὲ τοιμὸν καὶ σὺν οὐκ ἔτ' ἔστι δῆ.

801. Ἐπὶ γὰρ ἀλλήλοισιν ὀπλίτην στρατὸν Κατὰ στόμ' ἰκτείνοντες ἀντιτάξωμεν — ἰκτείνοντας, P. E. The correction of Aesch. Pers. 831. proposed  
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posed by Mr. Elmsley in the Addenda, has been anticipated by the flower of critics, Mr. Schütz.

802. Ἐκβᾶς—σῶδξ. Mr. Elmsley refers to Mr. Porson's excellent note on the *Orestes*, v. 1427. to whose instances of βᾶσις, used transitively, we may add two; *Helen*. 35. τὰ δ' αὖ Διὸς Βουλεύματ' ἄλλε τούτῳ συμβαίνει κακῶς. *Panocrates* in *Athenaeus*, XI. p. 478. Δ. Αὐτὰρ ὅγε σπείσας ἐκ κειδύος ἀργυρίου Νίκταρ, ἐπ' ἀλλοδαπῶν οἶμον ἔβαινεν.

823. Ὁ δ' αὖ. τὸ τ' Ἀργεὺς μὴ καταισχύσει βίῳ,

Καὶ τὰ; Μικίας, ξυμμάχους ἰλισσιτο.—

βίῳ is an indubitable correction adopted by Mr. Elmsley, who justly observes, that the word ἰλισσιτο *supplicabat* is purposely used, to express the timidity of Eurystheus. It reminds us forcibly of the illustrious Transatlantic General Hopkins, who, when his army (which breathed nothing but vengeance against the Kickapoos) was disordered by a gust of wind, requested that he might be *allowed* to dictate the course to be pursued for one day: εἶτα, τοῦτ' ἐστι γιγνέσθαι, τοὺς Ἑρακλείδους ἄλλε δουλοῦν γόρους.

830. Ὀρθιον. *Magno sonitu*. P. E. The correct English is, a *rousing strain*. *Homer Iliad*. A. 11. Ἐνθα στᾶσ' ἦσαν θεὰ μέγα τι δινῶν τι, Ὀφ' Ἀχαιοῖσιν. The ὄρθιος νόμος of the musicians was an *inspiring strain*, with which Timotheus \* roused Alexander. See the notes on *Proclus* p. 436. ed. Gaisford. *Sopater Stobei* XLIV. p. 311. τὸν ὄρθιον τῆς ἀρετῆς νόμον. Cf. *Harpocrat.* v. Ἀνερθιαζόν.

836. πῶς ἐπαλλαχθεὶς ποδὶ. The following words of Tyrtæus are more in point than the passages adduced by Brodaeus. Καὶ πῶς ἐν ποδὶ θεῖς, καὶ ἐν' ἀσπίδος ἀσπίδ' ἐρείσας. (*ap. Stob.* I. p. 189.) And the following passage of Thucydides is more fully illustrative of the phrase *ἐκατέρω μάχῃ*. Mr. Elmsley's correction, than those in the note, πὶ δ' ἄλλο στρατόπεδον κατέρω μάχῃ καὶ ὀθισμῷ ἀσπίδων συνιστάται. IV. 96.

840. To Mr. Elmsley's instance of ἀρέγων in the sense of *repelling*, add *Aesch. Theb.* 121. ἀρεξέον δαίνοι ἄλυσιν.

845. ἵππειον δίφρον. \* Nostro loco non refragator quo minus ἵππων δίφρον legatur. Quamquam multo libentius retinerem ἵππειον δίφρον quam ἵππειον θεόν, ἵππειον Ἀργος, ἵππειον Ποσειδῶ, et similia.' P. E. Mr. Elmsley seems tacitly to allude to an opinion which we threw out in this *Journal*, Vol. VIII. p. 225. that the form ἵππειος is never used by the Tragedians, there being only one passage where the metre requires it, viz. *Hippol.* 1352. of which we proposed a simple correction. In the verse before us we conceive the true reading to be ἵππικόν δίφρον. v. 854. Δίσσω γὰρ ἀστίε' ἵππικοῖς ὑπὸ ζυγοῖς. Beck's Index will furnish six other instances in which ἵππικόν is coupled with ἄρμα or similar words, and only one where ἵππειον is similarly circumstanced, viz. *Helen*. 1511. where, no doubt, should be read ἵππικόν ἄρμα. In the same way we find *πωλικῶν ζυγῶν*, *πωλικούς ὄχλους*, &c. *βοῦκὰ ζεύγη*, *Pollux*, X. 53. *ζεύγη ἵππων*, καὶ ζεύγη ἡμιονικὰ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἰππωνικά. It appears to us that ἰππωνικός means

\* It is worth while to compare the description given by Dryden of the effects wrought by the music of Timotheus, with that of Himerius the Sophist in the *Bibliotheca* of Photius, p. 2023.

equinus, and ἵππιος ab equo dictus, as ἵππιος Κόλωνος, ἵππιος Ποσειδῶν, and the like.

847. τὰπὸ τοῦδ' ἥδη κλύων Δίγοι μὲν ἄλλος. Δίγοιμ' αἶν ἄλλον, Valckenaer. as it is quoted by Mr. Porson. ad. Orest. 1679. Δίγοιμ' αἶν ἄλλον P. E. which we prefer. To Mr. Elmsley's instances add Med. 652. *Ἰδόμεν' οὐκ ἐξ ἱτέρων Μύθων ἔχομεν φράσασθαι*.

849. Παλλήνιδος. 'Quae in vico Atticae colitur, cui Pallene nomen.' Musgr. 'Nomen non Παλλήνη, sed Πάλληιον fuisse suspicor, ex adverbio Παλλήναδι, cujus loco Βαλλήναδι per jocum dixit Aristoph. Ach. 234.' P. E.

893. εἰ λόγια λώτου χάρις ἐν δαιτί. We approve of Mr. Elmsley's conjecture, ἐπὶ δαιτί. Med. 195. Οἵτινες ὕμνους ἐπὶ μὲν θαλίαις, Ἐπὶ δ' ἐλαφύταις καὶ παρὰ δάίμοις Εὐροτο. Helen. 175. ἐπὶ δάκρυσι, *inter lacrymas*.

899. τιλοσιδότηρα. 'Analogiae repugnare videtur haec vox per scripta. ὀλοδοτήρα legitur in Bacch. 419. ἐπιιδότηρα in Or. 175.' P. E. Add βαρυδοτήρα, Aesch. Theb. 977.

900. Αἰών τι Κρόνου παῖς. We do not remember to have met with this *Acron* in any of the more ancient poets, and we cannot help suspecting that he was inserted here by some copyist versed in the writings of Proclus and the Platonists. The line of Pseudo-Orpheus, quoted by Musgrave, we conceive to be the offspring of some Gnostic Christian. We would write the concluding verses of the strophe and antistrophe as follows.

Σ.  
πολλὰ γὰρ τίκτι  
Μοῖρα τελισιδότηρ,  
καὶ ὦν τι Κρόνου παῖς.

Α.  
θεὸς παραγγέλλει,  
τῶν ἀδίκων γι παραι-  
εῶν φρονήματος αἰεῖ.

*Iliad*. A. 209. θεοὶ αἰὲν ἰόντες. Callim. *Jov.* 9. σὺ δ' οὐ θάνεις, ἔσσι γὰρ αἰεῖ.

926. ἢ θυμὸς ἦν παρὰ δίκας βίαιος. 'Hanc locutionem non alibi reperi. Passim occurrit παρὰ δίκης.' P. E. We understand the words to mean. 'to whom the gratification of his anger was of more account than justice.' Plato *Crit.* 16. μήτι παῖδας περὶ πλείονος ποιοῦ, μήτι τὸ ξῆν, μήτε ἄλλο μὴδὲν παρὰ τοῦ δικαίου.

961. Οὐκ ἔστ' ἀνυστὸν τόνδε σοὶ κατακταεῖν. Οὐκ ἔστιν ὁσὶν is the excellent correction of Mr. Elmsley, who quotes *Iph. T.* 1044. It is strongly confirmed by v. 1011. Οὐχ ἀγνός εἰμὶ τῷ κτανόντι καταθανών.

968. 'Eo sensu quo nostro loco legitur ἀπιστῆσαι, utrumque ἀπιθῆσαι et ἀπειθῆσαι usurpant tragici. *Soph. Phil.* 1447. Οὐκ ἀπιθῆσω τοῖς σοῖς μέθοις. Eurip. *Or.* 31. 'Ὅμως δ' ἀπίκτιν', οὐκ ἀπιθῆσας θεῶ.' P. E. We have little doubt but that in the second of these instances should be read ἀπιστῆσας. *Ion.* 557. Τῷ θεῷ γὰρ (not γούν) οὐκ ἀπιστιτὴν εἰκός. Aesch. *Agam.* 1059. Πείθοι' αἶν, εἰ πείθοι', ἀπειθοίης δ' ἴσως, which verse, as it stands, is bad Greek, and of which we are unable to propose a plausible correction. We are of opinion that the Attic poets never used the word ἀπειθῆν, because, if we mistake not, they had no such adjective as ἀπειθής, but formed compounds of this sort from the aorist πείθοι. The metre requires ἐπιθῆς, with the penultima short, in Aesch. *Prometh.* 333. *Agam.* 984. In Eurip. *Androm.* 819. for ἐπιθῆσταιροι at the end of a senarius, nobody will hesitate to replace ἐπιθῆσταιροι. Hesych. 'Απειθής-  
ἀντιπότης'

ἀνσπῆτατος Σοφοκλῆς Αἰχμαλωτίσιν. We do not consider this authority of any weight. Homer always uses ἀνσπῆ with the second syllable short.

969. Χρῆν τόνδε μὴ ζῆν, μηδ' ὄρᾱν φάος τόδε. 'Φάος τόδε scenarium claudunt in Hippol. 907. 993. Alc. 1142.' P. E. Alc. 80. 'Ὅστις ὁ ἐνέσται σῶτεροι φθιμῆναι Τῆν βασιλείαν χρὴ σπινθεῖν. ἢ Ζῆσ' ἔτι λείπεται φῆ Πάλιον παῖς. We read, σῶτεροι φθιμῆναι Χρὴ βασιλείαν σπινθεῖν, ἢ ζῆσ' ἔτι παῖς Πάλιον λείπεται τόδε φῶς. Helen. 60. 'Ἔως μὲν οὖν φῶς ἤλιον τόδ' ἔβλεπον Πρωτεύς. 845. θαυόντος σου, τόδ' ἐκλείψεται φάος.

978. πρὸς ταῦτα, τὴν θρασυῖαν, ὅστις ἂν θέλοι, — Δίξαι. ὅστις ἂν θέλῃ P. E. Where ὅστις has the force of *whosoever may*, it requires a subjunctive, as here and in Helen. 154. Κτείνει γὰρ 'Ἑλλησ', ὅστις ἂν λάβῃ, ξείνον. Where it is used for the relative ὅς, it requires either an indicative, as in Helen. 9. Θεοκλύμενοι ἄρσεν', ὅστις εἰς θεοὺς σίσβων Βίαι δῆνηται, or an optative with ἂν, as Alc. 80. 'Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ φίλων τις σείλας οὐδεὶς, ὅστις ἂν ἐνέσται. Helen. 442. τίς ἂν στυλῶρς ἐκ δόμου μάλιν, ὅστις διαγγέλλειν τὰρ εἶσιν κακὰ. Read Ὅς ἂν διαγγέλλειν. We are not satisfied with the future tense Δίξαι after πρὸς ταῦτα, which words, when used as in this passage, are commonly followed by an imperative mood. Med. 1355. Πρὸς ταῦτα, καὶ λίσσιναι, εἰ βούλει, κάλει, Καὶ Σκύλλαν.

985. διελίαν ὄφρην τινα. — ὄφρην τινα is given by Mr. Elmsley, who observed in his valuable edition of the Acharneans of Aristophanes that ὄφρην is an aorist.

986. Ἐγὼ δὲ νῆκος οὐχ ἱκὼν τόδ' ἡράμην  
ἥδη γὰρ σοὶ μὲν αὐτανέφιος γεγώς.

Οὐ δῆτα σοὶ μὲν ἂ. γ. P. E. which is no doubt the genuine reading.

1002. πάντα κινήσαι σῆτρον. Diogenian. VII. 42. πάντα κινήσει σῆτρον. Two accounts of the origin of this proverbial expression, *to leave not a stone unturned*, are given by Photius, of which Mr. Elmsley prefers the second, which says that it took its rise from those who hunted for crabs. We think it more likely to have been originally said of those, who carefully turned up the loose stones in the pavement of their houses, to see if any scorpions were concealed under them. A drinking song in Athenæus XV. p. 695. D. runs thus, Ὑπὸ παντὶ λίθῳ σκῆρπιος, εἴ τῆ, θωποδύεται. Φράζου μή σι βάλλῃ, (vulg. ὃ ταις) which is clearly addressed to some person employed in turning up the stones to search for scorpions. Sophocles Αἰχμαλωτίσιν. — Ἐν παντὶ γὰρ τοι σκῆρπιος φρουρεῖ λίθῳ.

1014. Πρὸς αἶψ' εἴπας, ἀνήκουσας — Προσιῶσας, ἀντήκουσας. P. E. We prefer Mr. Elmsley's second conjecture, Αἶψ' εἴπας ἀντήκουσας. Alc. 701. εἰ δ' ἡμᾶς κακῶς Ἑρεῖς, ἀκούσαι πολλὰ καὶ ψευδῆ κακὰ. Homer II. 7. 250. Ὅσσοιοι εἰσησθα ἴσως, τοῖον κ' εἰσακούσας. Hesiod. Op. Di. 719. εἰ δ' κακὸν εἴπῃς, τάχα κ' αὐτὸς μίξῃ ἀκούσας. Alcæus (ap. Procl. in Hesiod. p. 153.) εἴκ' εἴπῃς τὰ θέλεις, ἀκούσας τὰ κ' οὐ θέλεις. Read, Αἶψ' εἴπῃς τὰ θέλεις, ἀκούσας τὰ κ' οὐ θέλεις. Terent. Andr. V. iv. 17. Si mi pergit quæ vult dicere, ea quæ non vult audiet.

1026. Κτεῖν, οὐ παραιτούμαι σοι τήνδε δὲ σόλιν — Χρησὶν παλαιῶ Δέξιν Ἀρήσσομαι — τήνδε δὲ σόλιν. P. E. We apprehend that the true reading is, τὴν δὲ δὲ σόλιν. Orest. 52. Ἦκει γὰρ εἰς γῆν Μυρίωνος Τρεῖς ἄσπαι, δουλοῖσι πωλαγχοῖς τὴν δὲ δὲ πωλόσταισι Ἑλένη — σπρόσωπιμην.

1040. ἀλλὰ μήτι μοι χοῶς, Μήθ' αἶμ' ἰάσης εἰς ἱμὸν στάξαι τόπων. For τῶν Mr. Elmsley receives τάφον, the correction of Heath. Not one of the commentators has understood the passage. Eurystheus means to say, 'Do not suffer them (the Heraclidæ) to pour out libations (στάξαι χοῶς) upon my tomb, nor let them avert the evils I threaten, by performing these offices of friendship to me;' (as Clytemnestra strove to avert the anger of Agamemnon by sending libations to his tomb. Soph. Electr. 446.). This interpretation in some measure explains v. 1050. where Alcmena says, that after his death he may be given to the dogs for any thing she cares. We cannot imagine why Eurystheus should suppose that blood would be sprinkled on his tomb. The only libations to the dead mentioned by Greek authors, consisted of wine, milk, honey and water. See Iliad v. 220. Aesch. Pers. 610. Soph. El. 434. 894. Eurip. Or. 114. Iph. T. 633. Alcæus in Brunck's *Analecta* I. p. 496. Antipater *ibid.* II. p. 26. except in the case of magical incantations, as in Heliodorus *Aeth.* VI. p. 301. ed. 1611. We think therefore that for Μήθ' αἶμ' ἰάσης should be read μὴ ριῦμ' ἰάσης. In an Epigram of Hegemon are the words Σπάρτας χίλιοι ἀνδρες ἱπποσχοι αἶμα τὸ Περσῶν. Mr. Huschke judiciously restores ριῦμα τὸ Περσῶν. Then for ΤΟΠΟΝ we read ΠΟΤΟΝ. Posidippus in Athenæus I. p. 32. B. Διψηρὸς, ἄτοπος, ὃ μυρίτης, ὃ τίμιος, read, Διψηρὸς, ΑΠΟΤΟΣ. The whole verse we would read thus, Μὴ ριῦμ' ἰάσης εἰς ἱμὸν στάξαι ποτόν. Finally we observe, that vv. 1037. 8. 9. and part of 1040. should be included in a parenthesis.

1054. τὰ γὰρ ἐξ ἡμῶν. 'Sic τὰπὸ σοῦ apud Soph. Oed. C. 1628. P.E. Soph. El. 1464. Καὶ δὲ τελεῖται τὰπ' ἱμοῦ. Eurip. Iph. A. 1214. ἦν δὲ, τὰπ' ἱμοῦ σοφά, Δάκρυα παρίξω. Heracl. 23. ἄσθινη μὲν τὰπ' ἱμοῦ διδορότις. In v. 1272. for ἀλλὰ τὰπὸ σοῦ σκύωσι should be written ἀλλὰ τὰπὸ σοῦ σκύωσι.

In perusing the present volume we have observed the following typographical errors, besides those which are noticed in the *errata*. V. 782. ὑπο for ὑπὸ. 986. οὐκ ἐκῶν for οὐχ ἐκῶν. p. 56, 1. 'Αθήνησι for 'Αθήνησι. l. 2. 'Αγόραιοις for 'Αγοραῖος. p. 119, 18. Agam. 1468. for 1648.

The number of pages which we have devoted to the consideration of this small volume, will be sufficient to shew the estimation in which we hold Mr. Elmsley's critical labours. In fact we take some shame to ourselves, for not having assigned a portion of our former numbers to an analysis of his editions of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles and the *Acharneans* of Aristophanes. The appearance of a third portion of the Greek drama under the same auspices reminded us of our neglect, for which we have now endeavoured to make amends by giving a tolerably accurate account of the alterations which Mr. Elmsley has made in the received text of Euripides. We should, in all likelihood, have made our article more acceptable to our critical readers, had we quoted more of Mr. Elmsley's observations and fewer of our own. But we recommend

them to read his notes entire; and if they fail to derive from them a great deal of information which is both valuable and new, they will either be better scholars or greater dunces than we give them credit for being. An attentive perusal of Mr. Elmsley's publications has convinced us, that he has studied the remains of the Greek theatre with greater accuracy and attention than almost any scholar of his own or former times; and we cannot help expressing a wish, in which every lover of classical literature will join, that he may finish the web which he so ably began on a former occasion, and give to the world a correct and useful edition of the most dignified and polished of the Greek tragedians.

ART. VII. 1. *Des Progrès de la Puissance Russe depuis son Origine jusqu'au Commencement du 19ème Siècle.* Par Mr. L—. Paris, 1812. 8vo. pp. 514.

2. *Seconde Guerre de Pologne, ou Considérations sur la Paix publique du Continent, et sur l'Indépendance Maritime de l'Europe.* Par M. M. de Montgalliard. Paris, 1812. 8vo. pp. 330.

'THE grand object in travelling,' said Dr. Johnson, 'is to see the coasts of the Mediterranean. On those shores were situated the four great empires of the world—the Assyrian, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman: all our religion, almost all our law, almost all our arts, almost all that sets us above savages has come to us from the shores of the Mediterranean.' There are few, we imagine, who have not felt the justice of this observation; and it may perhaps be considered as one of the many disadvantages attendant upon the evil days on which we are fallen, that all access to the most interesting parts of Europe has been for some time denied to our countrymen. But though the grand tour, that indispensable part of the education of the fashionable men of former days, be no longer practicable, a more anxious desire for that species of information, which is alone to be gained by foreign travel, has at no time prevailed than at present; and, as in the commercial world, we find, when one channel of communication is stopped, another is speedily opened, the spirit of inquiry has lately led our countrymen into regions which formerly were but rarely visited. The islands of Greece have been explored in every direction, and no traveller can now return home, with any degree of self-satisfaction, unless he have traversed the Crimea, peeped into the Grand Signior's harem, or selected some favored spot in the Archipelago, as a retreat from the tedium of his native country.

The events too of the last campaign, have rendered Russia more than ever an object of curiosity, and the great part which she has

has to perform in the present momentous struggle, for the freedom of Europe, has imparted new interest to every thing that bears relation to that gigantic power.

In modern France, and indeed throughout the greater part of the continent, the art of war is the only one that appears to flourish; and though we hear much of the ostentatious protection shewn by Buonaparte to men of science, and the encouragement afforded to their works, the productions of the French press too clearly evince that the minds of the writers on political subjects in France are as much enslaved by the jealousy of the tyrant, as their persons are by the code of conscription. The same tone which pervades the bulletins of the *Grand Army*, is discoverable in all their writings on public matters, and no one can doubt that the severe control which Buonaparte has exercised over the press, has been throughout of incalculable advantage to his cause. We require, indeed, no farther proof of the importance which he attaches to this powerful instrument, than the order which was issued by Davoust on regaining possession of Hamburg, by which the inhabitants were required to give up all the publications that had appeared against the French during the short lived freedom of that city.

Impressed as we are with this idea, our readers will believe that we did not enter on the perusal of the works before us with any sanguine expectation of meeting with much valuable or impartial information on the subject of Russia. She has proved herself lately the most formidable opponent that Buonaparte ever had to contend with on the continent; and, excepting in some instances, where she has been led into a mistaken policy by the folly of her rulers, or by the pressure of the times, she has always sided with England in her wars against France. The alliance between the two countries is one which mutual interest will naturally point out, and their relations of amity are not liable to be broken by too close proximity, or by too great an equality in point of naval or military force.

The anonymous publication which we have selected for our purpose, is pronounced by those who are enabled to judge from the appearance of the types, to be the production of the Imperial Press, and we believe that it has undergone the revision which all works are subject to published in a similar manner. The author does not profess to enter very deeply into the history or geography of the Russian empire, but to confine himself to a detail of the progress of its political power from its origin to the commencement of the 19th century, and with this view he appears to have consulted almost every modern work which has been published on the subject of Russia, or in any degree touched upon the



politics of the country, from the caustic accounts of Olearius down to the Edinburgh Review and the Travels of Sir T. McGill.

It was not to be expected that a French author, in preparing a compilation of this kind, should not turn with avidity to a work so congenial to his feelings, and so adapted to his purpose, as the first volume of Dr. Clarke's Travels in the North of Europe, and he accordingly has not neglected to quote from it, and to dwell, on every occasion, with peculiar delight, upon the exaggerated statements which it contains.

As we understand that the events of the last campaign in Russia have failed to produce that change in the Doctor's sentiments, which we are inclined to believe they have done in those of many who had been misled by him, we doubt not he will be much flattered by this notice of his book; but we must be allowed to express our regret that it should have furnished such ample materials for the work before us. We must do the French author the justice to state, that he fairly confesses his inability to give entire credit to all the extraordinary facts which Dr. Clarke and other English travellers have related to the disparagement of Russia, and that he seems as much surprized as we ourselves could be, that such exaggerated, and in many instances, unfounded, censures of the characters, manners, and institutions of the Russians should be to be found principally in the writings of a nation connected with them by every tie of interest and friendship. The author thus expresses himself on the subject.

‘ Nous nous sommes attachés à citer des auteurs dont le caractère, le rang, ou la connaissance qu'ils avaient du pays, rendent le témoignage plus respectable; et s'il en est qui paraissent *moins dignes de foi*, on sera surpris de les trouver chez une nation dont les Russes devaient attendre le plus de ménagemens: nos lecteurs nous sauront peut-être gré d'être plus modérés envers nos ennemis actuels, que les Anglais ne le sont envers leurs plus intimes alliés.’

Our author informs us in his preface, that when he enters at all into detail on the nature of the country upon which he is writing, or on the manners of the inhabitants, he merely does so with the view of explaining the grand events in the political history of Russia, which have produced that progressive rise in her power and importance which it is his intention to describe. He has, in this respect, followed the example of many others who have written for political purposes, and we look in vain to the compilation before us for any fresh information on several most interesting subjects relative to the internal state of Russia.

As we shall touch upon the chief points which are worth adverting to, in our remarks upon M. Montgalliard, we shall only observe

observe that the anonymous work is interlarded with such reflections as the actual position of Russia would naturally suggest, and with the usual strain of abuse against this country; and we shall confine ourselves to a few remarks chiefly on the errors into which the author has fallen from a want of judgment in the selection of the authorities he has consulted.

He has been led astray, in some instances, by Dr. Clarke, though certainly not in the same degree that many others have been. That gentleman is kind enough to warn us against giving credit to Puffendorf, who observes, (for this is the passage, we presume, to which the Doctor alludes,)—‘*Qu’on se tromperoit beaucoup si, pour connoître les Russes d’aujourd’hui, on s’arrêtoit aux portraits qui ont été faits de cette nation, avant le commencement de ce siècle.*’ We should be disposed to extend this caution to writings of a later period: had the author himself, for instance, attended to it, he might have escaped many inaccuracies. Thus, he estimates the population of the Crimea at nearly one half less than it was previously to the occupation of that peninsula by the Russians. We have always understood, on the contrary, and from authority which we are less inclined to dispute than that of Dr. Clarke, that the Tartars at first did emigrate by thousands, from apprehension of their new masters, but that on finding they were allowed to enjoy their former privileges and possessions, they almost all returned. The general air of comfort visible throughout that part of the Crimea which they inhabit, affords reason to believe that they by no means repent of having done so.

The filthy employment in which Dr. Clarke asserts, that ‘*beauteous princesses of Mosco*’ are occupied, as well as every other Russian, let his rank be what it may, is glanced at by the Frenchman as a proof of the indelicacy of the English taste, presuming somewhat unfairly from the particular to the general, that the Doctor would not have inserted such disgusting details unless agreeable to the bulk of his readers: and he amusingly enough attributes the exaggerations of which he conceives the Doctor is guilty in his accounts of the superstition of the Russian people, to his being a member of the reformed religion.

A long quotation is given by our author descriptive of the eternal flagellation which Dr. Clarke asserts is exercised in Russia, from one quarter of the empire to the other. Even in the time of Paul this was far from being a true statement. That Emperor’s delight was rather to punish by some ridiculous device, than by any severity of discipline. Had cruelty been his characteristic, the Doctor himself might not, perhaps, have escaped a journey to Siberia; but even in this land of liberty we have been called a  
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'flogged nation,' and we ought not therefore to be surprized that Russia has not escaped a similar imputation.

Tuberville, who was secretary of embassy in the reign of Ivan IV. amused the world by a poetical account of what he had seen in Russia, and our author observes as a *national trait*, that, after abusing the Russians in return for all the kindness he had experienced at their hands, to such a degree as to render him liable to the charge of ingratitude, he declares that he had suppressed much offensive matter from apprehension of endangering our commercial interests in that country. In those days we see that authors were sometimes induced by a sense of propriety to compress their observations, and we wish Dr. Clarke had profited by Tuberville's example.

We cannot give our readers a better specimen of the author's stile, and of his talents for accurate comparisons, than by calling their attention to the following passage, wherein he traces some points of resemblance between this country and Russia.

'Il y a encore entre l'Angleterre et la Russie des points de rapprochement que la disparité si apparente de leur constitution politique et morale ne peut empêcher d'apercevoir. La première tient assujettis sous son sceptre des peuples aussi opposés de mœurs, de religion, et même de langage, que ceux qui composent le vaste empire des Russes. Le fier montagnard Ecossais, le robuste Irlandais, l'Indien effeminé, ne sont pas plus façonnés au joug Britannique que l'habitant du Caucase, le brave Tartare ou le guerrier Polonais à l'oppression Moscovite. Le gouvernement Russe, tout despotique qu'il paraît, doit peut être encore aujourd'hui toute sa vigueur à l'esprit orgueilleux de ses anciens boyards, tour à tour les maîtres et les esclaves du trône; cet esprit se courbe et se relève comme par un ressort mystérieux dont le développement imprévu a souvent produit de soudaines et terribles catastrophes. On pourrait lui comparer l'oligarchie *ténébreuse* qui régit en secret les affaires de la Grande Bretagne. Que quelques lords s'assemblent à Londres dans une taverne, avec les chefs du parti populaire, le ministère tombe, et l'axe du monde politique est ébranlé: qu'une faction se forme au sein de la cour de Russie, qu'un Orloff soulève quelques compagnies des gardes, et l'empire change de maître. Il y a donc, dans deux gouvernements si différents par leur forme, un principe égal d'inquiétude, de discorde, et d'activité, qui les pousse incessamment à troubler l'harmonie du système général, et sur cette simple donnée, il serait encore possible de prouver que la Russie et l'Angleterre ont occasioné presque toutes les guerres du dernier siècle.'

The conclusion of this work, which affects the prophetic character, calls for no particular observation, except it be that we do not recollect a more decided instance of an unfortunate prediction than the following.

On ne verra plus les farouches enfans du nord menacer nos campagnes,

pagnes, nos cités et nos arts; déjà ils ont fui la terre fertile qu'ils avaient desolée. Bientôt ils maudiront l'alliance d'Albion, elle n'empêchera point qu'ils ne reconnaissent enfin des barrières, que leur orgueil n'osera plus franchir.'

We now turn to M. Montgalliard. We scarcely expected that any French author would have been found hardy enough to touch upon so delicate a subject as the second Polish war, at a moment so replete with disaster to the French arms as the close of the year 1812; and we considered such a publication at such a time as an additional proof of French assurance; but as the work was written at the commencement of the war it should rather be called an exposé of the causes which produced the rupture between the two powers, or the prospectus of a campaign intended to be fought; for it is unnecessary for us to observe, that the triumphal result which was foretold as destined to attend the arms of Buonaparte has happily been only in anticipation.

It appears that the French army in taking the field last year was accompanied by the usual train of men of science in different departments, whose productions were intended to perpetuate the triumphs of their master; and M. Montgalliard, we suppose, was employed on this service. He was well known in this country some few years ago, and at that time was chiefly distinguished for the inveterate hatred which he expressed to the present ruler of the French government. He is now a count of the empire, and we do not recollect ever to have seen a more nauseous dose of flattery than he has administered to the author of his fortunes in the work before us. It is in fact only a more enlarged view of that position which we have seen laid down in every state-paper that has of late years proceeded from the pen of Buonaparte:—that Russia and England are the sole causes of the desolating war which has for so long a period extended its ravages to every quarter of the globe; and that nothing short of the total expulsion of the Russians from Europe, and the dismemberment of their overgrown empire can secure the civilized countries of the south from being a second time overrun by the barbarians of the north, or preserve the whole world from becoming subject to the tyranny which England has so long exercised over the seas.

The means which our author conceives adequate to avert these dreadful calamities are the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland, and the restoration of the Ottoman empire to its pristine splendor; and these objects he considers as sufficient to justify 'cette foule de victoires que les armées Françaises sont maintenant obligées de remporter sur le Volga et sur le Neva:' and, though the Poles may be pardoned for doubting the propriety of  
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the selection, the instrument to be employed in this great work is, as may naturally be expected, his patron Buonaparte.

Since the days of Sully no politician has been hardy enough to entertain so gigantic a project as M. Montgalliard has broached in what he call his 'grande vérité politique; c'est que le salut de l'Europe veut que l'empire Russe soit relegué en Sibérie.' The French statesman, however, might be excused for proposing to compel the Grand Duke of Muscovy to retire into Asia, should he, after a formal invitation, refuse to enter into Henry's grand political scheme, for at that time the czar was rather considered as an eastern despot than a European potentate, and was a widely different person in political importance from the present Emperor of Russia. At all events, experience has proved that, in modern times, this project is easier in theory than in practice; and the rival of Hannibal, who took the field last year with the confident expectation of compelling the Russian court to retire to Tobolsky, is now obliged to confine his views to the driving back of these 'barbarian hordes' (as he affects to call them) to their 'frightful climate.' So much for the general scope of Montgalliard's book. He has divided it into three chapters, which are entitled *Considerations on the following Subjects*:

1st. The resources of Russia and her general system of politics.

2dly. On Poland and the intrigues of Russia in regard to that power, and

3dly. On Turkey, and the conduct of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg with respect to the Porte, and more especially to the Treaty of Tilsit which guaranteed its integrity.

We shall not adhere to this arrangement in the observations which we have to offer; and in fact the author might have spared himself the trouble of dividing his work into separate chapters which treat indiscriminately of all the subjects before him. Though sufficiently puffed up with national vanity, and jealous of the reputation of his countrymen, he is not disposed to allow to M. de Voltaire the rank which has generally been assigned to him in the scale of French writers. His eulogium on Peter the First, and his courtly panegyrics on the Empress Catherine offend the pure and uncontaminated ears of the historian who writes under the auspices of the Great Napoleon, in whose favour an advantageous comparison is drawn at the expense of the czar.

The early part of the Russian history, like the first annals of every other country, contains little that is interesting. The people seem to have been engaged in a constant state of warfare, either with the Poles on one frontier, or the Turks and Tartars on the other; and for near 200 years we find them subject to Genghis Khan

Khan and his descendants. The House of Ruric, however, in 1475 regained the ascendancy, and Russia owes her deliverance from the Tartar yoke to the bravery and skill of Ivan III. On the extinction of the dynasty of Ruric, the family of Romanof ascended the throne, from which sprung Peter the First. The comprehensive and ambitious mind of this great prince appears early to have discovered the vast importance of obtaining an outlet for the commerce of his country on the Euxine as well as the Baltic Sea, and in consequence it became the object of his constant solicitude, whilst employed in establishing the seat of empire on the gulph of Finland, to secure at the same time a naval station towards Turkey which might open a way for his fleets to the Mediterranean.

The czar has been blamed for not carrying his arms in the first instance against the Turks, and his conduct in this point has been defended by Volney in his *Considerations on the Turkish War of 1788*. He there contends that Peter, by measuring his strength in the first instance with European powers, acquired an experience in the art of war which gave him great advantages afterwards against his southern neighbours; and he appears at one time to have been so bent upon confining his views of conquest to his western frontier, that the King of Prussia states in his memoirs, that the czar had it once in contemplation to allow the country to the south of the fertile districts around Mosco, to remain an uncultivated steppe as a natural barrier to the incursions of the restless Tartars.

The projects, however, of Peter were not crowned with uniform success. By the unfortunate reverse which his arms sustained on the Pruth, in 1711, he was compelled to restore to the Turks Asoph, and all the possessions which had been formally ceded to him by the peace of Carlowitz in 1699. The vast schemes which were originally planned by the founder of the Russian greatness, have been in some degree followed up by all his successors, but by no one with such signal success as by Catherine II. who at one time did not scruple to avow her sanguine expectation of establishing her grandson at Constantinople, on the ruins of the Turkish empire.

The peace of Kainardgi, in 1774, secured to Russia a passage through the Dardanelles for her merchant ships, and the free navigation of the Black Sea: the nominal independence which it provided for the Crimea, was soon after violated by a manifesto from the empress, which announced her intention of uniting it to her empire. By the Treaty of Jassy, in 1791, she was confirmed in the possession of all these valuable acquisitions, and the Turks were compelled to cede all the territory between the Bog and the Dniester, and to retire behind the latter river. Though the danger

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to which the Turkish empire was at that time exposed by the success of the Russian arms in this direction did not pass unobserved by foreign powers, no effectual measures were taken to arrest their progress, and the determined resolution shewn by Catherine, not to give up Oczakow, though threatened with an armament from this country, sufficiently evinces the importance she attached to that commanding fortress.

It is curious to observe, that France, who was antiently the foremost in sending forth her chivalrous knights to rescue the holy sepulchre from the hands of the infidels, should now proclaim herself as the only ally in whom the sultan can with propriety confide, and that the intrigues of her ambassadors, and the tardy arrival of the diplomatic agents from this country, at moments when their presence was most required, should appear to have persuaded the Turks of the truth of this assertion; and it is no less remarkable that an empire whose dissolution has been so long predicted, should have survived the downfall of its most formidable enemies—the knights of Malta, the Genoese and Venetians. So early as the days of Sully, the Turkish crescent was supposed to be in its wane; and he appears to have imagined that by the Franks, into whose power, according to received tradition, Constantinople was ultimately to fall, were exclusively designated his own countrymen, the French. But in spite of various predictions, and the popular belief among the Turks that their country is to be overrun by a red-haired people from the north, the Grand Signior has quietly continued to divide his time between the placid occupation of chewing opium, and the pleasures of his harem, and has seldom been awakened from the dull uniformity of Ottoman ceremony, excepting by the occasional conflagration of a part of his capital, an unequivocal symptom of discontent among the people.

The feeble condition of the Turkish empire did not escape the notice of Montesquieu, though with his usual acuteness he did not draw the same conclusions from its imbecility that others have already done. His words are worth insertion. ‘L’empire des Turcs est à présent dans le même degré de foiblesse où étoit autrefois celui des Grecs, mais il subsistera long temps : car, si quelque prince que ce fût, mettroit cet empire en péril, en poursuivant ses conquêtes, les trois puissances commerçantes de l’Europe connoissent trop leurs affaires pour n’en pas prendre la défense sur le champ.’

To the clear and comprehensive writings of such an author as this, has succeeded a class of speculators on political subjects, who may with some degree of propriety be termed political empirics. Such men, having no fixed principles to direct their inquiries, are unequal to the task of pointing out the probable course of events by  
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comparing them with what is past; and with an utter contempt of all interposing difficulties, we find them carried away by some darling project which they prescribe as a panacea to heal all the disorders that may afflict the commonwealth of Europe. Of this school is an author who is frequently quoted by M. Montgalliard under the name of Sir Williams Eton, or in other words, Mr. W. Eton, who, after having been employed for some years as a commercial agent at Constantinople, published, in 1798, a work upon Turkey, remarkable for nothing but the enthusiasm with which he maintains the necessity of carrying into effect his favourite project, the restoration of the Greeks, after proving that they are a people by no means deserving a state of more freedom than that which they possess; and for the extreme generosity with which he would give up Constantinople to the Russians, as a mode of preserving it from falling into worse hands. That it must become a prey to one of the great contending powers of the present day is his fixed opinion, and he therefore conceives it to be our interest to favour the designs of Russia in that quarter, as the least likely to be prejudicial to the welfare of this country, and most conducive to the accomplishment of his grand design, the re-establishment of the Grecian empire.

There is another work of a similar stamp which we are surprised to observe has escaped the notice of the French author before us; we allude to the political treatises of Mr. F. G. Leckie, to whom we are indebted for the first outline of a project which has since been enlarged upon by others, and which is that of maintaining an insular empire by taking possession of the islands around the coast of Europe. On the adoption of this measure, according to Mr. Leckie, the whole safety of the civilized world must depend; and the danger which he sees hanging over Turkey from the arms of Buonaparte affords him an additional reason for urging the necessity of it. Our first efforts, he conceives, ought to be directed against the islands in the Mediterranean and the Archipelago, and for the reasons which he details in the following passage.

‘ It may be shewn, that the fall of Constantinople will be a new epoch in naval history; in the hands of the French, the ancient Byzantium will become one of the most formidable arsenals in the world. The marine stores of Russia will descend from the Black Sea by the Borysthenes, the forests of Asia Minor, the iron of Caucasus, the copper of Chalcedon, the hemp of Sinope and Trebisond, celebrated for its long staple and strength, all will flow to Constantinople; the mariners of Greece, Ionia, and the islands will flock thither for employment; and the foundation of a naval power will be laid which our statesmen are determined not to foresee. France will not only then be enabled to build ships at a cheaper rate than elsewhere, from the abundance



dance of naval stores with which she will be furnished, but her den will always be able to find a passage into the Mediterranean after having acquired in the Black Sea a perfect security, a skill in manœuvring, and every other naval operation, which they cannot now arise at what is called up in the harbours of France.

This is an alarming prospect, but fortunately later events have rendered such a state of things less than ever to be apprehended. It may be worth while, however, to examine cursorily what is the real political importance belonging to the Black Sea, and the resources of the countries which are situated on its shores; as it will enable us to form some judgment of the justice of M. Montgilliard's assertion, that Constantinople is the only bulwark against the designs of universal dominion which Russia has in view, and that a state of universal barbarism must ensue should she succeed in her designs upon Turkey.

From the account which is given by Herodotus, of the imprudent expedition undertaken by Darius against Scythia, we derive the earliest information respecting the tribes which occupied the country to the north and north-west of the Euxine. The Persian king is supposed not to have entered the Crimea, but to have advanced along the banks of the Palus Mæotis to the Volga, and thence to have made his way back to the Danube by a different route. The tribes through which he passed are described by the historian as having occasioned no small molestation to his army: they appear to have been very much the same people as are still to be found in that tract of country: and it is impossible not to be struck with the little change a lapse of 2000 years has effected in their habits and condition, on meeting with the wandering Nagais with their tents upon wheels, which so exactly answer to the *Hamaxobii* of Herodotus. The origin of the Cossacks is still a controverted point, or we should be inclined to look for their ancestors among those warlike tribes who made the most formidable resistance to the progress of Darius.

The Crimea is said to have been inhabited by a more savage race of people, to whose cruel treatment of shipwrecked mariners has been attributed the epithet of 'inhospitable,' by which the Black Sea was formerly distinguished; and Gibbon has observed how beautiful a use Euripides has made, in one of his most affecting tragedies, of the received opinion, that strangers were on this shore sacrificed to Diana by the natives. We hear little of the Taurica Chersonesus, (the ancient name by which this peninsula was known,) till the time of Mithridates. It formed in his reign a considerable part of the kingdom of Bosphorus, and it was to this quarter of his dominions that he fled, when pressed by the Roman armies in Pontus, and there ended his days by a voluntary death.

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Until about the 14th century the Crimea does not appear to have been much visited by foreigners for mercantile purposes: amidst the disorders which agitated the Greek empire at that period, the Genoese were fortunate enough to secure the important privilege of a free navigation on the Black Sea, to the exclusion of all competitors, and an unrestrained commerce with the ports of the Crimea. Their establishments on this coast were of a magnitude and importance unusual in those days, as the remains of their fortifications at Caffa and Sudak sufficiently prove; and they by degrees acquired such an ascendancy in the affairs of the peninsula, that the descendant of Genghis Khan in his palace at Bachtiserai was kept in complete subjection by these spirited adventurers; and by monopolizing the traffic of the interior, and exchanging the produce of the salt lakes for the corn and fish which were brought down the great rivers from the more northern parts of Russia, Constantinople itself became in some measure dependent upon supplies from this quarter for the subsistence of its immense population.

The Genoese, on the overthrow of the Greek empire, were at last expelled by the Turks, and the Crimea remained subject to the Ottoman power, till it was annexed by Catherine to her dominions in the way that we have stated. It cannot be doubted that this is the most important acquisition made by that great princess in prosecution of her designs upon Turkey; and though we are not disposed with Mr. Eton, to consider 'the mouth unholy that dares to arraign her right to this conquest,' its importance to her as securing the command of the Black Sea will not admit of any dispute.

Hitherto, however, Russia has reaped but little benefit from her new possession, and has neglected to avail herself of the numerous advantages which it holds out for naval as well as commercial purposes. Such is the genial nature of the climate, that there are few productions which might not be brought to perfection in the southern parts of the Crimea. In the delicious vallies found in the mountainous tract which extends along the coast, the vine is cultivated with considerable success; and Pallas conceives that the culture of the cotton plant, and the raising of the silkworm might be introduced there with equal advantage.

Though they were formerly well clothed with timber, few trees of any size are now to be met with on the mountains; which is chiefly to be attributed to the havoc incessantly made among the young plants for domestic purposes by the Tartar inhabitants. As the soil, however, is peculiarly favourable to the growth of wood, a valuable supply might no doubt in process of time be hence obtained, were proper measures taken to prevent its destruction; and it is of more importance that some attention should be paid to this subject than may be at first imagined; for though no country

possesses such natural facility for internal communication by water as Russia, she has not been enabled to provide her dock-yards on the Black Sea with timber in such abundance as to allow her to build ships of war there as cheaply as in her northern arsenals.

The Baltic and Caspian seas are connected by means of the Volga, and the communication between the Baltic and Black seas is only interrupted by the cataracts on the Dnieper; but the project of uniting the Don and the Volga, which was originally designed by Selim the Second, and afterwards taken up by Peter the Great, has never been carried into complete execution, on account of local difficulties; and therefore the timber of Woronetz, which is supposed to be the finest in Russia, cannot be transported to the sea of Asoph without considerable expense.

Those countries bordering on the Black sea which have not fallen under the dominion of Russia, are described as producing an abundance of timber well calculated for all the purposes of ship-building; and such is the profuse waste of this valuable article in the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, that much of the unhealthiness of Jassy and Bucharest is supposed to arise from the stagnant water collected under the planks with which the streets of these towns are laid.

The north coast of Anatolia is covered with wood, but Russia cannot of course depend upon a regular supply from that quarter, nor is she likely to be more successful than ourselves in her applications to the Porte on this subject. More than one attempt has been made by our ministers at Constantinople, to procure timber for the repairs of our fleet at Malta, by an arrangement with the Turkish government. Our object was to obtain it from the forest that covers the tract of country, between the Gulph of Isnikmid, and the river Sakaria, which possesses great facilities of water carriage: but the uniform answer to our proposals has been, that 'the Grand Signior does not condescend to traffic in any thing.'

The successors of Peter the Great are blamed by Mr. Etou (and in our opinion unjustly) for a degree of vacillation as to whether it was the true interest of Russia to become a maritime power in the northern or southern parts of Europe. It has certainly been their constant object to establish a marine in both quarters, and though some of the towns which were founded by Catherine in the southern parts of her dominions may appear to have been rather capriciously abandoned to make way for new favourites, this may be sufficiently accounted for, by the gradual manner in which she conducted her approaches against her neighbours the Turks, so that places which were originally of material importance ceased to continue so, when a more valuable possession was secured by the progress of her arms. Thus Oczakow, which was founded by the  
Turks

Turks to repress the incursions of the Cossacks, though most advantageously situated as the emporium for Russian produce in this quarter, has been abandoned for Odessa; and Sebastopol, it is probable, will in the same way become, in course of time, the chief naval arsenal in the Black Sea at the expense of Kherson and Nicolaief. The name of Sinus Portuosus, by which the bay on which it is situated was known, sufficiently points out what peculiar advantages for naval purposes the harbour of Aktiar or Sebastopol was supposed by the ancients to possess; like that of Malta, it abounds with small inlets which are admirably calculated for the careening and repairing of ships. The depth of water is such, that vessels of the largest burthen may lie with perfect safety quite close to the shore, and the whole navy of Russia might ride here sheltered from every wind that blows. A fleet stationed here in its progress to the southward is not exposed to those dangers to which ships on their departure from Kherson or Nicolaief are subject. The harbour too of Sebastopol is never blocked up by ice, and the water, being strongly impregnated with salt, is not so pernicious to shipping as that of the Dnieper.

Nothing but the certain prospect of the immense advantages to be derived from the corn trade with Poland could have led to the foundation of a city, in a spot exposed to so many serious inconveniences as Odessa. The country around is a dreary steppe, without a tree in any direction to diversify the scene. The water with which the town is supplied, is of the worst description; and as the original plan for the harbour has never been carried into execution, the greater part of the vessels which frequent this port must lie in a very exposed roadstead. Yet, as the emporium of the valuable productions of Poland, Odessa will, no doubt, in spite of these disadvantages, rise to considerable importance, and Taganrog, from a similar cause, being the entrepot of all the Siberian commodities, will probably prove its most successful rival, though the difficulties of the navigation in that quarter are daily increasing from the rapid diminution of water in the sea of Asoph.

With all these advantages, however, it does not appear that there is much cause for apprehension or jealousy at the growth of the Russian naval power in the Black sea. It will be some time before her fleet in that quarter can assume a formidable shape, unless her progress in naval science and skill should be far more rapid than it has been hitherto. At such a distance from the seat of government, it is not surprising that there should be much mismanagement and neglect in the proper administration of the naval concerns. We doubt too the durability of the vessels there constructed, for it is notorious that, of the fleet under Admiral Siniavin,

which originally sailed from Sebastopol, and which was surrendered to us at Lisbon, only two ships have been found capable of proceeding again to sea, and that after considerable repair. Though great attention has been paid of late to obtaining correct surveys of the Caspian and Black seas, the charts of both are still extremely defective.\* The Russian ships of war are so seldom exercised in the requisite manœuvres, that it would be matter of wonder, if they had obtained more nautical skill than they are known to possess.

We have heard much of the dangers of the Euxine, and of the difficulties attending the entrance of the Bosphorus, but we are rather disposed to attribute the bad name which this sea has acquired to the ignorance and want of seamanship of the mariners who frequent it. A stronger proof cannot be given of this deficiency than a fact which we know to be true; it is, that during the late war against the Turks, when an expedition against Trebisonde was in agitation, the only person that could be found capable of piloting the Russian ships of war into that harbour, was an English merchant resident at Caffa; and he actually did lead the fleet into the bay of Trebisonde, and conducted the operations till the design was abandoned. We mention these circumstances with the persuasion, that a more vigilant attention to the concerns of her navy in this quarter will enable Russia to correct the abuses which have crept into her service, and to improve the discipline and skill of her seamen.

The cry of danger to be apprehended from the introduction of a new naval power in the Mediterranean, has always proceeded from the French; and Volney is the only author of that nation who has ventured to assert his opinion that the destruction of the Turkish empire would not prove prejudicial to France, and that Russia ought to be considered as a more valuable ally than the Sultan and his janissaries.

We confess, for our parts, that we are not disposed to preach with him and Mr. Eton a crusade against the Turks, and to insist upon the necessity of expelling them from Europe. The Dardanelles cannot perhaps be in safer hands, though unfortunately the ascendancy which France has at all times maintained in the Divan has been, in more than one instance, extremely prejudicial to this country. Still less can we bring ourselves to view with that apprehension which has been expressed by more sensible

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\* We hope the example lately shewn by this country in dispatching an intelligent naval officer to complete a survey of the south coast of Asia Minor, which we doubt not will afford much useful information, will stimulate our allies to acquire more accurate information of the state of their own shores.

writers than those we have already quoted, the rise of a rival navy in the Mediterranean, whose fleets would be manned with seamen from the coasts of Albania and Greece. The degraded state to which the greater part of the continent has for many years been reduced, has led us, and not unnaturally, to trust almost entirely to our own resources for the accomplishment of any object that we may happen to have in view ; but it is vain and presumptuous to suppose that all our plans can be carried into execution by ourselves alone, and the economising system of wrapping ourselves up in our nut-shell, and leaving the continent to take care of itself, is daily losing many of its advocates.

We have always considered the jealousy shewn by this country of any improvement in the navy of those states which are our natural allies, as a mean and selfish feeling, unworthy of the spirit of ancient times ; and we are not surprised that it should have given some colour to the accusation so often brought against us by France, as it is in the work before us, of aiming at the exclusive dominion of the seas, as well as the whole commerce of the world. This system, if carried beyond its due length, must, we conceive, prove extremely prejudicial to ourselves. If never brought into action, our fleets will lose much of their skill in manœuvring, as well as our sailors their knowledge in the use of the guns. They were never more formidable than when constantly engaged with a skilful and intrepid enemy, as in the wars with the Dutch ; and the want of opportunities of distinction, which has, until of late years, operated against our army, would undoubtedly have its effect upon our fleet.

England, according to our idea, should encourage, as far as she can, the growth of a naval power in the Mediterranean, who may one day be able to cope with the fleets of France in that sea. We therefore deprecate all jealousy of the Russian progress in the attainment of naval knowledge, and we rejoice to find that the part of the Russian fleet which is now under the orders of one of our most intelligent officers, is as anxious to improve in naval tactics as we, on our parts, are willing to communicate the skill which we possess. It may perhaps startle some of our readers, but we confess that it would give us much satisfaction to see a Russian fleet in the Adriatic, and their troops in possession of some of those points on the coast which it has so long been their object to obtain. We allude to Corfu, or Cattaro, where the Montenegrin inhabitants, who are known to be inclined to Russia, might at all times be employed as a most formidable diversion in any operation against France. Had we possessed allies in that quarter at the commencement of the last campaign, it is easy to perceive of what incalculable advantage they might have proved to the common

cause at so important a moment. Whilst the French armies were occupied in the north of Europe, had a combined force of 20 or 30,000 men been transported across the Adriatic to the coasts of Italy, the whole country would have been in arms; and with the support which we could have afforded from Sicily, the French corps in the Tyrol which was employed to watch Austria, and which has formed the ground-work of Buonaparte's present army, might have been overpowered, and as signal a blow given to the French influence in the south of Europe, as it has suffered by the disastrous result of the campaign in the north.

Italy, though she has been long silent under the severe and grinding oppression of the French, is not destitute of true patriots, who are prepared to sacrifice every thing for the welfare of their country, but who are wise enough to perceive that no permanent advantages can be gained except by a strict union of states which are now under different governors; and they have therefore prudently abstained from premature efforts which might have been crushed, before England (the only power in whom they are inclined to confide) could come to their assistance.

Such are a few of the ideas which we would suggest as calculated to quiet the alarms of those who dread the appearance of a power in the Mediterranean to whom nature seems to have denied all access to its shores: it may, perhaps, also have its use to notice the different reasons assigned by some of the writers we have already alluded to, for carrying into effect their schemes upon the Greek islands. 'What!' says Mr. Leckie, 'shall we allow Russia to acquire the means of attacking us on our own element by neglecting to secure possession of the valuable islands of Greece?' Whilst Mr. Eaton, on the other hand, appears to consider it advantageous that Russia should appropriate them to herself, as the more her fleets shall be brought in contact with our own, the more completely, in his opinion, will they be at our mercy.

We have not time to follow Mr. Leckie through all the details of his scheme of insular empire, though, as the scene is principally laid in the Mediterranean, it is very much to our present purpose. It is sufficient perhaps to observe, that as the islands which he proposes to occupy, could not be maintained on the establishment of a third rate man of war, (like the rock of Anholt,) and as troops therefore must be forthcoming to garrison these new acquisitions at a time when every disposable man is employed on services of greater moment elsewhere; we may well rest contented, for the present at least, with that undisputed superiority in the Mediterranean which is enjoyed by our fleets; and which they will long continue to enjoy, if perseverance, enterprize, and unwearied exertion can secure it. We return to the affairs of Russia.

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The epithet 'extreme' has been applied by Horace to the Tanaïs, (the Don.) It may be doubted whether the Russian sovereigns have been prudent in extending the boundary of their empire beyond the Don. The possession of Astrakhan, it is true, secures the command of the Caspian, and the commerce of that sea, but the projects against India, which have at various times been entertained by Russia, are chimerical; and though the Czar Peter retained possession for some years of the valuable provinces of Ghilan, Mazanderan, and Astrabat, he was at last, though unwillingly, compelled to give them up. So valuable and compact a possession as the Crimea being once added to the empire, any extension of the Russian frontier to the southward on either side of the Black sea can only serve to divert a part of the disposable force of the country from the quarter where a powerful army is most required, and cannot in any way materially contribute to augment her resources.

Every war in which Russia has been engaged has only served to prove her utter inability to maintain a sufficient military force upon more than one frontier at the same time. It has accordingly been the constant policy of France to preserve a close alliance with Turkey and Sweden, which might enable her, when engaged in hostilities with Russia, to menace at the same moment, by means of these allies, both the northern and southern frontiers of that power. She has in all former wars carried this design into execution with more or less effect; and it is quite clear, that if Buonaparte had succeeded in his attempts to create a diversion in his favour on the part of Sweden, and at the same time been able to dissuade the Turks from making peace, the Emperor Alexander would have found it impossible to bring an army into the field in the last campaign equal to cope with the invader. Those who find fault therefore with the treaty lately concluded between this country and Sweden, should recollect this insufficiency of the resources of Russia, this inadequacy to repel the attacks prepared for her from all quarters. This it was which made it an object of the greatest importance to the cause to secure, at whatever price, the alliance of Sweden.

M. Montgalliard has devoted a whole chapter to the politics of Russia in regard to Turkey, and more especially to the alleged infraction on her part of the treaty of Tilsit, which guaranteed the integrity of that empire.

'Le cabinet de St. Petersbourg,' says he, 'a fait tous ses efforts pour démembler les provinces Ottomanes, et s'emparer de Constantinople. Ce cabinet a les yeux fixés sur cette capitale, comme le Mammon du Paradis Perdu sur le parvis des demeures célestes; et c'est par la conquête de la Pologne qu'il s'est flatté de consommer la destruction



de l'empire Ottoman, et qu'il à marché à ambition decouverte sur Constantinople.'—p. 249.

When we reflect that without the possession of the Dardanelles, all attempts on the part of Russia to become a naval power beyond the limits of the Black sea, must be attended with considerable difficulty, and that she must, at all times, be in some degree dependant on a nation that despises all mercantile adventure, for whatever commerce she may acquire in that quarter, we cannot be surprised that Constantinople should always have been the chief point to which the projects of the greatest of the Russian sovereigns have been directed; nor can we wonder at the tender solicitude for the safety of that capital which is testified by the author before us. We have already noticed the anxiety of Catherine, and the gigantic schemes of conquest which she was inclined to entertain. If we may believe the Prince de Ligne, they were not at all to the taste of that coadjutor in most of her plans, the Emperor Joseph; for her eloquent discourses on the prospect of the revival of the arts and sciences in Greece, with the restoration of freedom in that country, seem only to have produced the pettish observation—'Eh, que diable faire de Constantinople?'

The provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia being situated, like the Netherlands, between two powerful states, have always, like them, been the seat of war. The Turks, by the last treaty, were induced to cede Bessarabia to Russia, but they will naturally look with considerable jealousy to the approaches of their neighbours in the direction of these provinces. On the other hand, we cannot wonder that Russia should have been anxious to secure herself from insult on this frontier, when we recollect a note given to the divan by the French ambassador Sebastiani, in the year 1806, in which he broadly states, that the Turks cannot be permitted to allow Russian ships of war to pass the Bosphorus, '*sans donner à S. M. Napoleon le Grand le droit de traverser les états de l'empire Ottoman pour aller sur le Dniestre combattre l'armée Russe.*'

After all, however it may suit the purposes of M. Montgalliard and his countrymen to testify an excess of sensibility for the fate of Turkey, it does not appear that there is any just cause for apprehension that Russia will make too rapid advances in this direction. The Balkan mountains (the ancient Hæmus) offer a most formidable barrier to an invading army, and the possession of the passes in this range must create an almost insurmountable obstacle. The Turkish armies, it is true, are no longer composed of the same troops, or led by the same generals that once spread terror and dismay to the gates of Vienna, but they are still able to make a formidable opposition to the progress of the Russian arms; and we must recollect, in estimating their power, that in the war of  
1788,

1788, they withstood, for four successive campaigns, the united force of Austria and Russia.\*

We now come to a subject which we should willingly refrain from touching—we mean the conduct of Russia in regard to the partition of Poland. It is amusing enough to read the abuse lavished upon the Empress Catherine on this occasion, and we should be almost led to imagine that our author, at the time he was writing, had forgotten the system of *arrondissements*, which has been so universally adopted by the hero he celebrates, or that he conceives us to be ignorant of the well known facts, that at the conferences with D'Oubril, the Emperor of Russia was informed by the French negociator that he was at liberty to extend his frontier towards Poland as far as he wished, and that at Tilsit the Vistula was pointed out to him as the natural boundary of his empire.

A certain class of politicians in this country, however they may be disposed to coincide with the author before us in the view which he has taken of the Russian government and people, will not, we imagine, be equally inclined to subscribe to his opinion of the talents of their great leader Mr. Fox; nor (we think it right to premise) do we go along with him in all he has advanced on this subject, though he may be correct as to certain points.

‘Lorsque Mr. Fox,’ says he, ‘sanctionnait le démembrement de ce royaume, demandait une entière adhésion à toutes les vues de la cour de St. Petersbourg, et autorisait d’avance le partage de la Turquie, lorsqu’entraîné par sa haine contre la France, ou peut être corrompu par les largesses de Catherine II. ce membre du parlement approuvait avec une sorte de fureur le traité de 1795 conclu entre l’Angleterre et la Russie, traité par lequel tous les démembrements qu’il plairait à la dernière de ces puissances d’effectuer à l’avenir étaient tacitement reconnus par la première, Mr. Fox donnait la mesure de son caractère moral, et celle de ses talens politiques.’—p. 68.

Until the last campaign we have been in the constant habit of hearing from one quarter in this country, that the disgust excited in Russia at the expedition sent by England against Copenhagen, was the chief cause of the war between the two countries. This assertion, it is true, has since been satisfactorily disproved, but it is curious to observe that our ally is now accused of having connived at the measure, and that it is coupled with other charges of grave accusation, such as the occupation of that part of Finland which belonged to Sweden, the ally of France; and the free commercial intercourse which subsisted between the English and Russian ports, though the countries were in a state of nominal war.

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\* ‘Pouvoit on croire,’ says the Prince de Ligne, ‘que cet empire Musulman délaissé eut pu mettre l’armée Russe dans le plus triste état?’

We have always considered the forbearance shewn by this country towards Russia at that period as highly praiseworthy; and nothing could more effectually counteract the object which Buonaparte had in view, when the Berlin and Milan decrees were carried into execution elsewhere, than the refusal of Russia to enforce them in her sea-ports.

‘Le cabinet de France a désiré, il a constamment voulu la prospérité de l’empire Ottoman.’ Every project, on the contrary, which Russia undertakes, we are told, has ultimately its destruction in view, and that England is content to connive at the usurpation of her ally from the understanding that she is to obtain as an equivalent certain commercial advantages.

There is no subject upon which foreigners appear at all times to entertain more mistaken notions, than with regard to the commercial interests of this country: it is not wonderful therefore that a Frenchman of the present day should not be better informed in this particular than his countrymen in general. England, according to our author, reaps all the benefit of the trade which is carried on between this country and Russia, and our manufacturers are said to be enriched by the importation of raw materials which the Russians are obliged to take back, when made up, at exorbitant prices, being unable to make the most of the valuable commodities which their country affords. Now what M. Montgalliard affects to consider as a peculiar hardship under which the Russians labour, takes place in all species of traffic. The raw material is sent to that country which has hands and machinery to apply it to advantage, and manufactured goods are taken in exchange. It is also to be observed, that, in our commercial intercourse with Russia, the balance of trade is very much against us, and that Russia, as we have understood, owes the greater part of the internal commerce which was last year carried on by the Austrian frontier at Brody, to her refusal to exclude English goods from her ports.

We do not deny the importance to this country of maintaining such an intercourse with the north of Europe, as may enable her to procure a large supply of naval stores from the Baltic, but we have found by experience that they may be obtained from other quarters; and we are inclined to believe that the Russian landholder would suffer more from having the produce of his estate thrown upon his hands by the interruption of all trade between the two countries, than our merchants, by being obliged to seek another field for their speculations.

We are accused by M. Montgalliard of a desire to engross all the commerce of the world; and the circumstances of the times certainly give a colour to such an accusation. We are compelled to assert our maritime rights with a high hand, in order to preserve our national

national independence; though we should condemn as impolitic and unjust that monopolizing spirit which would exclude every country but our own from a fair share of the benefits of commerce. It is absurd to flatter ourselves, that the English nation, though it may be admired and dreaded, is not looked upon with eyes of jealousy by the continent in general, and in no other manner can we so powerfully attach allies to our cause as by allowing them to participate in those commercial advantages which we exclusively possess.

The Berlin and Milan decrees are considered by M. Montgalliard as striking monuments of the political sagacity of Buonaparte, and the ministers of the Regent are told, that 'nothing but a pacific system of policy can avert all the evils which must follow from these formidable measures.' The confident tone in which the effects to be expected from the operation of the continental system is announced, will be amusing enough to those who have witnessed its total failure.

'Heureusement pour l'Europe, l'Empereur Napoléon tient entre ses mains le sort de l'Angleterre, la liberté des mers, l'indépendance du commerce des deux hémisphères, la paix du monde; le maintien du décret qui déclare les Isles Britanniques en état de blocus, et l'affaiblissement de la puissance Russe, assurent ces grands et heureux résultats.'

Though it was from the beginning quite apparent that the late unprovoked attack by Buonaparte upon Russia, was chiefly to be attributed to the mortal hatred which he bears to this country, and to the injury which he trusted would result to us from the subjugation of our ally, we have never seen this fact so explicitly avowed as in the work before us.

'Ce sont les continuelles hostilités de l'Angleterre qui forcent l'Empereur Napoléon de porter ses armées aujourd'hui jusque dans le centre de la Moscovie.'—p. 229.

We are not surprized at the spleen which is throughout betrayed by our author at the intimate union which now happily subsists between the two powers; we trust the insidious attempts of France to sow divisions between Great Britain and her allies will all meet with as little success as those of the work before us, and we earnestly pray that two powers, which for the good of the civilized world ought to be united, may cordially continue so for the sake of their own prosperity and renown.

ART. VIII. *Memoirs of William Paley, D. D.* By George Wilson Meadley. Second Edition, with an Appendix. Edinburgh, Constable, and Co. London, Cradock and Joy. 1810. 8vo. pp. 404.

‘SEPULCHRUM haud pulchrum pulchrai feminae’ is an incongruity not peculiar to Gruter. But departed genius, as well as departed beauty, claims a master’s hand; the one in the sculptor, the other in the biographer. Yet it has too often been the misfortune of both to have their memories consigned to humble friends and unskilful, though flattering, artists.

Paley was among the few gifted men of the present age who have merited an union of talent and affection in the man that should undertake to deliver their lives and characters to posterity. Such, moreover, and so intimate had long been his connexion with one family eminently qualified for the purpose, that, after his decease, the public naturally looked with some degree of hope and expectation to that quarter. But the reserve of high rank, and the engagements of a laborious profession may be supposed to have prevented the exertions of one individual, while another and an earlier friend, broken down by bad health, and expecting soon to follow the subject of this memoir, could only cultivate in private conversation, or in secret recollection, the memory of him whom he most loved while living, and most venerated when dead.

Dr. John Law was one of those accomplished Englishmen who have been transplanted from subordinate stations of competence and usefulness in England,

‘To waste their sweetness on the desert air;’

to spend their remaining days in the tumult of Hibernian politics; and, in the midst of bigotry and hatred, to exercise spiritual jurisdiction over a clergy without congregations. Such has been the lot, such indeed the reward of ill-judging ambition in more tranquil times: but this unfortunate prelate fell upon evil days as well as evil tongues; and situated as he found himself, at its eruption, in the very focus of the Irish rebellion, by an unhappy determination not to quit a post in which his presence could have little effect, anxiety and alarm laid the foundation of those complicated diseases which hurried him to the grave.

This event, and those which led to it, the public have to deplore on their own account as well as his; since the leisure and tranquillity of Carlisle, from which he was transplanted, would probably not only have prolonged his days, but produced that tribute to the memory of his friend, which (without meaning any disrespect to the present biographer) must be allowed to have fallen into  
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very different hands: for, in addition to a manly and penetrating understanding, a severe integrity, and an erudition able not only to comprehend the attainments of his friend, but to assist and promote his inquiries, there was in the temper and manner of Dr. John Law, though the younger man of the two, something which, without either effort or intention, in the earlier days of their friendship, acquired and long maintained an high ascendant over the mind of Paley. Of the other able and intimate companions of his youth, some were gone before, and the rest did not long survive him: so that the memory of Paley might, in the course of a few years, have been preserved only in his works, had not the diligence and zeal of his present biographer exerted themselves, before it was too late, to collect many scattered anecdotes which, with their present depositaries, would quickly have been no more, and out of these, assisted by his own recollections, to embody such a resemblance, as his skill would permit, of this extraordinary man.

To Mr. Meadley, therefore, we feel and acknowledge some obligation; for, though we could antecedently have wished the task in other hands, yet before he seized it the undertaking appeared to have become a derelict, and it is no longer matter of censure, or even of surprize, that he undertook it; for it ought to be a rule of criticism, as it is of law, in every case to accept the best evidence which can be procured.

To this second edition of the work before us, (which, on account of the 'enlargement' it has received, gives us an opportunity of completing the sketch which we laid before the reader in a former No.\*) we have, as a whole, no very material objections: the style is not exceptionable; the facts and dates are accurate; the writer's apprehension of the character which he has undertaken to delineate, though somewhat faint, is usually right: while, with a becoming interest in the subject, his admiration is never excessive, his panegyric never disgusting. With all these merits, this *Life of Paley* as a man of genius and originality not surpassed in our days, has one radical deficiency, which the writer could not help—an absence of those magic touches of art which constitute the difference between a dead and living resemblance, between the tame though faithful strokes of a moderate artist and the magic touches of a Reynolds, which are able to draw intellect and passion out of canvass, and appear almost to reanimate the dead. The political party, indeed, to which this writer belongs, have never been celebrated for such powers: the faculty, however, of distorting and misrepresenting, of seeing every object through their own coloured medium, of depreciating the most generous acts and darkening the

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\* No. III, Art. IV.

brightest characters, they have abundantly imparted to their pupil Mr. Meadley. But more of this hereafter.

William Paley, though not actually born in the district of Yorkshire called Craven, was descended of Craven parents, and transplanted thither in his infancy. The inhabitants of this rugged and remote tract have, like other mountaineers, a character more strongly marked than their lowland neighbours, from which Paley derived an early tincture, which no intercourse with the world ever wore off, or produced an inclination to wear off. With clear and shrewd understandings, great humour and naiveté in their conversation, fondness for old stories, rusticity often affected, and a dialect which heightens and sets off every other peculiarity, that country has produced many archetypes of this extraordinary man, though none perhaps with equal powers of reasoning, or even invention.

In this congenial soil and climate, therefore, he appeared less original, less of a phenomenon than any where else. But here too the unworn asperities of his manner, by exciting the least surprise, gave the least offence, and here perhaps to the last day of his life he most willingly reposed, and found himself most at home. The highest advancement in the church would, in this respect, have had no effect upon him. He was, and ever would have been, what Lipsius called *Vespasian*,—*homo subrusticus et vere Sabinus*.

In his education every thing seemed prepared and disposed in order to demonstrate what some minds can do for themselves. From the school of his own obscure village, where little was taught, and that little far from well, he was sent to Cambridge to contend with the polished sons of Eton and Westminster, and the result was that he bore away one of the most honourable prizes from them all. Here two of the three years allotted to a severe course of academical study were loitered away by Paley in unconnected and desultory reading. A third year of severe application placed him above his competitors.

The Cambridge system of study is a *forcing* system, which, applying itself almost wholly to one subject, and being adapted to minds of a single cast, frequently debilitates the understanding through life, by the effort to produce a single fruitage. Paley was none of these sickly productions of toil and art: his powers once roused became spontaneously and abundantly prolific, and the native fertility of his mind, instead of being exhausted or impaired by a single push, appeared to be invigorated by severe exertion.

We are next to contemplate him as a teacher and a guide, as fellow and tutor of his college. Here he had the fortune to be associated with an admirable coadjutor, Mr. John Law, in concert with whom he planned and executed a laborious and comprehensive

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sive system of institution, supported by a vigorous and spirited discipline. This deserves to be remembered as one of the last attempts in that, and perhaps either University, to sustain or to revive the ancient tone of authority, which was at once rough and affectionate, peremptory and parental. 'You do not treat me like a gentleman,' said a young man to one of these faithful reprovers, in the new spirit which was just beginning to appear, 'You do not treat me like a gentleman.' 'I never meant to do so,' was the answer, 'but as a boy under discipline.' We record this as a specimen of the true temper of an old tutor in an English university before the spirit of gentlemanship had eaten out both authority and attachment, which are now succeeded by an intercourse between the governors and the governed, the teachers and the taught, so perfectly elegant and well-bred, and at the same time so cool and mutually indifferent, that it might seem as if the only object in view was for the one party to maintain his popularity, and the other his independence. How far the Universities have given way to the general spirit of the times, or how far, by concession to youthful encroachment; they have contributed to the lamentable diffusion of that spirit through the kingdom, we shall not at present inquire. Thus much, however, is certain, that its effects have been equally pernicious in public and domestic life; and even in the Universities themselves what has been gained (or rather what has not been lost) by the exchange? The tutor was more loved when he was more feared, and the pupil, instead of the liberty which he claims, has, at the most dangerous period of life, become the slave of his own will and passions.

'Di majorum animis tenuem et sine pondere terram,  
Spirantesque rosas et in urnâ perpetuum ver,  
Qui præceptorem sancto voluere parentis  
Esse loco!'

The following anecdote, which reflects the highest honour on these two virtuous and independent young men, shall be told, after a short preface, in Mr. Meadley's words. About the time of a great contest for the High Stewardship of the University, which is in the recollection of many persons yet alive, the members of the Senate had ranged themselves under two noblemen of very opposite characters, though both of great abilities. The partizans very naturally resembled their respective patrons. The leaders of the former party shall be nameless; of the latter, we mention with honour that intrepid spirit the present Bishop of Landaff.

'When,' says our biographer, 'the hall of Christ's College, which had been promised through the interest of Dr. Shepherd, was fitting up for a benefit concert for Ximenes, a Spanish musician, warmly patronised by Lord Sandwich, Mr. Paley and Mr. Law peremptorily insisted that



that the promise should be recalled, unless satisfactory assurance was given that a lady then living with his lordship, and who had been openly distributing tickets, should not be permitted to attend. At first the senior tutor, who was in habits of intimacy with Lord Sandwich, (a very reputable connexion for a divine and an institutor of youth,) objected to the idea of excluding any lady from a public concert: but afterwards when they urged that standing in a public situation as the instructors of youth, it was their duty to discountenance every sort of immorality, and threatened to appeal to the Society in case of his refusal, the assurance was given, and the *arrangement* suffered to proceed.

Be it remembered, that of these two champions of morality and decorum, the older was then no more than twenty-eight!

It was about the same time, and by means of the same early connexion, that Mr. Paley was introduced as chaplain into the family of Dr. Law, then newly appointed to the bishopric of Carlisle, who like other scholarlike men elevated to these high situations in the decline of life, wanted an active and skilful coadjutor. Neither party had reason to repent of this connexion. The chaplain lived in his patron's family as an equal; their confidence was reciprocal; his services merited all which a see richer in patronage than that of Carlisle could bestow, and they received from the limited resources which it did afford more than his disinterested and unambitious temper aspired to. Beside a series of parochial preferment of no great value, he became successively Prebendary of the Cathedral, and Archdeacon and Chancellor of the diocese.

We stop the progress of the narrative for a moment, in order to notice, before they are left too far behind, some particulars in the early character of Paley as a scholar and a writer. It is not a little diverting that the first known composition of a man who never afterwards discovered a glimpse of poetical taste or imagination, should have been *A Poem in the manner of Ossian*. Had we been assured that the first work of Mr. Gray had been a solution of some mathematical problem in the *Lady's Diary*, we should scarcely have been more astonished. His next performance, of which more than one copy appears to be extant, is his Prize dissertation, written when senior Bachelor of Arts, where, in a style somewhat uncouth and rugged but with great vigour of thought, and a promise of all his future excellence as a reasoner, he supports the cause of the Epicurean philosophy, disencumbered by him with great skill from the load of calumny with which it had been oppressed by its enemies, against the impracticable and unnatural dogmata of Zeno. Of this original performance Mr. Meadley has given a short specimen from the conclusion, to which we shall subjoin the exordium.

‘Cum e Græcia jamdudum cesserit philosophia atque serò admodum  
apud

apud nostros expetita lacertos tandem porrexisse videatur, utile profecto erit atque huic certè loco accommodatum, disjecta philosophorum monumenta respicere eorumque ita conferre utilitates, ut habeamus aliquando quo lare et nos tutemur et civitatem. Quæ quidem utilitatum comparatio et quasi contentio cum ipsa per se sit fructuosa et frugifera, tum maxime nostris eò studiis commendatur quod materiam hancce veteres integram omninò intactamque reliquere. Quamdiu enim viguit Athenis philosophia, quisque suæ sunt astricti disciplinæ, eamque ad augendam totos sese penitusque tradidere; inde propriis delectati studiis, aliena aut omninò contempsere aut parum studiose prosecuti sunt. Affectibus planè præpediti ad dogmata *diversarum* scholarum excutienda accessere, magistros interea suos superstitione venerantes.

This composition, in the midst of the drudgery of a school, to which the talents of Paley had then been condemned, is said to have been the work of a fortnight; but the materials, of which there is a copious suppellex in the notes, must have been the result of long and previous research. Paley had not yet begun to disdain a parade of ancient authorities; but from this time, he employed himself much better in drawing from the stores of his own mind than in borrowing the best sense of antiquity on moral subjects, far inferior for the most part to his own.

‘In the pulpit,’ says his biographer of him, at the same period, ‘he was less admired, his early discourses being verbose and florid, a fault by no means rare in men of genius, before they have acquired a purer and more simple style.’ And again—‘It was probably his present experience which led him afterwards to remark, in reference to those who had two sermons to preach every week, that they had better steal one of them; for though a sermon occupied the preacher only about twenty minutes in the delivery, it took, or ought to take him, more than half a week in the composition. And yet few men could compose more rapidly than himself. He seems to have entertained a very low opinion of that kind of vapid declamation which imposes so much upon the multitude.’ And truly so does every man, even of ordinary taste or understanding. But, if Mr. Meadley wishes it to be understood that the earlier discourses of Paley partook of that ‘vapid declamation’ which his better taste condemned, we must be allowed to differ from him. Several of these discourses are known to be extant; and more perhaps are remembered as delivered from the pulpit. They were indeed declamatory: they certainly wanted the closeness and cogency of his later compositions; but they were neither verbose, nor florid, nor vapid: they were the forcible and animated effusions of a young orator, who by a due severity to his own luxuries was shortly to attain to excellence.

It is only minds of great elasticity and vigor, conscious of their  
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ability to enlighten mankind, and aware of the responsibility attached to great talents, which, after having quitted the great scenes of learning, continue to pursue their studies for the purpose of systematic instruction in the country—Paley was one of these: wherever settled or however employed, it was impossible for him not to observe or reflect; with such internal resources he wanted no library; and, with him, to compose was as easy as to converse. The series of works which a retirement of about twenty years produced is happily well known to the public; with them we have no immediate concern, and Mr. Meadley might have spared himself the trouble of analyzing their contents: but some invidious remarks on those splendid rewards which his author merited for his services in the cause of religion, and the spirit of rancour displayed by him towards the memory of Mr. Pitt, whose disposition towards Dr. Paley he has either misrepresented, or not understood, call for correction and reprehension—And first, with respect to his refusal of the mastership of Jesus College—‘The whole of his motives for this refusal have never yet been clearly ascertained; nor perhaps were they fully communicated even to his most intimate friends’ (here we agree with the biographer)—‘to one gentleman indeed, he stated a conviction that he should be scarcely able to remain a single month in office’ (meaning probably the vice-chancellorship, which would have followed the other) ‘without quarrelling with Mr. Pitt—Mr. Paley, who was no timeserver, seems to have been unwilling to place himself in a situation in which unworthy compliances might be either expected or required.’—‘This is a foul libel on the dead and the living—on the minister and on the heads of houses—the first as an haughty tyrant; the second as a set of unprincipled and self-interested slaves. It is neither a duty incumbent on ministers nor men to heap rewards on those who thwart and oppose their measures; but independence and hostility are not convertible terms, and in that station we undertake to say, that a man like Paley, with all his independence of spirit, would have held no such course, as to debar him from preferment. Besides, the surmise is negatived by facts; as it is well known that, about the same time, a man of far less merit, and by principle as well as connexion actively hostile to the court, was promoted by the crown to the mastership of another college, with an express reservation of his party and his principles: and the biographers might have known, that when Paley’s first and best friend heard of the refusal, his observation was, that he had ‘missed a mitre.’

Dull and shallow men are not always fit to be trusted with the loose talk of their betters; and these words, if ever uttered at all, were probably spoken in that careless and jocular manner so peculiar

liar to the speaker, and which was sometimes turned to his disadvantage.

Again—‘ It had long been a reproach to the chief dispensers of ecclesiastical patronage, though certainly with some honourable exceptions, that so comparatively small a portion of preferment in a very opulent establishment had been bestowed on so deserving a divine. The ministers of the crown had neglected the instructive moralist, and the bench of bishops seemed almost equally inattentive to the theologian who had supplied so new and satisfactory a demonstration of the authenticity of the Epistles of St. Paul. After the publication of the Evidences of Christianity, however, any farther forbearance on the part of the great episcopal patrons was scarcely possible. Whatever subordinate difference of opinion might be supposed to distinguish the creed of Dr. Paley from that of some of his more dignified brethren, his merit as a defender of the Christian Revelation was indisputable and too prominent to be neglected at *so critical a time.*’

That exalted order are too much accustomed to obloquy to suffer themselves to be scared into acts of bounty; they are not, and they ought not to be, the slaves of popular opinion: but differing as they all did, from some subordinate tenets which Dr. Paley was known or suspected to hold, they maintained a dignified reserve towards him till his general services to the cause of Revelation had overborne every subordinate scruple, and awed even bigotry into silence. Four of the most illustrious prelates of the English church, to one alone of whom perhaps he was personally known, then spontaneously interposed to gild the later days of such a man with the sunshine of their favour, and to enable him to close an active and useful life in ease and opulence.

And this is the reward to which Mr. Meadley thinks the benefactors of his friend entitled! their bounty, as he would have it believed, was drawn forth by a feeling of self-reproach and a consciousness of having neglected transcendent merit: the time was critical, and any farther inattention to the merits of Paley might have endangered the establishment.—It were better even that a man like Paley were neglected, than that ‘ the chief dispensers of ecclesiastical patronage’ should once give way to such a spirit: let the principle of concession to popular opinion but be carried a little farther, and their studies would be filled with libels in the shape of petitions; their houses would be surrounded by mobs clamouring for factious declaimers, and they would be no longer masters of their patronage or themselves. If judgment in selecting be the first qualification of a great patron, fortitude in refusing is the second. Had Dr. Paley thought on these occasions with his biographer, he would have received the bounty of his patrons in sullen silence: nay perhaps have told them that he owed it not to

them but to himself, or at least to the general sense of the nation on his behalf. On the contrary, his expressions of gratitude were public, affectionate and sincere.

These testimonies, however, flattering and valuable as they were, came late: but they contributed to sooth the painful decline of an useful life now drawing rapidly to its termination. That final scene Dr. Paley contemplated with cheerful anticipation, and endured with unaffected composure: the period of self-enjoyment on earth he felt was at an end, he had lived to accomplish a great and beneficial system of instruction for mankind, and he saw nothing in the prospect before him to dismay—nothing indeed which did not animate and cheer him under his temporary sufferings. Thus disposed and prepared, died this great and excellent man, May 25, 1805.

His mind was of a very original cast, and of that universal comprehension which is able to adapt itself to every subject. To a consummate knowledge of his own faculty together with its kindred sciences of morality and rational metaphysics, he added two accomplishments never perhaps united before, (certainly not with the third,) physiology and the law of England. It seemed indifferent to what profession he should originally have applied himself. He would have raised himself to the summit of any one. Yet, though indefatigably industrious, he was not a learned man. He disdained the pedantry of quotation, and never wasted on tedious research into antiquity those precious moments which were better occupied in original observation and reflection. Accordingly no English divine or philosopher has ever attained to the same or to any considerable degree of eminence with so small a portion of what may be called erudition. In this respect he most resembled his master, Locke. His classical learning was that of a school-boy just discharged from a country seminary: of the oriental languages he appears to have known nothing. His citations from the Fathers were made to his hand, but it has never been discovered that in applying and reasoning upon them he mistook their meaning. His biographer admits perhaps too readily and too universally that he had no taste—for poetry indeed he had none. Imagination was not his province, and argument and induction he well knew could best be managed in prose. For the supposed inelegance of his style we are not disposed to admit the apologies of his injudicious friends. The imputation ought to have been denied. It was not inelegant. Traces indeed of his provincial dialect may now and then be detected when he did not intend it; but he frequently used a strong and coarse expression purposely and for the sake of impression. In fact his style was formed on the manner of Johnson, with many of his hard words, but with sentences less involved.

Perspicuity

Perspicuity and force were its leading characters. Perhaps he was the clearest writer in the English language. His luminous conceptions were never encumbered by verbosity, never clouded by ill-chosen and unexpressive phrases. In the construction of periods his ear was good; he sometimes rose with his subject into great majesty of expression, though his ordinary tone was easy and graceful familiarity. With these excellencies it stirs our indignation to hear such apologies as this, in the mawkish and sickening language which the condescending and benevolent apologist, as we suppose, mistook for that elegance denied to Paley.

'To those, indeed, who love the exuberance of native character, there is in the writings of Paley, as connected with his personal naïveté, every thing to interest and to gratify. And for those, if such there be, who desiderate in him a higher temperament of sensibility or a finer delicacy of expression, let them learn to take substantial excellence wherever they are happy enough to find it, though it be not quite rectified up to their own exquisite standard of taste.'

With so much originality in himself, it is remarkable that in the first conception of his works Paley was not strictly original; nor were even the materials laid in by himself. There are some writers of great but disorderly understandings, unable to arrange, to amplify, or to illustrate their own conceptions. Such was Abraham Tucker, the heavy and desultory author of a book, the principles of which, whether true or false, by his own singular powers of style and illustration, Paley has wrought up into his masterly and inimitable work on Moral and Political Philosophy. The hint of the *Horæ Paulinæ*, perhaps the most cogent and convincing specimen of moral argumentation in the world, was, we believe, first suggested by Doddridge; the *Evidences of Christianity* are professedly a compilation, but so condensed and compacted, so illuminated and enforced, that it is impossible not to admire the matchless powers of the compiler's genius in turning the patient drudgery of Lardner to such account.—Let not, however, these humble labourers in the cause of literature be despised; every man has his gift, and if the hands destined to carve the enrichments of a temple or to adjust its symmetries, had been previously condemned to dig the marble from the quarry, the Parthenon and the Pantheon would probably never have existed. The same character belongs to his last and perhaps his most elaborate work, the *Natural Theology*. Here too Paley had his pioneers, as well as his forerunners; but his inimitable skill in arranging and condensing his matter, his peculiar turn for what may be termed 'animal mechanics,' the aptness and the wit of his illustrations, and occasionally the warmth and the solemnity of his devotion, which, by an happy and becoming process, became more animated as he

drew nearer to the close of life, stamp on this work a character more valuable than originality itself.

In common life Dr. Paley was probably the most acute observer since Swift, but without a tincture of his malevolence. He was constitutionally and incurably cheerful; for pain itself, of which in his later years he was exercised with an abundant portion, could not shake his persuasion of the truth of his own maxim, that 'the present is an happy life.' He delighted in conversation, but in conversation without effort and without display. No man better knew how to expose what is called fine talking, or to laugh out of countenance a kind of semi-nonsense which shallow understandings, gorged with more knowledge than they can digest, are very apt to produce. If he suspected that a plan was laid to exhibit him, he delighted to disappoint it. Though accustomed from his early years to converse much with his superiors of the highest rank in the church, he never thought it worth while to dissemble or to controul his native humour any more than to correct his native dialect in their presence. Though modest and unambitious, he was perfectly independent. He had no art of rising but that of deserving to rise. All his preferments came unsought. He was 'an economist upon principle,' and could therefore always afford to live without asking. The foundations of his great work on morality were laid in the rectitude of his own heart, as well as the clearness of his own head; for besides the most penetrating intuition into cases of conscience, his moral sense was in the highest degree lively and apprehensive.

'Compositum jus fasque animo sanctosque recessus  
Mentis et incoctum generoso pectus honesto.'

This last feeling, never bestowed on ordinary men, sometimes occasioned a certain degree of irritation from which minds and tempers of a coarser texture are exempt, and sometimes exposed him to the imputation of heat and violence, particularly in his opposition to the encroachments of a well known peer, and in his occasional rebukes of petty knavery or even stupidity which exercised him as a magistrate.

It is somewhat amusing to observe the embarrassment of modern reformers, and of Mr. Meadley among the rest, in their anxiety to press the name of Paley into their service. Too sagacious not to discover with them the manifold imperfections which adhere to every mode of human society, and too frank and open not to declare them, he had withall a faculty, which they do not possess, that of counting the cost of change. It was not a view to his own interests, but to those of his country, which taught him caution. He was never *practically* theirs; and at the tremendous crisis of  
the

the French revolution, his powerful and popular pen was employed in persuading his countrymen, then on the point of a similar explosion, to understand and value the blessings which they already enjoyed.

Still a cloud of suspicion long hung over him, and the prejudices of a great ecclesiastic in particular, are supposed to have obstructed his advancement; but it appears to be unknown to the biographer, (for we do not believe the fact to be injuriously concealed,) that at a later period Dr. Paley was actually proposed for an high station in the church by that great minister who, in this work, has been treated with so much injustice; and that the disappointment proceeded from an higher quarter than before. Homely truths about rulers, uttered in blunt and uncourtly language, are not always, we believe, the first recommendations to high preferment: the peculiarities also of a man of genius render him less *produci-ble*, and the jealousy entertained of overbearing talents, when they have taken a political direction, leaves the way more open to those against whom nothing can be objected, than those for whom much may be urged.

Thus unrewarded by public patronage was the most useful writer of his age. 'Useful,' indeed, in the highest sense is the epithet to be annexed to the name of Paley: for such was his happiness in the choice of subjects, so carefully did he avoid all matters of doubtful disputation, that, with very few exceptions, his works may be read with equal gratification by Christians of all denominations, and with equal advantage by unbelievers of every description.

As a philosopher and a friend (we mean not to exalt his character by the comparison) he had many points of resemblance to Socrates: for, setting aside his physiological knowledge, which the Grecian sage contemned, and the unspeakable advantages of Revelation, of which, in its lowest degree, we can scarcely persuade ourselves that *he* partook, ironical humour, a disposition to instruct by asking questions, a fondness for colloquial pleasures in preference to those of taste, and a keen intuition into common life, equally characterised the English and the Attic moralist. The philosophy of both was common sense, and their study human nature.

In point of utility, however, as living teachers, their spheres of influence were not to be named together;—for who was benefited by the one?—Crito, Simmias, Cebes, and a few other virtuous and sensible men with whom their master's wisdom and his lessons stopped. The mass of the people at least received neither warning nor information. How different from the character of the man who instructed the future instructors of an whole people, and those too both numerous and in succession! Nor, when they are considered as deceased teachers of mankind, can the charms in which the



delightful language of Plato or Xenophon has invested the discourses of Socrates ever conceal the absence of that perfection of good sense, that irresistible cogency of reason, which belongs to the best moderns, and among *them* superlatively to Paley. In one word, whatever may be thought of this comparison by the idolaters of antiquity, and how coldly soever it may be received by strangers or by rivals, the members of his own university, and more especially his surviving friends, will see nothing in it to which their own bosoms do not reverberate—nothing which they will not recognize as a faithful memorial—*ανδρος, ὡς ἡμεῖς φαιμεν αὐτῷ τοῖς ὦν ἐπετραδῆμεν ἀρίστῳ καὶ ἀλλῶς φρονιμώτατῳ καὶ δικαιοτάτῳ.*

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ART. IX. *Tracts on Mathematical and Philosophical Subjects; comprising, among numerous important Articles, the Theory of Bridges, with several Plans of recent Improvement. Also, the Result of numerous Experiments on the Force of Gunpowder, with Applications to the modern Practice of Artillery.* By Charles Hutton, LL. D. and F. R. S. &c. late Professor of Mathematics in the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. xii. 1254. Lond. Rivingtons, &c. 1812.

DR. Hutton has been long known to the public as a most active and useful writer on mathematical and philosophical topics. He now comes forward at the advanced age of 75, and, by the revision of what he considers as the most valuable of his original pieces, and the addition of some new ones, has formed the present collection, which he seems to regard (though in this we sincerely hope he will be mistaken) as his last legacy to the public.

‘It is,’ he says, with his characteristic simplicity, ‘in all probability, the last original work that I may ever be able to offer to the notice of the public, and I am, therefore, the more anxious that it should be found worthy of their acceptance and regard. To their kind indulgence, indeed, is due whatever success I may have experienced, both as an author and teacher, for more than half a century: and it is no small satisfaction to reflect, that my humble endeavours, during that period, have not been wholly unsuccessful in the diffusion of useful knowledge.’

‘To the same liberal encouragement of the public must likewise be ascribed, in a great measure, the means of the comfortable retirement which I now enjoy, towards the close of a long and laborious life; and for which I have every reason to be truly thankful.’

The tracts before us relate to a great variety of subjects. Some of them have already appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions*, or in detached works, but are now greatly modified and improved: and the volumes contain so much that is valuable, and indeed so much

much that is new, that we are inclined to enter somewhat at large into an analysis of their contents.

The first six tracts relate to the theory of arches and piers, and the construction of bridges. Of these, the first is a treatise which made its appearance at Newcastle, in 1772, and was again published in 1801, on occasion of the project of an iron bridge over the Thames. It is now considerably improved. The theory is extended; the practical maxims enlarged; with the addition of the principles of dome-vaulting: so that, altogether, though we are persuaded that much yet remains to be done, we have no hesitation in terming it far the most complete and useful view of the subject which has yet been exhibited in any language. The three next in succession relate to London bridge, and the 5th contains 'Answers to Questions proposed by the Select Committee of Parliament, relative to a proposal for erecting a new Iron Bridge, of a single arch, over the Thames, at London,' 1801. This is followed by a very amusing and instructive history of iron bridges; with neat wood engravings of those at Colebrook Dale, Buildwas, and Bristol, &c. and interspersed with several valuable remarks on the relative advantages and disadvantages of iron and stone bridges.

The 7th, 8th, and 9th Tracts, are on the subject of infinite series. The first of these is principally explanatory, pointing out the different characters of converging, diverging, and neutral series, and showing what may be indicated by the word *sum* of a series, so that the definition shall be free from the difficulties with which it has usually been encumbered.

The second of these exhibits a new and very ingenious method for the valuation of such numeral infinite series as have their terms alternately plus and minus, by taking continual arithmetical means between the successive terms, and again between those means, and so on. This method is applied to the summation of some very slowly converging series, such as  $1 - \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3} - \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{5} -$ , &c. . . .  $\frac{2}{3} - \frac{3}{4} + \frac{4}{5} - \frac{5}{6} + \frac{6}{7} -$ , &c. to the values of which it approximates with comparative expedition.

The third develops a method of summing the series  $a + bx + cx^2 + dx^3 + ex^4 +$ , &c. when it converges very slowly, which it will do whenever  $x$  is nearly equal to 1, and the coefficients  $a, b, c, \&c.$  decrease very slowly. The method is this. Assume  $\frac{a^2}{D}$  = the given series  $a + bx + cx^2 + dx^3 +$ , &c. then shall  $D = \frac{a^2}{a + bx + cx^2 + \&c.}$ ; which, by actual division is,  $= a - bx - (c - \frac{b^2}{a})x^2 - (d - \frac{2bc}{a} + \frac{b^3}{a^2})x^3 - (e - \frac{2bd + c^2}{a} + \frac{3b^2c}{a^2})x^4 -$

$-\frac{b^4}{a^3})x^4 -$ , &c. Consequently  $a^2$  divided by this series will be equal to the series proposed: and this new series will, as Dr. Hutton remarks, be very easily summed in comparison with the original one, because all the coefficients after the second term are evidently very small. The operation may obviously be repeated till the required degree of accuracy is obtained. The method is exemplified by summing the series  $x + \frac{1}{2}x^2 + \frac{1}{3}x^3 +$ , &c. when  $x = \frac{1}{10}$ , that is, by finding the hyperbolic logarithm of  $\frac{1}{1-x}$ .

Tract 10 contains the investigation of some easy and general rules for extracting any root of a given number. Let  $N$  denote the given number whose root is sought,  $n$  the index of that root,  $a$  its nearest rational root, or  $a^n$  the nearest rational power to  $N$ , whether greater or less, then, according to the most accurate and com-

modious of these theorems,  $N^{\frac{1}{n}} = \frac{(n+1)N + (n-1)a^n}{(n-1)N + (n+1)a^n} a$ , which includes *all* the rational formulas investigated separately by Halley and Delagny. This is now a well known form, of easy recollection, and furnishing a most simple and convenient rule for the extraction of roots of any power, and especially of cubes. The only rule which has ever been put in competition with this is that of M. Haros, which is  $\sqrt[n]{a^n \pm d} = a \pm \frac{2ad}{2na^n \pm (n-1)d}$ , where  $N = a^n \pm d$ , or  $d$  = the difference between the assumed power and the given number. It is not a little extraordinary that the English admirers of M. Haros' formula should not have discovered that it is no other than the rational formula of Halley published in 1694.

The succeeding tract contains a new method of finding in finite and general terms near values of the roots of equations, such as  $x^n - px^{n-1} + qx^{n-2} -$ , &c. = 0, where the terms are alternately plus and minus. In this method an assumed root being taken  $x = a$ , we have  $x - a = 0$ , which being raised to the power whose exponent is  $n$ , will give an equation analogous to the one proposed. Then by supposing any two corresponding terms of these equations equal, as the two *second* terms, or the two *third* terms, &c. the sum of the remaining terms of the two equations will be equal; whence by the usual reduction of equations, approximate values of  $x$  are obtained. By such means our author deduces some very neat formulæ for the solution of cubics and biquadratics. He also shews, that for an equation of the fifth power, we might compare it either with  $(x-a)^4 \times (x-b)$ , or with  $(x-a)^3 \times (x-b)^2$ , or with  $(x-a)^3 \times (x-b) \times (x-c)$ , or with  $(x-a)^2 \times (x-b)^2 \times (x-c)$ , &c. and so on for higher powers.

Tract

Tract 12 contains a very complete and satisfactory demonstration of the binomial theorem in the case of fractional exponents. Dr. Hutton undertook it in 1785, at the request of Baron Maseres, who proposed that the doctor should, in his investigation, assume, if he pleased, the truth of the binomial and multinomial theorems for integral powers, as truths which had been previously and perfectly proved. This was by far the most perspicuous and decisive which had hitherto appeared:—

‘It is of this nature, that it proves the law of the whole series in a formula of one single term only: thus P, Q, R, denoting any three successive terms of the series, expanded from the given binomial  $(1+x)^{\frac{1}{n}}$ , and if  $\frac{g}{h}P = Q$ , then is  $\frac{g-n}{h+n}Q = R$ , which denotes the general law of the series, being a new mode of proving the law of the coefficients of this celebrated theorem. But, besides this law of the coefficients, the very form of the series is, for the first time, here demonstrated, viz. that the form of the series for the development of the binomial  $(1+x)^{\frac{1}{n}}$ , with respect to the exponents, will be  $1 + ax + bx^2 + cx^3 + dx^4 +$ , &c. a form which had heretofore been assumed without proof.’

We have next a tract on the geometrical division of circles and ellipses into any number of parts and in any proposed ratios. The occasion of this paper we shall give in the author's own words, as it furnishes a pleasing specimen of the manner in which he often slides into an eulogium.

‘In the year 1774 was published a pamphlet in octavo, with the title, *A Dissertation on the Geometrical Analysis of the Antients. With a Collection of Theorems and Problems, without Solutions, for the Exercise of Young Students.* This pamphlet was anonymous; it was however well known to myself, and to several other persons, that the author of it was the late Mr. John Lawson, B. D. Rector of Swanscombe in Kent, an ingenious and learned geometrician, and, what is still more estimable, a most worthy and good man; one in whose heart was found no guile, and whose pure integrity, joined to the most amiable simplicity of manners and sweetness of temper, gained him the affection and respect of all who had the happiness to be acquainted with him. His collection of problems in that pamphlet concluded with this singular one, “To divide a circle into any number of parts, which shall be as well equal in area as in circumference. N. B. *This may seem a paradox, however it may be effected in a manner strictly geometrical.*” The solution of this seeming paradox he reserved to himself, as far as I know; but I fell upon the discovery of it soon after; and my solution was published in an account which I gave of the pamphlet in the Critical Review for 1775, vol. xl. and which the author afterwards informed me was on the same principle as his own.’

To illustrate the general method explained in this tract, suppose it

published by Dr. Trail; others by Mr. Hellins in his essays; and by Mr. Wallace, in a late volume of the Edinburgh Transactions. Dr. Hutton's, however, is a *general* method, which, while it is more universal than those of Machin, Euler, and Simson, includes their series, and at the same time furnishes a great variety of other series of rapid convergency.

'The method consists in finding out such small arcs as have for tangents some small and simple vulgar fractions, the radius being denoted by 1, and such also that some multiple of those arcs shall differ from an arc of  $45^\circ$ , the tangent of which is equal to the radius, by other small arcs, which also shall have tangents denoted by other such small and simple vulgar fractions. For it is evident, that if such a small arc can be found, some multiple of which has such a proposed difference from an arc of  $45^\circ$ , then the length of these two small arcs will be easily computed from the general series, because of the smallness and simplicity of their tangents; after which, if the proper multiple of the first arc be increased or diminished by the other arc, the result will be the length of an arc of  $45^\circ$ , or one-eighth of the circumference. And the manner in which I discover such arcs is this:

'Let  $T$ ,  $t$ , denote any two arcs, of which  $T$  is the greater, and  $t$  the less: then it is known that the tangent of the difference of the corresponding arcs is equal to  $\frac{T-t}{1+Tt}$ . Hence, if  $t$ , the tangent of the smaller arc, be successively denoted by each of the simple fractions,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{5}$ , &c. the general expression for the tangent of the difference between the arcs will become respectively  $\frac{2T-1}{2+T}$ ,  $\frac{3T-1}{3+T}$ ,  $\frac{4T-1}{4+T}$ ,  $\frac{5T-1}{5+T}$ , &c.; so that if  $T$  be expounded by any given number, then these expressions will give the tangent of the difference of the arcs in known numbers, according to the values of  $t$ , severally assumed respectively. And if, in the first place,  $T$  be equal to 1, the tangent of  $45^\circ$ , the foregoing expressions will give the tangent of an arc, which is equal to the difference between that of  $45^\circ$  and the first arc; or that of which the tangent is one of the numbers  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{5}$ , &c. Then, if the tangent of this difference, just now found, be taken for  $T$ , the same expressions will give the tangent of an arc, equal to the difference between that of  $45^\circ$  and the triple of the first arc. And again, taking this last found tangent for  $T$ , the same theorem will produce the tangent of an arc equal to the difference between that of  $45^\circ$  and the quadruple of the first arc; and so on, always taking for  $T$  the tangent last found, the same expressions will give the tangent of the difference between the arc of  $45^\circ$  and the next greater multiple of the first arc; or that of which the tangent was at first assumed equal to one of the small numbers  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{5}$ , &c. This operation, being continued till some of the expressions give such a fit, small, and simple fraction as is required, is then at an end; for we have then found two such small tangents as were required, viz. the tangent last found, and the tangent first assumed.'

The

The Doctor then proceeds to exemplify this method by a variety of substitutions, and thus obtains a collection of very valuable series, of which, however, we can only extract one or two. Thus, in the case of  $t = \frac{1}{4}$ , the expression  $\frac{4T-1}{4+T}$  gives for the successive tangents  $\frac{3}{4}, \frac{7}{12}, \frac{5}{9}, -\frac{7}{10}, \&c.$  of which the third is a convenient number, and gives for  $A$  the arc of  $45^\circ$ ,

$$A = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{3}{4} \times (1 - \frac{1}{3.16} + \frac{1}{5.16^2} - \frac{1}{7.16^3} +, \&c.) \\ + \frac{5}{99} \times (1 - \frac{5^2}{3.99^2} + \frac{5^4}{5.99^4} - \frac{5^6}{7.99^6} +, \&c.) \end{array} \right.$$

This is obviously a very compendious series for operation, since 99 is resolvable into the two simple factors 9 and 11.

Another excellent series is the following :

$$A = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{4}{3} \times (1 + \frac{4}{3.10} + \frac{8\alpha}{5.10} + \frac{12\beta}{7.10} +, \&c.) \\ - \frac{7}{30} \times (1 + \frac{4}{3.100} + \frac{8\alpha}{5.100} + \frac{12\beta}{7.100} +, \&c.) \end{array} \right.$$

Where  $\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta, \&c.$  denote always the preceding terms in each series. For other series we refer to the paper itself; which is highly ingenious.

Volume the second contains nine tracts, of which the first, the twenty-sixth in the series, is 'An Account of the Calculations made from the Survey and Measures taken at Mount Shichallin, in order to ascertain the mean Density of the Earth: improved from the Philosophical Transactions, vol. 68, for the year 1778.' This is a truly excellent paper, and the calculations, of which it exhibits the results, were more laborious, and, at the same time, called for more ingenuity than has, we believe, been brought into action in any computation undertaken by a single person since the preparation of logarithmic tables. The survey, and the astronomical observations upon which these calculations were founded, were made partly by the direction and partly under the inspection of Dr. Maskelyne, who explained them pretty fully in the Philosophical Transactions for 1775. In that paper, he adverted to some of the advantages which might accrue from these observations; yet, notwithstanding his well known zeal, diligence, and scientific acquirements, he declined the computations as too laborious. Dr. Hutton, on the solicitation of the council of the Royal Society, undertook the task; and, after the constant labour of nearly a year, laid the results before the society in this paper. It will not be expected that we should enter into a detailed account of his processes; yet, that our readers may form some idea of what he effected, we subjoin a sketch.

In

In the first place, the trigonometrical computations, by which he found the relative altitudes of all the points of the hill, with respect to the assumed stations of the observatories, amounted to several thousands. Then, in order to the determination of the effect of the hill's attraction in the direction of the meridian, the doctor divided the plan, or horizontal section, into a great number of small parts, which he considered as the bases of so many vertical columns, or pillars of matter, as it were basaltine pillars; the attractions of these were computed separately, and the aggregate of the effects taken for the whole attraction of the matter in the hill. In order to simplify the computation, he divided the plan into twenty rings by equidistant concentric circles, described about each observatory as a center; each quadrant was divided into twelve parts, or sectors, by lines forming with the meridian angles whose sines were in arithmetical progression: thus the space in each quadrant was divided into 240 small parts, making 1920 such parts referred to both observatories, that is, 960 to the observatory on each side of the hill. These small parts were quadrilateral figures, of which two sides were similar arcs of concentric circles, and the other two sides right lines converging towards the common center of those circles. The doctor investigated a very simple rule for determining the attraction of each of the pillars that stand upon these quadrilateral bases; and thus, after striking out a variety of ingenious devices, by which columns of the same altitude might be connected, computations might be facilitated by a peculiar kind of sliding rule, results tabulated, &c. he at length arrived at the wished for conclusion. He found that  $8811\frac{2}{3}$  is the sum of the opposite attractions of the hill at the two observatories; he also showed that the attraction of a sphere will be expressed by  $\frac{2}{3}$  of its circumference, that is, in the case of the earth, by 87522720 or  $\frac{2}{3}$  of 131284080 feet.

‘ Consequently (says our investigator) the whole attraction of the earth, is to the sum of the two contrary attractions of the hill, as the number 87522720 to  $8811\frac{2}{3}$ , that is, as 9933 to 1, very nearly, on supposition that the density of the matter in the hill, is equal to the mean density of that in the whole earth.

‘ But the astronomer royal found, by his observations, that the sum of the deviations of the plumb line, produced by the two contrary attractions, was 11.6 seconds. Hence then, it is to be inferred, that the attraction of the earth is actually to the sum of the attractions of the hill, nearly as radius to the tangent of 11.6 seconds, that is, as 1 to .000056239, or as 17781 to 1; or as 17804 to 1 nearly, after allowing for the centrifugal force arising from the rotation of the earth about its axis.

‘ Having now obtained the two results, namely, that which arises from the actual observations, and that belonging to the computation on the

the supposition of an equal density in the two bodies, the two proportions compared must give the ratio of their densities, which accordingly is that of 17804 to 9933, or 1434 to 800 nearly, or almost as 9 to 5. And so much does the mean density of the earth exceed that of the hill.

Hence it appears that the real mean density of the earth will become known as soon as that of the hill has been ascertained. In Dr. Hutton's original papers, the assumed density of the hill appears to have been too low, and he thence deduced  $4\frac{1}{2}$  for the mean density of the earth, that of water being unity. Professor Playfair, however, furnished him with more correct data as to the nature of the matter of which Shichallin was composed: from these he inferred that the mean density of the hill was about  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , which multiplied into  $\frac{9}{2}$ , gives  $\frac{22}{2}$  or almost 5 for the mean density of the earth. This result Dr. Hutton published in the *New Abridgement of the Philosophical Transactions* in 1808, and it has been completely confirmed by Professor Playfair, in an independent investigation given in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1811.

The 28th is a very comprehensive and useful tract on cubic equations and infinite series, first published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1780. In this the author enters fully into the nature and solution of this class of equations, and shews that when the second term of a cubic is taken away, and it is reduced to the form  $x^3 \pm px = \pm q$ , the sign of  $p$  determines the nature of the roots as to real and imaginary, while the sign of  $q$  determines the affections of the roots as to positive and negative: he shows farther that Cardan's rule does not always give the *greatest* root, as has been commonly supposed; and he explains in a very satisfactory manner why it should always exhibit the root of a cubic under the form of an imaginary quantity, where it has *no* imaginary roots, and in no other case. In the second section he developes several methods of assigning the roots of cubic equations by means of series, and thence proceeds to show how the sums of a great variety of curious and useful infinite series may be ascertained by means of their dependance upon certain cubic equations. This paper contains a rich fund of information for all who are interested in this intricate department of algebra.

Of the four succeeding tracts, one contains a project for a new division of the quadrant, adapting the tables of sines, tangents, secants, &c. to equal parts of the radius, instead of to equal parts of the quadrantal arc; and exhibits several useful formulæ to facilitate the computations: the second, on the sections of spheroids and conoids, demonstrates in a much simpler manner than had been previously done by Herman and Pitot, that 'if any solid formed by the rotation of a conic section about its axis, i. e. a spheroid, paraboloid,



paraboloid, or hyperboloid, be cut by a plane in any position, the section will be some conic section, and all the parallel sections will be similar figures of the same name: the third contains some elegant theorems on the comparison of curves; and the fourth exhibits a simple theorem for the cube root of a binomial.

The 33d tract comprizes 'a History of Algebra' much enlarged and improved from the article ALGEBRA in the author's Mathematical Dictionary. The additions relate principally to the algebra of India and Arabia, and to that of the Italians before Lucas de Burgo. In treating of the Indian algebra, our author gives an abridged account of two works called the 'Beej Gunnit' and the 'Leelawuttee' or 'Lilawati,' both written, as it would seem, in the 12th century; and clearly proving that the Indians, from very ancient times, possessed all the knowledge in algebra to be found not only in Diophantus, but in the works of the Italians, &c. previously to the improvements made in the time of Tartalia and Cardan, and that even in a more scientific form. They had also a considerable acquaintance with the theory of series and figurate numbers, a circumstance which is the more remarkable, since it does not appear that the Europeans had made the simplest advances in this branch of analytics before the time of Dr. Wallis, who thought the conversion of the fraction  $\frac{1}{1-R}$  into a series by division, sufficient to give honour to the day on which it was effected. Some of the ancients, it is true, as Archimedes\* in his treatises on spheroids and conoids, and in that on the parabola, and Pappus in the fourth book of his Mathematical Collections, investigated many curious theorems respecting series of magnitudes varying by an assigned law; but it is next to impossible that their works should have been known to the Indians; and, indeed, the theorems extracted by Dr. Hutton from the Lilawati bear no resemblance to those of the ancient geometers.

In the Beej Gunnit are many ingenious rules for quadratic equations:

'One of the cases is for the equation  $ax^2 + bx = c$ , and the method given is this: multiply all by  $4a$ , this gives  $4a^2x^2 + 4abx = 4ac$ ; next add the square of  $b$ , this gives  $4a^2x^2 + 4abx + b^2 = b^2 + 4ac$ ; the roots give  $2ax + b = \sqrt{(b^2 + 4ac)}$ ; then  $x = \frac{\sqrt{(b^2 + 4ac)} - b}{2a}$ ,

which process, by avoiding fractions, is much easier than our own method in such cases of quadratics.'

The same work also contains observations respecting the double roots in quadratics.

\* See pp. 97, 100, of our 3d volume, where an account of Peyrard's Archimedes is given.

'The unknown quantities are represented and called by so many different characters and names, as is our practice also. We denote them usually by the letters  $x, y, z$ , &c. the Hindoos by different colours, or letters, or other marks also. Thus,' says our author, 'suppose the first unknown, and the second black, and the third blue, and the fourth yellow, and the fifth red, and the sixth green, and the seventh parti-coloured, and so on, giving whatever names you please to the unknown quantities which you wish to discover; and if, instead of these colours other names are supposed, such as letters and the like, it may be done. For what is required, is to find out the unknown quantities, and the object in giving names is that you may distinguish the things required.'

Several of the processes here given for solving Diophantine problems are very ingenious. The 18th question of Diophantus's 6th book is: Having two numbers given, if one of these drawn into a certain square, and the other subtracted from the product, make a square, it is required to find another square greater than the former which shall do the same.

'In the Beej Gunnit (says Dr. Hutton) this problem is solved very generally and scientifically, by the assistance of another, which was unknown in Europe till the middle of the 17th century, and first applied to questions of this nature by Euler in the middle of the 18th century. With the affirmative sign, the Beej Gunnit rule for finding new values of  $ax^2 + b = y^2$ , is this: suppose  $ag^2 + b = h^2$ , a particular case: find  $m$  and  $n$  such that  $an^2 + 1 = m^2$ ; then is  $x = mg + nh$ , and  $y = mh + ang$ .'

In imitation of the method of completing the square in quadratics where the power has a coefficient, they have one of completing the powers in some peculiar cases of cubics and biquadratics.

'Thus, having the cubic equation  $x^3 + 12x = 6x^2 + 35$ ; first, subtracting  $6x^2$ , gives  $x^3 - 6x^2 + 12x = 35$ ; next, subtracting 8, gives  $x^3 - 6x^2 + 12x - 8 = 27$ , which completes the binomial cubic, and the roots are  $x - 2 = 3$ , or  $x = 5$ . Again, having given the imperfect biquadratic  $x^4 - 400x - 2x^2 = 9999$ , a case which it is not very obvious how to bring it to a complete power, but which is managed with much address, in this manner. First add  $400x + 1$  to both sides, this gives  $x^4 - 2x^2 + 1 = 10000 + 400x$ , where the first side is a complete square, and the roots are  $x^2 - 1 = \sqrt{10000 + 400x}$ ; but as the latter side is not a complete square, the author goes back again, and tries another course; thus, to the original equation he adds  $4x^2 + 400x + 1$ , which gives  $x^4 + 2x^2 + 1 = 4x^2 + 400x + 10000$ , two complete squares, the roots of which are  $x^2 + 1 = 2x + 100$ : again subtract  $2x$  and it becomes  $x^2 - 2x + 1 = 100$ , which are again two complete squares, the roots of which are  $x - 1 = 10$ , and hence  $x = 11$ . And this process has some resemblance to that which was afterwards practised, if not imitated, by Lewis Ferrari. It appears, however, that

the Indians had no general method for all equations of these two powers, but only depended on their own ingenuity for artfully managing some particular cases of them; for at the conclusion of the above process the author emphatically adds, "the solution of such questions as these depends on correct judgment, together with the assistance of God."

The Beej Gunnit contains several curious specimens of problems in the application of algebra to geometry, from the solutions to which it is evident that the Indians were well acquainted with the chief properties relating to plane geometry in Euclid's Elements. The 47th problem of the first book is cited under the designation of '*the figure of the bride's chair*,' in reference to the similarity of the diagram employed in the Indian mode of demonstration to a palanquin; and in one of the solutions the author of the Beej Gunnit observes, that 'the sum of the sides is always greater than the hypotenuse, *by the ass's proposition*,' from which it would seem, that the Indians as well as the Europeans have their *pons asinorum*.

This interesting account of the Indian algebra is followed by a description of the Arabian algebra, abridged principally from Mr. Davis's account of the '*Khulasat-ul-Hisab*,' written by Baha-ul-din, who died at Isfahan in the year 1653. We have here some curious particulars respecting the Arabian notation, for which, however, we must refer to the work before us. It is obvious from the whole, that the knowledge of mathematics, and of algebra especially, among the Arabians, was much inferior to that possessed by the Indians: they had no algebraic notation, no abbreviating symbols, no acquaintance with the indeterminate or Diophantine analysis, nor with any thing more than the easiest and elementary parts of the science.

Dr. Hutton next traces the history of algebra among the Italians, beginning with Leonard Bonacci, of Pisa, who about 1223 solved quadratics by completing the square, deriving his rules, and even the *double values* in the possible case of the equation  $x^2 + n = ax$ , from geometrical considerations. The history is carried on with great research, and so as to furnish an excellent treatise on the science, to the end of the 17th century. As far as it goes it may be characterised as elaborate and satisfactory, and we have only to hope that the same masterly hand will, by selecting and classifying the additions and improvements made by Clairaut, Euler, Landen, Bezout, Waring, Lagrange, Lacroix, &c. bring it down to the termination of the 18th century.

We have now arrived at those tracts which, however interesting and important many of the preceding papers may be, will tend principally to stamp upon this work, in the estimation of the scientific world, its peculiar character of value and excellence; namely, those which relate to the theory and practice of gunnery and

and the resistance of fluids. They occupy about 400 pages in the 2d and 3d volumes, and have in part appeared before in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and in the Doctor's quarto tracts, though the greater portion is original. Such of our readers as are at all conversant with the history of mixed mathematics, and especially that branch of it which relates to projectiles, know that the parabolic theory is of no farther use than as it furnishes a set of very elegant constructions and examples for young geometricians; and that, before the time of Robins, no progress, in effect, had been made in the true theory of military projectiles. And even after his valuable work, 'The New Principles of Gunnery,' had been published, and translated with the addition of a profound and elaborate commentary, by Euler, there still remained much to do in order to bring us acquainted with the real nature of the expansive force of gunpowder, the actual velocities of shot at the commencement of their motion or in different points of their path, the laws of the resistance experienced by balls and shells in their motion, and the true nature of the curve they describe. Borda and others had greatly extended the theory, but principally by means of gratuitous, and as is now known, inaccurate assumptions respecting the resistance of the air. In order, therefore, that this important and intricate department of philosophy might receive some essential improvement, it became desirable that a person possessing an active and ardent mind, with habits of regularity and perseverance, should be so circumstanced as to have both the inclination to enter upon this peculiar investigation, and the means of pursuing it: and this, by a happy coincidence, occurred by the late Duke of Richmond (a man of science and of great public spirit) being master-general of the ordnance just at the period when Dr. Hutton was, with all the zeal and activity of the meridian of life, discharging the duties of the mathematical professorship at the Royal Military Academy.

The mathematical sciences are taught at this institution with a view to their application to military purposes, and particularly to the practice of artillery: and Dr. Hutton was not likely to rest satisfied with affecting to teach, what, in truth, there were no data for teaching properly. He knew that if the doctrine of projectiles were ever to be so exalted as to become an integral part of mathematical science, it must rest upon the basis of well conducted experiment. He therefore began a series so early as the year 1775; and afterward carried on a far more extensive one, under the auspices of the Duke of Richmond (and officially under the direction of General Sir Thomas Blomfield) during the summers of 1783 and of many succeeding years.

The 34th tract contains a minute account of the experiments of every day, with a register of the weather, wind, thermometer, &c. For this we must refer to the tract itself, as well as for a description of the ballistic pendulum and other machinery employed in these experiments. Our limits will barely allow us to quote a few of the most important deductions.

‘ And first, it is made evident by the experiments in 1775, that powder fires almost *instantaneously*, seeing that nearly the whole of the charge fires, though the time be much diminished.

‘ (2.) The velocities communicated to shot of the same weight, with different quantities of powder, are nearly in the subduplicate ratio of those quantities. A very small variation, in defect, taking place when the quantities of powder become great.

‘ (3.) And when shot of different weights are fired with the same quantity of powder, the velocities communicated to them, are nearly in the reciprocal subduplicate ratio of their weights.

‘ (4.) So that, universally, shot which are of different weights, and impelled by the firing of different quantities of powder, acquire velocities which are directly as the square roots of the quantities of powder, and inversely as the square roots of the weights of the shot, nearly.

‘ (5.) It would therefore be a great improvement in artillery, to make use of shot of a long form, or of heavier matter; for thus the momentum of a shot, when fired with the same weight of powder, would be increased in the ratio of the square root of the weight of the shot.

‘ (6.) It would also be an improvement, to diminish the windage: for, by so doing, one third or more of the quantity of powder might be saved.

‘ (7.) When the improvements mentioned in the last two articles are considered as both taking place, it is evident that about half the quantity of powder might be saved, which is a very considerable object. But, important as this saving may be, it seems to be still exceeded by that of the guns: for thus a small gun may be made to have the effect and execution of one of two or three times the weight of its natural ball, or round shot: and thus a small ship might discharge shot as heavy as those of the greatest now made use of.’

Such were the information, and the probable advantages, derivable from the experiments in 1775: they led to the invention of carronades, a species of ordnance which, by means of large balls, and very small windage, produce considerable effects with small charges of powder.

In the description of his second course of experiments, which is carried on after the manner of a journal, occurs one of those touches of goodness and simplicity which we have had frequent occasions to admire in the course of our proceeding.

‘ August 31, 1785. I took out with me, and employed the first class of gentlemen cadets belonging to the Royal Military Academy, namely,

namely, Messrs. Bartlett, Rowley, De Butts, Bryce, W. Fenwick, Pilkington, Edridge, and Watkins, who have gone through the science of fluxions, and have applied it to several important considerations in natural philosophy. Those gentlemen I have voluntarily offered and undertaken to introduce to the practice of these experiments, with the application of the theory of them, which they have before studied under my care. For, though it be not my academy duty, I am desirous of doing this for their benefit, and as much as possible to assist the eager and diligent studies of so learned and amiable a class of young gentlemen; who, as well as the whole body of students now in the upper academy, form the best set of young men I ever knew in my life; nay, I did not think it even possible, in our state of society in this country, for such a number of gentlemen to exist together in the constant daily habits of so much regularity and good manners; their behaviour being indeed perfectly exemplary, such as would do honour to the purest and most perfect state of society that ever existed in the world: and I have no hesitation in predicting the great honour and future services, which will doubtless be rendered to the state by such eminent instances of virtue and abilities.

Many of the results of this extensive series of experiments, are extremely important; but we must content ourselves with a very concise summary. After observing that they confirm the deductions from the former course, Dr. Hutton proceeds—

‘ It farther appears also, that the velocity of the ball increases with the increase of charge only to a certain point, which is peculiar to each gun, where it is greatest; and that by farther increasing the charge, the velocity gradually *diminishes*, till the bore is quite full of powder. That this charge for the greatest velocity is greater as the gun is longer, but yet not greater in so high a proportion as the length of the gun is; so that the part of the bore filled with powder, bears a less proportion to the whole bore in the long guns, than it does in the shorter ones; the part which is filled being indeed nearly in the inverse ratio of the square root of the empty part.

‘ It appears too, that the velocity, with equal charges, always increases as the gun is longer; though the increase in velocity is but very small in comparison with the increase in length; the velocities being in a ratio somewhat less than that of the square roots of the length of the bore, but greater than that of the cube roots of the same, and is indeed nearly in the middle ratio between the two.

‘ It appears, again, from the table of ranges, that the range increases in a much lower ratio than the velocity, the gun and elevation being the same. And when this is compared with the proportion of the velocity and length of the gun in the last paragraph, it is evident that we gain *extremely little* in the range by a *great* increase in the length of the gun, with the same charge of powder. In fact, the range is nearly as the 5th root of the length of the bore; which is so small an increase, as to amount only to about a 7th part more range for a double length of

gun. From the same table it also appears, that the time of the ball's flight is nearly as the range; the gun and elevation being the same.

It has been found, by these experiments, that no difference is caused in the velocity, or the range, by varying the weight of the gun, nor by the use of wads, nor by different degrees of ramming, nor by firing the charge of powder in different parts of it. But that a very great difference in the velocity arises from a small degree in the windage: indeed with the usual established windage only, viz. about  $\frac{1}{10}$ th of the calibre, no less than between  $\frac{1}{3}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the powder escapes and is lost: and as the balls are often smaller than the regulated size, it frequently happens that *half* the powder is lost by unnecessary windage.

It appears too, that the resisting force of wood, to balls fired into it, is not constant: and that the depths penetrated by balls, with different velocities or charges, are nearly as the *logarithms* of the charges, instead of being as the charges themselves, or, which is the same thing, as the square of the velocity.—Lastly, these and most other experiments, show, that balls are greatly deflected from the direction in which they are projected: and that frequently as much as 300 or 400 yards in a range of a mile, or almost  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the range.'

Tract 36th describes a series of extensive and well-conducted experiments upon Robins's whirling machine, to determine the resistance of the air. These, together with those made by firing balls from artillery, constitute a complete and connected series of resistances to balls, from the slow velocities of 5 or 10 feet per second, to the rapid velocities of 1900 and 2000 feet. It appears from an examination of the results, that though the resistances are nearly as the squares of the velocities in very slow motions, they are never exactly so. The exponent of the velocity indicating the resistance *always* exceeds 2. At 200 feet per second that exponent is 2.028: at 500 feet it is 2.042: at 1000 feet it is 2.115: from thence it keeps gradually increasing up to the velocity of 1500 or 1600 feet per second, where the exponent is 2.153: and from this velocity the exponent gradually diminishes, being 2.136 at the velocity of 2000 feet, the limit of the experiments.

That the resistance should not be accurately as the square of the velocity, must be evident to every one who attentively reflects upon the subject. But Dr. Hutton has gone farther, and at pp. 221, 222 of the third volume, has very satisfactorily developed the causes of the variable exponent in the ratio of the resistance. He has also investigated three or four theorems for the resistance of balls; of which the following appears to be both accurate and convenient in use. Let  $v$  be the velocity in feet with which a ball, whose diameter is  $d$  feet, moves in air near the earth's surface, then will the resistance in avoirdupois pounds be expressed by the formula  $(.000007565 v^2 - .00175 v) d^2$ .

Dr.

Dr. Hutton, having deduced the law of resistances to spherical bodies moving in the air, proceeds in a series of important problems in Tract 37 to apply it to the determination of the most essential particulars in the motion of military projectiles. Here many of the solutions are both elegant and satisfactory. But the grand problem by which the actual trajectory of the projectile may be determined still remains unsolved, and must do until some philosopher possessing an adequate portion of Dr. Hutton's science and zeal, shall be so favourably circumstanced as to carry through another set of experiments with a special regard to that object. We shall terminate our quotations, by transcribing our author's new approximate rule to find the elevation of a gun to hit an object at a given distance.

' Let  $D$  denote the given distance of the object in feet;  $d$  the diameter of the ball in inches, obtained from the table of weights and diameters in problem 10;  $b$  the weight of the ball, and  $c$  that of the charge of powder, both in pounds;  $V = 1600 \sqrt{\frac{2c}{b}}$  the projectile velocity, as given in problem 13;  $v$ , the last velocity with which the ball strikes the object; and  $t$  the time of the ball's flight. Then

' Divide  $D$  by 1338  $d$ , considering the quotient  $\frac{D}{1338 d}$  as a log.

' Take  $N$  = the natural number of the log.  $\frac{D}{1338 d}$ .

' Take  $v = \frac{V-q}{N} + q$  the final velocity:  $q$  being = 231,

' And  $t = \frac{1338 d}{q} + \log. \text{ of } \left( \frac{V-q}{v-q} \cdot \frac{v}{V} \right)$  by problem 11.

' Or  $t = \frac{2D}{V+v}$ , an approximation near enough.

' Then,  $16 t^2 = \frac{64 D^2}{(V+v)^2}$  is the height above the object to be pointed,

' Or  $\frac{16 t^2}{D} = \frac{64 D}{(V+v)^2}$ , is the tangent of the angle of elevation.

' So that, the height of the mark to be pointed at, above the object, is nearly as the square of the distance, and the angle of elevation simply as the distance, the projectile velocity being the same. But, in the case of different velocities, the height and the angle will be reciprocally as the square of the velocity nearly.'

It will be recollected that our author gives the above merely as an approximation. We have been at the pains to apply it to the results of a great many accurate experiments by Dr. Hutton and others; and find that if the angle of elevation obtained by these theorems be diminished by its *fifteenth* part, it will then agree very nearly with the actual practice of artillery.

The



The 38th and last tract in this collection contains 34 miscellaneous practical problems, illustrating many of the principles in the preceding part of the work. But of these we dare not, after looking back on what we have written, say more than that the solutions are ingenious and accurate; with the exception of the second, which relates to the effects of pile engines, and appears to need revision.

Dr. Hutton has long been the most popular of all our mathematical writers, and the perusal of these volumes has convinced us, that there are obvious reasons for this popularity, which promises to be as permanent as it is extensive. He seems to have a constitutional, if not a conscientious, aversion from the pedantry and parade of science. He never, by affecting to be abstruse, becomes obscure: nor does he ever slide into digressions, for the purpose of shewing how much he knows of other things besides the topic of discussion. Hence he is at once concise and perspicuous. He manifestly rather writes to be useful than to obtain celebrity. He is also perpetually aiming at improvements in every thing which he has undertaken. Whoever has occasion to compare the successive editions of his '*Course of Mathematics*,' will find that the work was not abandoned to its fate as soon as its fame was established; but that it has been constantly modified wherever it was susceptible of improvement. Nor was this merely a habit of the prime of life: for, on comparing the solutions now given to some problems on his favourite subject of projectiles, with those which had previously been inserted in the third volume of the *Course* composed by Dr. Hutton in conjunction with Dr. Gregory, it will be seen that his mind has, in this respect, lost nothing of its vigilance, energy, and perspicacity.

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ART. X. *The Life of John Knox, containing Illustrations of the History of the Reformation in Scotland, with Biographical Notices of the principal Reformers, and Sketches of the Progress of Literature in Scotland, during a great Part of the Sixteenth Century.* By Thomas M'Crie, Minister of the Gospel. Edinburgh.

KNOX was one of those characters, who from their spirit and genius, the impetuosity of their tempers, and the eventful times in which they lived, are rarely spoken of, even at a distant period, without extravagant panegyric or unqualified obloquy. This is peculiarly the lot of those who have signalized themselves as the leaders in religious commotions. The object is momentous, and

and the passions are agitated in proportion. On one side are arranged self-interest, ancient prejudice, possession, prescription, authority; on the other the most animated and animating of human principles, conscience newly awakened, a sense of usurpation newly acquired, disdain of fetters which are beginning to fall off, and the pleasure of defying those whom men have been accustomed to reverence. Hence in every cause and on every scale, from the petty but cannibal feuds of Egyptian fanatics to the mighty contests of the League and of the Crusaders, religious warfare has been conducted with a rancour peculiar to itself. But, as the weapons of this warfare are the tongue and the pen, as well as the sword, as the passions are thoroughly inflamed, and possessed of all the powers of giving vent to them which exasperated eloquence bestows, who can wonder that, during the heat of the contest, and even after it has ceased to be felt, otherwise than in its effects, the characters of the great leaders of either party continue to be distorted by panegyric and detraction;—who can wonder that the cool impartiality of later historians finds no small occupation in removing the varnish or washing away the stains, or that acuteness the most penetrating and inquiry the most impartial sometimes fail in detecting so many misrepresentations? It is strange, however, that, at the distance of no more than two centuries and a half, with abundant materials, and after the elaborate investigations of many ingenious men, it should still be controverted whether the Regent Murray were a tyrant or a patriot, an hypocrite or a saint, or even whether Knox himself were a furious and ambitious demagogue, the enemy of every thing elegant and sacred, or an intrepid and disinterested champion of truth and liberty.

To determine points of so much importance to the church of which Knox was the founder and Murray the 'nursing father,' the present biographer has applied himself with a zeal and devotion, which, if they do not always serve the cause of truth, give a glow and an interest to the whole work, rarely communicated to biography, when it did not breathe the spirit of personal friendship or domestic affection. But in treating this subject, a fatality seems to hang over its Scottish and even its English advocates. Passion and prejudice when applied to the History of the Reformation in Scotland, seem to be immortal, and the respective partizans enter upon their task with all the interest of agents, indeed of principals, in the story which they discuss. Some, and those in other respects of good understandings, seem to have been perfectly *demented*: all power of examining or comprehending evidence appears to have fled before the vehemence of their feelings, and the little argument which they have been able to produce is suffocated beneath a load of passionate declamation and personal abuse.

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The feelings and the prejudices of Dr. M'Crie are more chastized, and always under the command of a clear and strong understanding. A thorough Presbyterian in his religious principles, and a determined Whig in his politics, the colouring of his picture is always aggravated; the lights are heightened and the shades darkened by the prepossessions of his church and of his country: the outline, however, is not distorted. He is a warm, but an honest man. He is a Scotchman, but a friend of truth. With great powers of expression, as well as considerable heat of temper, he never descends to railing. He detests the church of Rome; he loves not the church of England; but he exposes the enormities of the former with fidelity and force, though not with malignity, and he censures what he conceives to be imperfect in the reformation of the latter, with an effect which would have been lessened by indecent invective. A vein of sarcastic wit alone now and then betrays him, as it did his master, into undue asperity as well as levity of expression.

These offences, however prompted by national prepossessions, however restrained by decorum, we scruple not to confess, would have been visited on the head of a dull or a shallow man with greater severity: for we too have our attachments, and even our prejudices; we love the constitution, we love the order and decency of the church of England: we prefer the beauties of our own liturgy to the best extemporaneous effusions of the wisest of the Scottish doctors: we see no connection between sordidness and devotion, nor should we have expected from a man of Dr. M'Crie's enlarged understanding so much of the spirit of old 'Mass John,' such indignation against a surplice or a rochet, things which, with our countrymen, not only have ceased to give offence, but have the great body of popular opinion in their favour. Still, however, to talents like his much will always be forgiven; and such are the merits of the work almost in every other particular, that we feel ourselves disposed, as far as justice will permit, to be blind or dumb to a single fault.

Dr. M'Crie is really a great biographer, such as it has not been the lot of Knox's equals, or even his superiors, always to attain: for, however ably the characters of Luther and Calvin have been treated in the general histories of their times, where has either of them found a biographer like the present? *The Life of Erasmus*, an animating subject and worthy of a man of genius, if any such there be within the compass of modern literature, has been frigidly written by Knight, and confusedly by Jortin; nay even in our present Number we have an instance of a most original and strongly marked contemporary and countryman of our own, consigned to  
prejudices

prejudices greater than those of Dr. M'Crie, prejudices chilled by mediocrity to which he is a stranger, while they are not redeemed by one of his excellences.

Compact and vigorous, often coarse but never affected, without tumour and without verbosity, we can scarcely forbear to wonder by what effort of taste and discrimination the style of Dr. M'Crie has been preserved so nearly unpolluted by the disgusting and circumlocutory nonsense of his contemporaries. Here is no puling about the 'interesting sufferer,' 'the patient saint,' 'the angelic preacher.' Knox is plain Knox, in acting and in suffering always an hero, and his story is told as an hero would wish that it should be told, with simplicity, precision, and force. Dr. M'Crie's materials are both ample and original: since beside an intimate acquaintance with the best authors who were contemporary with his subject, and the MS. authorities which the records of the church of Scotland afford, he has fortunately possessed himself of an early transcript of the reformer's letters, glowing throughout with the same ardent feeling of devotion, and the same unconquerable spirit of liberty, which animated his discourses from the pulpit. To these materials the author has brought a power of combining and enlivening them peculiar to himself. He has many points of resemblance to his subject: a fortitude of mind which on subjects exploded and derided dares to look modern prejudices in the face; a natural and happy eloquence, with a power of discussion on subjects of casuistry and of politics not inferior to that of the great leader in the reformation of Scotland, though restrained by a decorum of expression to which the reformer's age, as well as himself, were strangers. To these qualifications are to be added the same stern renunciation of all taste and elegant feeling, where they appear to stand in the way of duty, and the same tendency to coarse (or what would now be called illiberal) humour on subjects where it is not altogether becoming. Like Knox himself he has neither a tear nor a sigh for Mary, and we doubt not that like him he would have voted to bring the royal adulteress and murderer, for such they both esteem her, to the block. In Dr. M'Crie the brutal merriment displayed by Knox on the assassination of Beatoun excites no indignation, and the old definition of such sanctified and systematic murders, 'the execution of righteous judgment by private hands,' would probably be accepted without reluctance.

In a work so pregnant with original argument and reflection almost every page affords matter for animadversion; but we shall content ourselves with detaching from the text a few of the most prominent passages, and commenting upon them *en passant*.

'Writers unfriendly to our reformer have endeavoured to fix an accusation

accusation upon him respecting the assassination of Cardinal Beaton. Some have ignorantly asserted that he was one of the conspirators, others better informed have argued that he made himself accessory to their crime by taking shelter among them. With more plausibility others have appealed to his writings as a proof that he vindicated the deed of the conspirators as laudable, or at least innocent. I know that some of Knox's vindicators have denied this charge, and maintained that he justified it only in as far as it was the work of God, or a just retribution in Providence for the crimes of which the Cardinal had been guilty, without approving the conduct of those who were the instruments of punishing him. The just judgment of Heaven is, I confess, the chief thing to which he directs the attention of his reader; at the same time I think no one, who carefully reads what he has written on this subject, can doubt that he justified the action of the conspirators. The truth is, he held the opinion that persons, who by the commission of flagrant crimes had forfeited their lives according to the law of God and the just laws of society, such as notorious tyrants and murderers, might warrantably be put to death by private individuals, provided all redress in the ordinary course of justice was rendered impossible in consequence of the offenders having usurped the executive authority, or being systematically protected by oppressive rulers. This was an opinion of the same kind with that of tyrannicide held by so many of the ancients and defended by Buchanan in his dialogue *De jure regni apud Scotos*. It is a principle, I confess, dangerous in its application, extremely liable to be abused by factious, fanatical, and desperate men, as a pretext for perpetrating the most nefarious deeds. It would be unjust, however, on this account to confound it with the principle, which, by giving to individuals a liberty to revenge their own quarrels, legitimates assassination, a practice too common in that age. I may add, that there have been instances of persons, not invested with public authority, executing punishment upon flagitious offenders, as to which we may scruple to load the memory of the actors with an aggravated charge of murder, though we cannot approve of their conduct.

Every thing in this passage is according to the ancient spirit of our author's country, as it existed under an ill-regulated and unsettled state of society, when the sovereign scrupled not to remove an obnoxious subject without law, and the subject, with as little formality, retorted the same unlicensed and pernicious vengeance on his sovereign. 'But whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed,' is a dictum of the Great Legislator to which Knox and his biographer bowed and bow with equal reverence, and the application of it has in ordinary cases been confined by all but an inconsiderable and fanatical sect of christians, who have narrowed the restriction still more, to the shedding of blood in defensive war, and to the right of the magistrate to use that sword, which we are assured he beareth not in vain, for the  
extermination

extermination of incorrigible offenders. We say in *ordinary cases*—for here we willingly lay out of the account, the right in mixed and well balanced governments which resides in one or more branches of the legislature to control, even by force, the enormities and usurpation of the rest. But the question is now, how far private individuals have a right, in any case of injustice or oppression, to inflict upon delinquent and tyrannical governors that vengeance which, from the very nature of the case, is unattainable by course of law. And here, for the good of society, we are compelled to affirm, that the whole argument upon which this supposed right is constructed, vacillates on every side.

With respect to tyrannicide:—not to remark on the indecent and inconsistent eagerness with which Knox and Buchanan could set up the examples of heathen antiquity against the Christian Scriptures, when the former made for their favourite doctrine, and the latter were either silent or prohibitory; the two cases have no analogy to each other. The instance directly in question is the assassination of Beatoun. The tyrants of Greece were bold, bad men, who had subverted the ancient legitimate governments of their respective cities, and in maintenance of their usurped power shed the blood of their fellow-citizens, not only without but against all lawful authority. Beatoun was indeed a profligate and a brutal man, but it would be hard to prove him a murderer even of Wishart, unless every judge who executes the laws with unrelenting rigour be entitled to that denomination. Let it be remembered that he was an ecclesiastical magistrate, regularly empowered to administer a system of jurisprudence, (a bad and cruel system we admit, but still a system,) by which heretics were consigned to a most painful death. As the law then stood, Wishart came fairly within that definition. He had publicly arraigned the doctrines of the established church, broken her order, despised her discipline, preached in private houses, and administered the communion without authority in places unconsecrated, and after a form of his own. For these offences, the primate of the kingdom apprehended, tried, and burnt him. Now here, if there were any murder, the law was the murderer and not the judge. Beatoun, infamous as he was, did what, according to the principles of the age, a good man might have esteemed it his duty to do. Nor does this in any degree lessen the merit of Wishart. He appears to have devoted himself cheerfully to the cause of truth, and he probably had the sagacity to foresee the blessed consequences of so magnanimous a conduct. But admitting the criminality of Beatoun, and at the same time allowing his situation to have been inaccessible to the ordinary forms of justice, even on the lax principle of expediency itself,

itself, were it not better for society, that an illustrious and overgrown offender should escape with impunity, than that private individuals, even if not parties, should be permitted to assume to themselves the summary execution of whatever they may please to call justice? For if this principle were once admitted as an exception to the ordinary administration of the law, what judge would be found to execute the office entrusted to him with vigour and decision, when, after carrying into effect a sentence of death pronounced by him, the friends of the deceased would have but to pronounce the execution a murder and the judge a tyrant, after which he would become of course an object of legitimate revenge!

Dr. M'Crie is extremely anxious, though he does not wholly approve the conduct of Beatoun's murderers, to discriminate between such cases and private assassination.\* 'It would,' says he, 'be unjust on this account, to confound it with the principle, which, by giving to individuals a liberty to revenge their own quarrels, legitimates assassination.' Were then these men, one of whom Knox indeed calls a man of 'nature most gentle and modest,' actuated by pure and disinterested love of religion, liberty, and justice? Were they or were they not the personal friends of Wishart: and had that martyr been less amiable, had his sufferings left a regret less pungent in the hearts of these very men, would the general 'principle' have operated with such instant and decisive effect to the destruction of his destroyer? Is a man then a cooler and more competent judge of the wrongs inflicted on a beloved friend, recently deprived of life by an iniquitous sentence, than of his own? For the honour of human nature, we think otherwise—but for this very reason, he is no more to be entrusted with the execution of vengeance in the one case than in the other. Strange indeed it is that these men who, on every other occasion, had the bible in their hands and its precepts in their mouths, should have forgotten this one confounding text—'Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves!'

But in the next place, admitting what cannot be denied, that the death of Beatoun was a benefit to his country—that it prevented, in all probability, a long course of bloodshed and cruelty, and that by one decisive stroke, it removed the great impediment to reformation—what was the commission these men had to shew for undertaking the work?—their own *opinion*, on this hypothesis, as their

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\* In a note he glances obliquely at the murder of Sharp, as a case admitting of considerable palliation. He probably classes it with that of Beatoun—and so do we: though we think very differently from our author as to the nature of both cases. But Sharp was an apostate as well as a persecutor, while Beatoun, though more atrocious, was more consistent in his cruelties.

own *passions* on the other. They were no branch of the legislature—they were not soldiers authorized in open war to kill and slay—they were not magistrates empowered to bring offenders to justice; and had they been the last, which for them perhaps is the most favourable supposition, where was the arraignment, the proof, the defence, the sentence? all transacted in a few minutes, with drawn swords, in the chamber of a trembling victim. In short, the only plea was that which is expressly condemned by their own scriptures, ‘that of doing evil that good may come.’

The concluding sentence of this paragraph is equally exceptionable with the rest—‘There have been instances of persons not invested with public authority executing punishment upon flagitious offenders, as to which we may scruple to load the memory of the actors with an aggravated charge of murder, although we cannot approve of their conduct.’ Dr. M'Crie's conception of this case is in the highest degree inaccurate and perplexed. For the fact being supposed, and also that it was committed with deliberation, the question is no longer, whether it be murder, manslaughter, or justifiable homicide, but whether it be murder or a meritorious act of justice. In other words, the ‘actors must either be loaded with the aggravated charge of murder,’ or their conduct must be wholly approved. There is no medium. In short, through the whole of this most obnoxious paragraph, there is a tendency, unperceived, we sincerely believe, by the author himself, and to which he has been betrayed by his absurd partiality for the hero of the cause of reformation in his country, to invert the charge of murder, by transferring it from the voluntary and unauthorized avengers of their slaughtered friends, to the judge who, with whatever circumstances of cruelty, acted under the authority of existing laws which he was regularly commissioned to execute.

The circumstances of the times, and an alarming symptom of depravation which has lately taken place in the English character, have compelled us to take up this subject with more than ordinary seriousness. Assassination has become dreadfully frequent among us: the diffusion of unprincipled publications among the lower ranks has also produced a generation of shallow and pernicious reasoners, who, either before or after the commission of such atrocious acts, may be served at a very cheap rate with drugs to lull their consciences asleep, by putting ‘bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter.’ The atrocious assassin of Mr. Percival was a reasoner upon these principles. Far be it from us to impute to a man like Dr. M'Crie any purpose of fostering principles so detestable; but as he seems not to have been aware of the tendency



of his own positions, it became our duty to the public to point them out.

One word more on this subject and we have done. What Knox thought of Beatoun's death, his own indecent and brutal narrative of the manner of it too clearly proves. We would now ask Dr. M'Crie whether his own ideas of a faithful minister allow him to justify the conduct of his hero on this occasion? If they do not, he was in duty bound to express himself with his usual clearness and decision on a point of such importance.

Knox entered the castle of St. Andrews soon after the assassination, and was called to the office of preacher. What then, we ask, was the condition of that company of whose consciences he had taken the direction? 'They had killed and also taken possession.' Their course began in bloodshed, continued in robbery, and ended in rebellion. Not content with dispatching the object of their hatred, they had displaced his servants, seized his goods, devoured his provisions, and turned his artillery against a force lawfully commissioned to reduce them. Under these circumstances, to what subjects did the young and zealous preacher betake himself, and on what topics did he principally insist—on the four kingdoms of Daniel, and the antichristian character of the Pope! Had Knox then not acquired the honesty or the boldness for which he became afterwards so famous? The preacher who so liberally applied the character of Jezebel to that of Mary, could he find no resemblance of Ahab in his own friends and companions? But he approved the slaughter. So it appears, and so much the worse for him. On what principles, however, of morality could he approve what followed—Necessity—that is, a necessity created by guilt? On the whole, we should have honoured the fairness of Dr. M'Crie as a biographer quite as much, if, in the midst of his declamations against the Catholics at this time, he had for once done them the justice to acknowledge their levity to those conspirators in granting them the terms they did; in not insisting that the actual perpetrators of Beatoun's murder at least should be given up to public justice, that they might be consigned to the gibbet instead of the gallies. This is a tone and language which, in speaking of such a work, we should not have wished to assume; but the author and the times compel us to adopt it.

Such then were the instruments, very exceptionable, it ought to have been acknowledged, in themselves, which were nevertheless permitted by Providence to give the first blow in Scotland to a superstition at once the most cruel and degrading, which, under the name or semblance of Christianity, had ever darkened the understandings or enslaved the consciences of men.

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The next step in this great work we can contemplate with approbation. The aristocracy of that country, consisting of the nobility and lesser barons, had so long been accustomed to controul by force the enormities of their sovereigns, that their interference on great occasions may be regarded as constitutional. Accordingly, when a great and respectable portion (perhaps the majority) of this powerful body modestly demanded for themselves liberty of conscience and worship, and were refused; when for the same end alone, they next took arms, resolving to act upon the defensive; when they endeavoured by successive treaties to secure to themselves these great and inalienable rights; and when, upon disarming again, they found every engagement violated and every concession revoked, they had recourse to a step less violent than had often been practised towards their sovereigns in person, we mean the suspension of the queen regent; and by degrees, with the voice of the nation on their side, in a peaceable and legislative manner, laid the foundation of that useful, moderate, and respectable establishment, which exists among their posterity to this day. This, if any could be, was justifiable resistance; resistance without rebellion—an interference not of a few fanatical individuals, to revenge themselves on an obnoxious judge, but of a great order in the state, embodied and armed for the purposes of securing to their country what no laws or institutions can justly take away, the rights of conscience.

In relating the triumphant progress of this revolution, we are far from being offended by the exulting tone which our biographer assumes: all that is dear to him in civil or religious polity was at stake; it was moreover the most illustrious period of his hero's life, and greater surely can no private man appear, than when by his talents, his spirit, and his eloquence, he is wielding, as inferior instruments, half the rank and power of his country in order to subvert an ancient and mischievous superstition, and to build on its basis a noble temple of truth and liberty.

But of the literal subversion of many noble buildings, which, perhaps unavoidably, took place in the course of this great revolution, Dr. M'Crie permits himself to speak with a savage and sarcastic triumph, which evinces how zealous and practical an helper he would himself have proved in the work of destruction, had he been born in the 16th century. Less, we are persuaded, would then have been heard of Rowe or Willock as auxiliaries of Knox, than of M'Crie. On the wailings of modern taste, when directed to this fashionable topic of invective, he has no compassion: nay, he most provokingly taunts the poor antiquaries with their obligations to Knox for having produced so many fine subjects

jects for the pencil and the graver. This is really more than can be borne: we must interpose to rescue from such ruffian hands an innocent and persecuted fraternity; and lest some poor artist, with pallet and pencil, should undertake a pilgrimage, in consequence of this ironical encouragement, to Perth and Scoon, the first scene of these outrages, or to St. Andrews, which was the second, we are in duty bound to inform him, that instead of picturesque and beautiful remains he will not find a vestige of those magnificent edifices which once adorned the former, and at the latter, one vast fragment alone will instruct him not what but where was once the metropolitan church of Scotland. It was to the subsequent dereliction of the edifices which Knox had spared, that almost every object of the pencil in that country is owing.

We are next to contemplate Knox actively employed in settling the infant church, a work in which he met with no small obstruction, in consequence of the arrival of the young queen, filled with all the prejudices of popery, and educated in all the licence of a voluptuous court. The poverty of the country which she came to govern; the intractable spirit of the people, the sour and inflexible humour of the reformers, all conspired to fill her with disgust against a situation and a religion so little resembling those which she had left behind. In his conversations with this princess, Knox seems to have copied the tone of the Jewish prophets, when reprehending by divine commission their idolatrous sovereigns. Nor was he much less formidable: for though unable like them to command the elements and to call down vengeance from above, he had at his command an exasperated people, to whom he was not backward in appealing against the mandates of his sovereign. The precipitancy, the profligacy, and we fear too, the unnatural cruelty of Mary herself, afforded to the cause of Reformation advantages which its best friends could neither have foreseen nor hoped, and by one of those astonishing interpositions which baffle all human calculation, the great and devoted patroness of the old religion became one of the most powerful means of establishing the new one.

Presbytery being now established in Scotland, we must be indulged (we are led to it by some curious and original information of our author) in some reflexions on the peculiar fitness of such an establishment for that country, and on the characters of its first champions compared with those who followed them, in another great national struggle, about a century later.

Presbytery, which, like a certain language,

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‘ is found  
‘ To flourish most in barren ground.’

first sprung up among the rocks of Switzerland, and quickly found a congenial soil and climate when transplanted to the banks of the Tay and the Forth. Naturally allied to a republic, its maxims are in perpetual hostility with monarchic government. Its pretensions are higher than those of the primitive church under the first Christian emperors: it admits of no interference of civil authority with its own discipline; it claims, on the contrary, an unlimited right of discussing the conduct of civil governors in the pulpit. These principles, together with the vacillating politics of James the Sixth, and the unskilfully rigid attachment of his son to episcopacy, sufficiently account for all the contests between the kirk and the crown from the days of Knox to those of the covenant. But, during this interval, though principles remained the same, a new and far inferior race of men had sprung up to support them. Till very lately we have been accustomed to consider the first instruments of the reformation in Scotland as semibarbarians, men of strong minds indeed, great warmth and honesty, and of a powerful and awakening eloquence. The latter qualities, it is true, they enjoyed in perfection; but it is proved by Dr. M'Crie that they were also accomplished and elegant scholars. It has been elsewhere observed that nations sometimes attain to great perfection in the ornamental arts before they have learned those which minister to common convenience; and thus, at a period when the common people of Scotland were a barefooted rabble, with scarcely a chimney to their houses, robbing, plundering, and destroying each other with little restraint from law, and almost universal protection from their chiefs; there arose a race of scholars, who, in the midst of filth and smoke and poverty and an unsettled government, resolutely sacrificed to the Muses and the Graces of antiquity, till they had learned to compose in the Latin language with an ease and elegance unknown since the days of Augustus. To prove this singular fact we have only to quote Dr. M'Crie's well attested account of the family of John Rowe.

'The Grammar school of Perth was the most celebrated in the kingdom, and the noblemen and gentlemen were accustomed to send their children there (thither) for their education. Many of these were boarded with Mr. Rowe, who instructed them in Greek and Hebrew. As nothing but Latin was spoken by the boys in the school and in the fields, so nothing was spoken in Mr. Rowe's house, but French. The passages of Scripture read in the family before and after meals, if in the Old Testament, were read in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, and English. If in the New Testament, they were read in Greek. His son John, when he was between four and five years old, was taught the Hebrew characters, and at night he read the Hebrew chapter in the family.'

All this however might have been done, and many learned men  
E E 3
might

might have issued from this excellent seminary without a tincture of those classical graces which really adorned them, had not nature led the way by instilling into their minds unusual portions of taste and genius. At the period of the covenant, whatever remained of these qualities, whether natural or acquired, in Scotland, had gone over to the episcopal clergy. In fact, it was these qualities which upheld episcopacy for a season against prejudices which would otherwise have been invincible.

But to return—the eloquence of Knox and his associates, which wrought such wonders in its day, was of a very singular composition. The matter of it came warm from the heart, in a cause which absorbed every faculty of the speaker; but the manner was caught partly from the solemn denunciations of the ancient prophets, and partly from the energetic and animating tone of the free orators of antiquity. Of the meek spirit of the Gospel it certainly partook in a very slender degree. That temper was ill suited to the work in hand. But of the eloquence of this period it must at least be acknowledged, that it was natural and manly, without cant and without fanaticism; formed by men of vigour and good taste, upon excellent models, and calculated alike (which is the highest character of eloquence) for the few and the many.—In less than a century this spirit was fled from the kirk of Scotland; and Henderson, Gillespie, and their brethren of the covenant, bore no more resemblance to Knox, Willock, and Rowe, than, at this day, do the cold and feeble successors of Watts and Doddridge, to those animated and excellent preachers. In fact these men were at once without spirit and without sobriety, meddling and hot-headed, fanatical and dull. This lamentable declension, besides a great prostration of native genius, is to be accounted for from the poverty and meanness of their education. They knew little of antiquity—they were not learned in the original languages of scripture; but they had drawn their information, such as it was, from narrow Calvinistic systems of theology, which had by that time begun to swarm upon the continent, and which, as they fostered their native bigotry and bitterness, damped every warm feeling of genius, and crippled every movement of free and excursive intellect. Yet, strange to say, these men wielded the great machine of popular opinion with no less power than Knox: for the truth was, that the taste of preachers and of people was then become equally depraved—the nonsense of the one suited the nonsense of the other—they had an appetite for cant, and they were fed with it to the full.

Classical taste meanwhile sought refuge in another quarter and another cause, until Pitcairn, the last Latin poet in Scotland, bewailed in strains not unworthy of Buchanan the lost fortunes of the  
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**House of Stuart.** A late attempt to restore this faculty, has but contributed to revive and perpetuate the national disgrace. The Muses of Greece and Rome have fled, as it would seem, before the predominating genius of physiology and political oeconomy.

By the enthusiasm of his admirers Knox has been seriously invested with prophetic powers. On this delicate subject, equally afraid to deny and unwilling to concede, his biographer speaks in the following cautious and discriminating language.

‘There are, however, several of his sayings, which cannot be vindicated upon these principles,’ (general probabilities and the warnings of Scripture,) ‘and which he himself rested upon different grounds. Of this kind were, the assurance, which he expressed from the beginning of the Scottish troubles, that the cause of the congregation would ultimately prevail,’ (in which, after all, native sagacity and a sanguine temper might have a great share,) ‘his confident hope of again preaching in his native country and at St. Andrews, avowed by him during his imprisonment on board the French galleys, and frequently repeated during his exile, with the intimations which he gave respecting the death of Thomas Maitland and Kirkcaldy of Grange. It cannot be denied, that his contemporaries considered these as proceeding from a prophetic spirit, and have attested that they received an exact accomplishment. The most *easy* way of getting rid of this delicate question is, by dismissing it at once, and summarily pronouncing that all pretensions to extraordinary premonition, ought without examination to be discarded as fanciful and visionary. But I doubt much, if this method of determining the question would be doing justice to the subject. *Est periculum (ne) aut neglectis his, impiâ fraude, aut susceptis, anili superstitione, obligemur.* On the one hand, the disposition which mankind discover to pry into the secrets of futurity, has always been accompanied with much credulity and superstition; and it cannot be denied that the age in which our reformer lived, was prone to credit the marvellous, especially as to the infliction of divine judgments upon individuals. On the other hand, there is great danger of running into scepticism, and of laying down general principles which may lead us ultimately to contest the truth of the best authenticated facts. This is an extreme to which the present age inclines. That there have been instances of persons having presentiments and premonitions as to events which happened (should happen) to themselves and others, there is, I think, the best reason to believe. The canon of our faith is contained in the scriptures of the Old and New Testament; we must not look to impressions, or new revelations, as the rule of our duty; but that God may, on particular occasions, forewarn persons of some things which shall happen, to testify his approbation of them, to encourage them to confide in him in particular circumstances, is not, I think, inconsistent with the principles of either natural or revealed religion. Some of the reformers were men of singular piety; they were exposed to uncommon opposition, and had uncommon services to perform; they were endued with extraordinary gifts; and *I am inclined to believe* were occasionally favoured with premonitions

with respect to events which concerned themselves, other individuals, or the church in general.'

Whatever may be thought of a fact so controverted even among wise and good men, it is impossible not to honour the fortitude of one who, in spite of the intolerant and persecuting spirit of incredulity which prevails at present, dares to avow the probability of it and to support it by an argument at once so rational and so unfashionable. With regard to the argument itself, though it may be easy to deride, it is impossible to confute it: for if 'no one can refute a sneer,' it must also be remembered, that a sneer can refute nothing.

The History of the Reformation in Scotland, with the exception of one book, has been irrefragably proved by our author to be the work of Knox: an undertaking in which Dr. M'Crie seems to have been aware that truth alone was indebted to him; for he speaks with no disrelish of the broad and coarse buffoonery with which it requires no fastidiousness of taste to be disgusted, and which can now no longer be imputed to some unknown and impertinent interpolator.

Many of Dr. M'Crie's readers have probably conceived of this 'son of thunder' as of a large athletic man, able in that age of 'apostolic blows and knocks' to have proved the orthodoxy of his doctrine by the sword as well as 'by tongue and lively voice.' On the contrary, he was a man of slender frame and feeble constitution, (Beza says *corpore pusillo*,) literally worn out by labours at one period of his life, and by sufferings at another. But *cujusque mens, is est quisque*, and Knox might be said to be all soul and spirit. He was one of those rare and gifted men upon whom the moral and religious destinies of nations are made to depend, and like the two other heroes of the Reformation, Calvin and Luther, was sent into the world with energies, which, in ordinary times, and when mighty energies were not wanted to subvert mighty abuses, would have been mischievous in their strength. In Knox and Calvin there seems to have been a perfect harmony of principles and temper. Luther, besides the strange erratic course which he held on the subject of concomitancy in the sacrament, had a tincture of enthusiasm from which both the others were exempt. All agreed in the predestinarian doctrine, and in that of justification by faith; but more strikingly in an indignant spirit of opposition to existing abuses, in a disregard of worldly rank and power, in a constitutional intrepidity not to be awed, and a pertinacity never to be wearied. Yet what topics are so fashionable, with those who have no other scale of character than the tame mediocrity of settled times, as the rigour and obstinacy of these great reformers? And yet what is plainer than that the workmen were merely suited to their work? Popery

was

was not a pile to be battered down by popguns. Its foundations were deeply laid in ancient power, in terrible cruelty, in universal ignorance. From the want of such powerful engines, how many pious spirits had long deplored its corruptions, and wounded their own consciences by partaking of its plagues! How many penetrating understandings had long seen and derided the great imposture, yet seen and derided in secret; either awed by its terrors or bribed by its emoluments! Courage therefore not to be appalled, and integrity not to be corrupted, must be combined with piety and acuteness to constitute a first reformer; and all these qualifications met in this incomparable triumvirate, and, in their perfection, in them alone.

Thus much then for the *subject* of this vigorous and original work. With respect to the style, it is natural and forcible, free from all modern affectation, excepting the abominable verb 'narrate', which must absolutely be proscribed in all good writing. It abounds indeed with Scotticisms, for which we like it the better. They are the *επιχαριστι* of a work so thoroughly national. For, why should a Scotsman, who is ashamed of nothing else belonging to his country, be ashamed of its dialect? It is to English what the Doric was to pure Greek, adorned with many rustic graces which have long been felt and acknowledged in the poetry of that country. Why then should it not be tolerated in history, especially since experience has shewn that no efforts of their best writers have been able wholly to avoid it? With respect to the typography of the quotations, we were disposed to invoke the shade of William Bowyer: they have been committed to an illiterate compositor, and never, as appears, revised by the learned author. The Latin is almost unintelligible, and in a Greek epigram of four lines, there are three errata. This mechanical defect we should not have mentioned had such a work been likely to rest in a first or second edition.

We now take leave of Dr. McCrie with sincere esteem and goodwill, notwithstanding some important points of difference which a little more candour and courtesy to a sister church, not deficient in those regards to his own establishment, might have prevented.

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ART. XI. *Voyages and Travels in various Parts of the World, during the Years 1803, 4, 5, 6 and 7.* By G. H. Von Langsdorff, Aulic Counsellor to His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, &c. London. 1813.

HOWEVER gratifying to us it might be to know that our critical labours make their way to the most distant corners of the globe, the pleasure derived from that circumstance would be considerably



considerably abated by any well grounded complaint of severe or unmerited censure. We are not indeed now to learn how difficult it is for the best natured critic to satisfy the expectations of the least aspiring author; but we confess ourselves not to have been quite prepared for the serious remonstrance which Captain (now Admiral) Krusenstern has transmitted from St. Petersburg. This officer, it seems, has taken offence at our remarks on the two volumes of his voyage round the world, printed at Berlin, and a copy of which we took some pains to procure. In his letter, he expresses 'much surprize at the spirit of animosity against Russia which pervades the whole of the Review.' This at once astonishes and mortifies us; for to what does it amount? Merely to an observation, which every one knows to be true, that the reign of Catharine was a reign of projects; and that the Japanese embassy sent by Alexander was only following up the views of his august predecessor. Whether this embassy was grafted on the original plan of the voyage, or the voyage was undertaken to carry out the ambassador, is, in our estimation, a matter of very small importance;\* in neither case do we see, any more than the author, 'that Russia had made herself ridiculous.' If Admiral Krusenstern will give himself the trouble to read over the 3d Article of our 9th Number, written when at war with Russia, and the 11th Article of the 16th Number, drawn up since the return of friendly relations, he will see in both a consistency of opinion, and a spirit which breathes any thing but 'animosity against Russia.'

But a charge of a more serious nature is brought against us—that of attacking 'in one instance, at least, his moral character.' The instance, it seems, is this. Lieutenant Chwostoff, who visited the coast of Jesso subsequent to the departure of Captain Krusenstern, was told by the Japanese that a revolution actually took place in Jeddo on account of the dismissal of the Russian embassy. Our observation on this passage was, that 'we did not expect the sober good sense of Captain Krusenstern would have led him to give publicity to so idle a tale;' and we added, 'the idea is too absurd to deserve a moment's attention; unless indeed it was intended to flatter Count Romanzoff.' That the Count, like other courtiers, is open to this mode of address, is by no means improbable; nor is there any thing very extravagant in the supposition that the narrative of a voyage should be made as palatable to him that planned it, as truth would allow; we must therefore repeat our surprize that Captain Krusenstern does

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\* Admiral Krusenstern says in his letter, 'The embassy to Japan was engrafted upon the original plan of the voyage.' We said, 'The project of a new embassy was easily grafted on the present voyage.' Where do we differ? yet this passage has given offence.

not see the absurdity of this story. He would be the first to smile, at being told that the governor of the Crimea, in sending away a Turkish minister, by order of his court, had occasioned a rebellion in Petersburg, and a revolution in the whole government of Russia. Most willingly would we gratify this gentleman—but, on re-perusing our former Article, we can honestly and conscientiously assure him that we find nothing to alter, and that we are at a loss for terms to 'introduce him more fairly to the English public' than we have already done in our concluding sentence, which, to please him, we shall repeat—'We cannot take leave of Captain Krusenstern without expressing the satisfaction which we have derived from the perusal of his very clear and intelligent account of a Voyage round the World, conducted apparently with great good temper, discretion and judgment, and related in a style of modesty and candour which cannot fail to secure the approbation of the most fastidious.' But the English reader has now obtained the fullest and fairest introduction to his acquaintance through the medium of a translation, which, we have little doubt, will find a place among every collection of voyages and travels, and afford in the perusal both amusement and information.

We now turn to the account of the same voyage written by a fellow traveller, who accompanied the ambassador in the capacity of naturalist. This work may be considered to bear pretty nearly the same relation to the authentic and original account of the voyage, that Forster's did to that of Captain Cook. To the general reader it will probably be more amusing than Captain Krusenstern's, because it is less grave, and, with the exception of a storm or two, without which a voyage would be nothing, divested of all nautical matters. Doctor Langsdorff is a German of a far more lively cast than most of his philosophic countrymen, whose ponderous labours we are occasionally doomed to encounter; he even attempts to be witty, and occasionally manifests a disposition to be waggish. At St. Catharine's, he slyly insinuates, when in the act of being rubbed down by a negro slave, that 'if he could but have prevailed on the fair daughter of his host to press the muscles with her delicate hands,' the pleasure would have been equal to that of animal magnetism—a pleasure which, not having ourselves experienced it, we pretend not to estimate. His colouring too of the naked beauties of Nukahiva is far more warm and glowing than we had expected to encounter from the pencil of a phlegmatic German. Their 'comic effusions' and 'pantomimic gestures,' too expressive to be mistaken, while swimming and playing about the ship 'like a troop of Tritons,' he found to be utterly 'indescribable,' but they were such as to make 'a novel impression' on the doctor's feelings.

feelings. These damsels, it seems, who were so frolicsome in the water, affected considerable distress at appearing on the ship's deck in a state of primitive simplicity; and 'they crept about,' says the doctor, 'with their hands in the position of the Medicean Venus, in attitudes which presented a beautiful spectacle to the philosophic observer.' Unfortunately, however, this 'beautiful spectacle' was evanescent; and the doctor very feelingly laments that he was not allowed 'a sufficient time for making philosophical observations on the new Venusses,' who suddenly disappeared with the sailors, hand in hand, into the interior of the ship. They were equally provoking the following morning; for they no sooner peeped upon deck than they plunged into the sea, to the visible mortification of Doctor Langsdorff.

These 'Venusses,' however, by no means answered the expectations which he had formed of them from the descriptions of former voyagers; and he even thinks that Captain Krusenstern has greatly overrated their beauty. 'I must confess,' he observes, 'that in my opinion, both the form and countenance of a well made negress are more pleasing and interesting than those of the women of these islands. We certainly found in Nukahiwa an Apollo of Belvidere; but it may be as certainly made a question whether a nice observer would not sooner find the original of the Medicean Venus upon the coast of Africa than in the South Sea.'

Without detaining our readers with even a sketch of the manners, laws, &c. of these islanders, from Doctor Langsdorff's book, which have again and again been described by former visitors, and which wear but a thin shade of difference from those of other savage nations, we shall content ourselves with the notice of one custom, which, to us at least, is perfectly novel—that of joining noses by way of salutation. 'When two friends meet,' says the doctor, 'they press the points of their noses together; this stands with them in the place of a kiss, to the sweet sensation of which they seem entire strangers.' Perhaps also their dexterity in catching rats by the hand, and 'feeding their swine with them,' may be something new; but we really cannot discover the force of the doctor's logical conjecture that, because there are plenty of rats and no tame cats to eat them, there must be wild cats in the woods: there may be no necessity for cats either wild or tame, where pigs are so ready to perform their functions.

We cannot in decency entirely pass over the chapter in which the doctor exhibits many profound and 'philosophical speculations on anthropophagism.' Happy for 'pauvre Jean Jacques' that he did not live to peruse these unholy 'speculations' on the deep depravity of the 'simple children of nature!' How rude a shock must his morbid sensibility have sustained on hearing that,

in savage life, there is no such thing as love between the sexes, affection between parents and children, or attachment between friends; that man is the most selfish of all animals, and the more so, the farther he is removed from a state of civilization; that, in short, his appetites are so depraved, that it is an incontrovertible truth, that all nations of the world have, at one period or other, been in the habit of eating one another! As the doctor considers this to be a 'matter of sufficient importance to be investigated somewhat minutely,' he summons to his aid a manuscript of Père Loureiro, (the author of the *Flora Cochinchinensis*;) and a treatise written by the 'ingenious Professor Meiners of Gottingen, *De Anthropophagia et diversis ejus Causis*.'

Our notice of the speculations of this learned triumvirate must be brief. They assign four causes for indulging the appetite which men feel for eating one another. The first is a tolerably substantial one—the want of other food. There happened, it seems, at some time or other, a great scarcity in India, so great indeed, that some hundred thousands of persons died of hunger. The survivors, not being of sufficient numbers or strength to bury their deceased friends, came to the resolution of eating them: but mark what followed! they continued to feast so long on their friends that they acquired a taste for human food, and ever after used to way-lay one another for the sake of enjoying so delicious a treat. 'Among others, a person who lived in a forest, upon the side of a mountain, contrived a sling which he threw round the necks of passengers and drew them into the forest, where he satiated his appetite upon them.' Nay, an old woman acquired such an unconquerable taste for young children, that none of the brats in the neighbourhood were safe out of their houses;—'what she could not eat fresh, she salted and kept for future eating.' It is added, that 'the flesh of young women and girls, and particularly of new born ones, far exceeds in delicacy that of the finest youths or grown men;' that the inside of the hand and the sole of the foot are real titbits; and, what alarms us not a little, that Englishmen are higher flavoured than Frenchmen. The doctor concludes this part of his interesting subject with a grave and suitable admonition against the immorality of indulging an appetite 'of even eating a corpse in times of the greatest scarcity,' lest we should acquire a taste, like the Nukahiwass, 'for killing and eating our wives and children.'

'The second motive,' says the doctor, 'for anthropophagism is the unruly and inordinate desires to which man is too prone to give way.' Under this head we have examples of the Mexicans and Tahuyas, of the Jaygas and Anzigos, 'of the Hibernians, whom we commonly call Irishmen,' and, as related by 'Cælius Rhodiginus,

ginus, of their neighbours the Scotch;—in fine, ‘of all our forefathers’ being anthropophagists; many of whom, it seems, not content with feasting on their enemies, ‘killed and eat their own countrymen, first feeding them well, and even giving them dainties, that their flesh might be the more delicate and finely flavoured; it was then publicly sold in the market.’ We were not aware that our savage forefathers were such epicures.

The third motive assigned by the Doctor, and which we agree with him is a ‘most extraordinary one,’ is the pretence of humanity! This profound proposition is illustrated by examples drawn from the Massagetæ, Essidonians, and many others of whom our readers may not be very anxious to know the names, who all ate their relations out of pure kindness, and then boasted that they had buried them in their own entrails. ‘It may be made a question,’ says the Doctor, ‘whether our German saying of *eating any body through love* may not have arisen from a tradition referring to those antient times, since it is certain that our forefathers, equally with the above-mentioned tribes, followed this custom.’

The fourth and last reason for anthropophagism is ‘hatred, contempt, and a thirst of revenge.’ Thus, the loyal subjects of the king of Cochinchina ate their rebel brethren, whose flesh, however, they found some difficulty in swallowing, unless when seasoned with lemon sauce. ‘Our German expression,’ says the Doctor, ‘*to be blood-thirsty*, comes perhaps from the time when our forefathers, out of revenge, literally assuaged their thirst with the blood of their enemies instead of grapes.’—But more than enough of the ‘philosophical speculations’ of the Portuguese Jesuit, the Göttingen professor, and the Russian aulic counsellor. We shall merely observe that the Tauas, or priests, of Nukahiva, when wishing to regale themselves with human flesh, have an aukward custom of *dreaming* that they should like to taste of such a man, or such a woman, when search is immediately made, and the first person that comes in the way, answering the description, is killed and eaten.

Happily for the doctor and his companions these Tauas were kind enough not to dream of a Russian relish, by way of variety; they therefore arrived safely at Owhyhee, whose natives had passed that stage of human civilization in which men delight in feasting on one another. But as they neither liked the appearance of the people, nor the high prices demanded for the refreshments of which they had to dispose, they resolved to proceed on their voyage, and made sail without holding much communication with them. The inhabitants of the Sandwich islands are, in fact, as the doctor afterwards discovered, advancing with rapid

rapid strides from barbarism to civilization. They enjoy a fine climate, and a soil of tolerable fertility; they are conveniently situated for ships bound to the north-west coast of America, the Aleutian islands, and Kamschatka; they have many secure bays and harbours; plenty of wood and water, and refreshments of all kinds in abundance. Most of the American ships, whether in their voyage round Cape Horn to the north-west coast of America, to collect furs for the China market, or from the South Sea whale fishery, touch at the Sandwich islands. This frequent intercourse has furnished the means of instruction to the natives in the knowledge of many of the comforts and advantages of a civilized state of society: it has taught them the value of property, and the convenience of money as the representative of property. Many of the American seamen have settled on these islands, and connected themselves with the native females. Under their instruction, the people have been taught to build ships, and to become good seamen. In the year 1806, Doctor Langsdorff tells us that the chief, Tomoomah, had a fleet of no less than fifteen ships, composed of three masted vessels, brigs, and cutters.\* He agreed with the Russian American Company to send a ship every year with hogs, salt, batatas, and other provisions for the use of their settlement, and to take in return sea-otter skins, which he meant to send to China on speculation, an intercourse which the doctor says he has since learned has actually commenced, and that the Russian Company had even purchased a cutter from him. The king himself is said to be an excellent shipbuilder, and to pay unremitting attention to that art. Having merely to imitate, the natives of this little group of islands may, under a succession of chiefs possessing ability and energy equal to those of Tomoomah, constitute a happy and polished society long before the expiration of the present century; 'they have taken a leap,' as Turnbull observed in 1802, 'into civilization.'

The silence of Captain Krusenstern respecting the objects of the embassy, and the nature of the negotiations carried on at Nangasaki between the ambassador and the Japanese *interpreters*, (for they seem to have had but little intercourse with persons of a higher description,) is, in some measure, compensated by the communicativeness of Doctor Langsdorff. We observe, indeed, in the letter of Captain Krusenstern, to which we have alluded, an expression which will account for his silence. 'If,' says he, 'the political conduct of the ambassador had been more circumspect, the result

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\* Turnbull says, that in 1802 he had upwards of twenty vessels of different sizes, from twenty-five to seventy tons; some of them copper-bottomed. It was Captain Vancouver who laid the keel of Tamahama's first vessel in 1794.

of the embassy would, in all probability, have been of a more pleasing nature.' It now appears, that instead of resisting the unreasonable and humiliating requisitions of the Japanese, he was at first all compliance, and then all complaint. On the first visit of some inferior officers of the governor of Nangasaki, they refused to go on board the Russian ship, 'till the ambassador, the captain and some of the officers, came out to welcome them.' Mr. Resanoff did indeed resist a demand so insolent and derogatory to his character, but offered to send 'some of his cavaliers;' this however being rejected by the 'great men' of Japan, he condescended to meet them himself on the forecastle. He moreover put them in possession of his instructions, and gave them a copy of the letter from the Emperor Alexander to the Emperor of Japan. He consented to have the guns, ammunition, muskets, and arms of every kind taken out of the ship. He acquiesced in the *Nadeshda* being surrounded by guard boats; he submitted to be kept on board, a prisoner in his own ship, for several months, and suffered himself to be cajoled from day to day by the most frivolous and childish excuses. When a request was made to take the ship into the inner harbour, he was told that a ship bearing a great personage like him, could not possibly be permitted to mix with Dutch trading vessels; and he was satisfied with their explanation that so great a man as himself must be received with preparations suitable to his rank and dignity; and when at length he ventured to send a message to the governor to say that 'his patience and forbearance had reached their height, and that he insisted on knowing why he had been kept waiting so long, and put off from month to month with empty promises,' he was pacified by being told, as a profound secret, that a council had been assembled at Jeddo to consult on the expediency of establishing a commercial intercourse with Russia, and that this was the sole cause of the delay;—two days after this, the very same man had the impudence to invent a totally different excuse for it.

It is quite amusing to read the manner in which the Japanese interpreters managed their masters' business, and to learn with what barefaced impudence they contrived and succeeded in administering consolation to their prisoner. One of these fellows, who united all the qualifications of the three comforters of Job in his own person, very gravely assured him that they felt how unbecoming the treatment was which he had met with from the great men of Japan; but added that it was their custom, and that 'a reasonable man must know how to accommodate himself to all situations and circumstances, like water which takes the form and figure of every vessel into which it is poured.' Another, when  
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he uttered his complaints, and talked of demanding his dismissal, said that they (the interpreters) comprehended these things perfectly, but that patience was a great virtue. 'It is laughable,' said he, 'that Japan, this little country, this little island, makes so much ceremony, and contrives so many difficulties; that in all her manners, even in her ways of thinking, she is little: while Russia, which is a very extensive country, is, in all her ways and manners, in all her thoughts and actions, great and noble.'

This civil piece of irony was, in fact, prompted by the ambassador, who, in exhibiting his maps and charts of the world, took great pains to impress on the Japanese, the magnitude of the Russian territory compared with that of Japan, all which had been faithfully reported at Nangasaki, and treasured up at Jeddo to be made use of at a proper occasion. The second audience furnished that occasion. One of the points mentioned in the Emperor of Russia's letter, was the desire he felt of establishing an intercourse of friendship and commerce with the Emperor of Japan; on which it was observed to the ambassador that 'friendship is like a chain which, when destined to some particular end, must consist of a determined number of links. If one member, however, be particularly strong, and the others disproportionably weak, the latter must, of necessity, be soon broken. The chain of friendship can never, therefore, be otherwise than disadvantageous to the weak members included in it.' In the same strain the interpreter proceeded to state with great solemnity that the mighty monarch of Russia had sent an ambassador with a number of costly presents. 'If they are accepted, the Emperor of Japan must, according to the custom of the country, send an ambassador with presents of equal value to the Emperor of Russia. But as there is strict prohibition against either the inhabitants or the ships quitting the country, and Japan is besides so poor, that it is impossible to return presents to any thing like an equivalent, it is wholly out of the Emperor's power to receive either the ambassador or the presents.'

It seems to be the policy of this wary government to humiliate and mortify, for the purpose of wearing out the patience, and thus more easily getting rid, of strangers. One of the first operations of this kind, by way of giving the Russians a taste of the mode in which Europeans are treated, was to bring the gentlemen of the Dutch factory along side the *Nadeshda*, and, after letting them wait a couple of hours in the boat, to ask permission for them to come on board. As Mynheer Doeff, the chief of the factory, was advancing to pay his respects to the ambassador, one of the interpreters caught him by the arm, and reminded him that he must first



make his compliment to the *great men*; on which Mynheer Doef immediately bent his body into a right angle, and with his arms dangling to the ground, remained in that posture a considerable length of time, when turning himself half round, he whispered to the interpreter, *Kan ik wed:rom opstaan?* May I now stand upright? The same compliment was again required on their departure, when a Baron Pabst, who had visited Japan out of curiosity, disgusted with such humiliating conduct, stole out of the cabin; one of the vigilant interpreters, however, perceiving it, called after him, 'Aha, Mynheer Pabst, you must not go away until you have paid your compliments to the *great men*!'

The Russians were not allowed to purchase the minutest trifle, not even provisions, which the Japanese supplied them with in daily rations. One day, however, they were left without their allowance, and on complaining of this neglect, the interpreter very coolly told them that 'Prince Tchingodsi had arrived in the morning, and it was necessary to prepare for his reception:—but even this excuse, insulting as it was, turned out to be a falsehood. In short, their whole conduct is so precisely formed on that of their prototype the Chinese, that we deem it unnecessary to follow Doctor Langsdorff through his details of the grievances of which he justly complains.

The ambassador did indeed resist the demand made upon him to kneel to the governor and the *great man* dispatched from Jeddo, but as they would neither suffer him to sit on a chair nor stand upright, 'he consented to lie down with his feet stretched out sideways.' The most remarkable thing was, that the fronts of all the houses, in all the streets through which they passed, were covered with hangings of cloth or straw mats, 'so that,' says the doctor, 'we could see nothing of the houses or the people, nor could they see any thing of us: here and there only we saw a head, urged by irresistible curiosity, peeping from behind the hangings;' and the reason assigned was, 'that the common people might be kept off, since they were not worthy to see so *great a man* as the Russian ambassador face to face.'

In their voyage to the northward, along the coast of Saghalien or Tchoka, we have nothing in the doctor's account of it that can interest or instruct. His volume terminates with their arrival at Kamtschatka, whence he proceeded over land to St. Petersburg. The picture drawn by Captain Krusenstern of this distant Russian settlement is a very gloomy one. All its bays are forlorn and forsaken; the shores strewed with stinking fish, cast up by the sea, and the only inhabitants, troops of half starved dogs wallowing among them and fighting for the unsavoury morsel. Even  
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the beautiful harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul is unenlivened by a single boat.

‘It is in vain that you look round, on landing, for even one well built house: in vain does the eye seek a road, or even a beaten path, along which a person may walk in safety to the town: no garden, no plantation, no inclosure of any kind, indicative of the least cultivation. A few huts, mostly in a decayed state; five or six cows feeding in the vicinity of the houses, and innumerable dogs lying about in holes which they dig as a shelter against the flies, rendering it, if not impossible, at least extremely dangerous, to walk after dark, are the only objects at St. Peter and St. Paul.’

Such is the miserable condition of the principal seat of a settlement formed more than a hundred years ago. But the government has been more in fault than the climate or the soil. A journey to Kamtschatka was a sort of punishment for military officers whose conduct had not been strictly correct. This marked degradation had rarely the effect of amending the conduct of those who were condemned to suffer it. Separated from his friends and from civilized society, with very little hope of returning to either—disgusted with the world, and dissatisfied with himself—now become the petty tyrant of a country of savages—he descended, by no imperceptible steps, to the condition nearly of those over whom he was placed. The usual resource of a person thus circumstanced, whose mind was, perhaps, originally not too well stored with knowledge, was that of drinking spirituous liquors; and it is a fact mentioned by Krusenstern, that almost the only cargoes for which merchants have met with a ready and certain market, are those of this destructive beverage. That wretched system is, however, now changed, and instead of men being driven by disgrace and despair to become savages, they are encouraged to make savages become men.—The progress, however, is likely to be slow; and the absence of any rival power in the neighbourhood is not calculated to quicken it. Russia, indeed, has so many more alluring objects to attract her attention, that the dreary and distant regions of Siberia and Kamtschatka can only hope to excite a very small portion of interest. But if any fortunate turn of affairs should give a stimulus to investigation and settlement in those quarters, we have little doubt that the Japanese themselves will ultimately fall under the sceptre of the Tzars; and, rising from their present state of political debasement, become, in some measure, to the eastern continent of Asia what the British islands are to Europe.

ART. XII. *Istorie Fiorentine di Giovanni Villani, Cittadino Fiorentino. The Florentine Histories of Giovanni Villani, a Citizen of Florence, to the year 1348. Milan, 1802. 8 tons.*

IT is not long since the perusal of a very able work of M. Simondi, on the Italian Republics of the middle ages, induced us to express a wish that it might be the means of bringing us better acquainted with the early historians of the Italian nation than we have hitherto been. So full of interest and variety is the subject of their narratives, and so estimable, for the most part, are the authors themselves for all the more eminent qualities of historical excellence, and for the attainment of political and philosophical science, far beyond the level of their contemporaries in the other countries of Europe, that we could not, indeed, avoid feeling some surprise at the obscurity in which both the writers and their works are involved, and the ignorance which appears to prevail even among well informed persons respecting them. Perhaps, however, this feeling was a little unreasonable. The transactions of their own ancestors must be allowed to be more laudable objects of interest, to Englishmen, than those of any foreign nations: yet, before the translation of his chronicle by Mr. Johnes, Froissart, that most amusing recorder of the proudest portion of our annals, was known to hardly any but the few fortunate possessors of a Pynson's or Myddleton's Lord Berners. The re-errection of Hall and Holinshed from the entombment of a public library, is an event of yet later occurrence; and, even now, while every day teems with new impressions of Hume and Smollett, Henry and Andrews, nobody seems to care how long the obscurity of a dead language shall continue to cover the venerable forms of our old monkish chroniclers, those authentic and amusing relators of passing occurrences, who carry their reader back with them, by an irresistible spell, to the days in which they lived, and among the scenes and persons which they describe. Since then the taste for deriving our knowledge, even of the early history of our own nation, from the fountain-head of co-eval antiquity, is of so late growth, and still so imperfectly cultivated among us, it is hardly to be expected that men should be very eager to cross the Alps in search of the means of gratification, of which there is such ample store, yet untouched, lying, as it were, at their own doors.

Nevertheless, we hold it to be no unpleasant part of our duty to contribute all that in us lies towards improving a spirit which, we are quite sure, whatever channel it may take, is attended with the power of procuring abundance of valuable instruction, and great entertainment for all those who may happen to be influenced by it. We indulge hopes that an opportunity will be shortly afforded

us of renewing the subject of our former disquisitions by the arrival of a continuation of M. Sismondi's book from the continent. In the mean time, our attention has been called to a large importation of books, principally of the Milan press; and as our acquaintance with the state and progress of Italian literature has been very slight indeed, since the iron crown was fixed on the august brows of his majesty the emperor and king, it may not be uninteresting to many of our readers to be informed, that an extremely handsome edition of all the best classics of the Italian language has been published at Milan, under the auspices of the *ci-devant* Vice President of the Cisalpine Republic, and now, we believe, arch-chancellor of the kingdom of Italy, Melzi d'Eril, duke of Lodi, by a society calling themselves 'La Società Tipografica de' Classici Italiani,' the members of which are very numerous, and of the first reputation for literature in their respective communities. This work had its commencement during the short peace of 1802; and in 1811, the date of the latest imported books, extended already to 150 volumes. This comprizes but a small portion of what is intended by the editors. According to them, the term 'classical,' as applied to Italian literature, 'si estende dai più antichi ed insigni scrittori sino al cominciare del secolo xviii;' and an edition undertaken on this basis, 'è quasi una raccolta di preziosi monumenti da' quali può di leggieri scorgere l'origine, il progresso, l'oscillazione, il risorgimento, la gloria finalmente, della Italiana letteratura.' Not all the works, however, (they proceed to say,) even of the most celebrated writers, can properly be termed classical; and thus a new distinction is made between classical authors, and classical productions. They instance accordingly, 'Il Convivio di Dante, la Teseide del Boccaccio, il Quatriregio di Federigo Frezzi, &c.' as not deserving the appellation bestowed on their respective authors, and therefore to be excluded from this edition. But, whatever may be its proposed extent, it is certainly an undertaking which reflects great honour, not only on the society which conducts it, but on the character of the people among whom it originated.

Whence comes it that England, of all nations the proudest, and in many respects the most justly so, of her superiority both in arts and arms, is outdone, by almost every civilized country of Europe, in the encouragement given to the monuments of her national literature? But this by the way.—To return to the subject before us,—the first work published by this Milan society was that of which we have placed the title at the head of our present article. We are happy in having found this opportunity of recording the laudable zeal for the departed glories of their nation, which exists even in the present degraded and exhausted state of Italy; but our principal purpose in thus introducing the subject was to in-

dulge our inclination for bringing our readers acquainted with some of the merits of the early Florentine historians.

The first of these, in chronological order, is the venerable Ricordano Malespini; whose history, commencing with the fabulous Origin of Fiesole, the Mother of Florence, is broken off at the year 1281, and thence brought down to 1286, by Giacchetto Malespini, his nephew. In point of style and purity of language it remains to this day one of the choicest models of the Tuscan dialect. It is plain and unornamented, without any of that coarse and imperfect abruptness which distinguishes the rude periods of literature in every other language. Of gross and absurd fable respecting the origin and early history of the Florentine nation it possesses a reasonable share—but in proportion as the author advances nearer to the era in which he writes, a tone of perfect credibility and good faith gradually takes place of fiction and romance; and the history becomes remarkable by way of contrast to the monkish chronicles of other nations,—even those of a much later date,—from the almost total absence of superstitious credulity which it exhibits. Even Villani, who wrote half a century later, and who makes Malespini the groundwork of his own history, has here and there foisted tales of visions and miracles into his original, which Malespini himself had either never heard of, or which his better understanding rejected. Since, however, we have mentioned our author's powers of invention, or rather (perhaps) the inventions of others which he thought proper to retain out of compliment to his native city, it is but fair to give a specimen of them; and our readers shall accordingly hear, (in a style which we have studied, not only in this, but in every subsequent quotation, to render as congenial as possible with the simple antiquity of the original,)

Concerning Adam: how long time there was between him and king Ninus (Nimrod); and how Apollo the astrologer caused Fiesole to be built.—Cap. 2.

In the first place I say, that from Adam until king Nimrod, who conquered all the world in battle and subdued it under his dominion, (which was about the time of the birth of Abraham,) were years two thousand three hundred and forty-four. In the days of this Nimrod was built the great Tower of Babel, which caused the division of the seventy-two languages of the world. The first division was into three parts, (Asia, Africa, and Europe, which last is described by its boundaries with very tolerable accuracy, beginning from Brindisi and making the circuit from east to west, back to Brindisi again)—‘ which aforesaid land, so bounded, was first governed by one named Atlante, (Atlas,) (whose wife was a very beautiful woman, by name Electra,) and also by Jupiter with whom was united Appollonio, (Apollo,) a great master of astronomy; and all their actions were directed by his advice. Now they,

they, all together, fixed upon a spot within the confines of their empire, whereon they laid the foundations of Fiesole, which was the first city ever built in the world since the deluge of the ark of Noah; and this place was so chosen by Apollo, on account of its being the most wholesome spot in the whole world, in respect of air, and being under the best and greatest planet; and it was called Fiesole because it was the first city built as aforesaid. In this city dwelt Atlas, and Electra his wife, and many of their people.

In what manner the people of Fiesole came to be concerned with the Trojan war; how in after times Catellino, (Catiline,) a Roman senator of great power, put himself at their head, and obtained many important victories over the Romans and a certain king called Fiorino; (whose name we do not recollect in Sallust;) how this same Catiline was afterward defeated, and Fiesole utterly destroyed by Julius Cæsar, who thereupon built a new city and called it Florence after the name of the said King Fiorino; how, five hundred years later, Attila, surnamed 'Flagellum Dei,' returned the compliment by overthrowing the establishments made by Julius Cæsar, and replacing the inhabitants in the situation in which the eminent astrologer before mentioned had fixed them; the reader, if he has any passion for this sort of historical romance, may find in Malespini. But, after smiling at the simplicity of the chronicler who records these fables so gravely, it is fair to add, that they occupy a very small portion of his work; and that the merits of the remainder are such as amply justify the character which we have given of him. The account of the great battle fought near Benevento between Manfred, king of Naples, and the invader Charles of Anjou, of which the result was the dissolution of the Swabian, and establishment of the Angevin dynasty in that kingdom, affords a favourable specimen of the style and spirit of his narrative. We take it from Villani, who has added some important circumstances; but the main part of it is Malespini's.

Now King Manfred having heard the news of the loss of San Germano, on the return of his discomfited army, was much amazed, and took counsel what he should do; and it was thereupon advised by the Counts Calvagno, Giordano, and Bartolomeo, and by the chamberlain, and others of his barons, that he should withdraw himself, with all his power, into his city of Benevento, that being a place of strength, where he might have the advantage either to accept battle on his own ground, or to retreat into Apulia, as need might be; and where, if he chose to remain, he might prevent the further advance of King Charles, inasmuch as there was no other way by which he could enter the Principato, or reach Naples, or penetrate into Apulia, except by the way of Benevento: and it was done accordingly. As soon as King Charles heard that Manfred had marched towards Benevento, he immediately left San Germano, to follow him with all his host; and he did not take

the direct road by Capua and the Terra di Lavoro, because he might not have been able to pass the bridge of Capua by reason of its strength, and of the strong towers which were there placed to defend the river; but he put himself, in order to pass the Volturno, at the ford of Tuli-verno, and from thence held on his march through the county of Alife, and the passes of the Beneventan mountains; and, without taking any rest, and in great distress both of money and provisions, he arrived at the hour of prime. (ora di terza,) or about mid-day, at the foot of Benevento, in the valley which surrounded that city, and which is about two miles in length, and near the river Calore which runs immediately under it.

As soon as King Manfred discovered King Charles's army, he took counsel to fight, and to sally forth in order of battle to assault the Frenchmen before they had well rested themselves; but in this he was ill-advised; for if he had only waited one day, or two, King Charles and all his host would have been destroyed or taken without a blow, for want of provisions for themselves and their horses; seeing that, the very day before they reached Benevento, through distress of victuals, many of them were compelled to eat the leaves of colewort and feed their horses upon the stems, instead of bread and grain; and all the money they had was spent. Also the forces of King Manfred were very much scattered; the Lord Conrad of Antioch being in Abruzzo with his people, Count Frederick in Calabria, and the Count of Ventimiglia in Sicily; so that, if he had delayed ever so little, his strength would have been augmented, and he must have remained conqueror; *let whom God intends to destroy, he first takes away his senses.\** Having left Benevento, he descended the hill and crossed the bridge over the Calore to the plain, where stands (the church of?) Santa Maria della Grandella; and there, at a place called La Pietra a Roseto, he drew out his army in three battalions. The first was composed of Germans, in whom he principally confided, and contained twelve hundred lances, (cavalieri,) commanded by the Count Calvagno; the second was of Tuscans, Lombards, and Germans, about a thousand lances, commanded by the Count Giondano; the third, of Apulians and Saracens of Nocera, at the head of whom was King Manfred, in person, and this last consisted of fourteen hundred lances, without reckoning the foot-soldiers and the Saracen archers who were in great numbers.

King Charles, seeing the army of Manfred drawn out, on the plain, in battle array, took counsel as to what he should do, whether to accept battle that same day, or wait; and he was advised by most of his barons to wait until the next morning in order that their horses might have some rest from the fatigues of their long march. The Lord Giles le Brun, constable of France, recommended the contrary course; he said, that, by delay, the enemy would take heart and courage, that their own victuals would entirely fail them; and, in short, that if no others would, he only, with his lord, Robert of Flanders, and the

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\* 'Ma a cui Dio vuole male li toglie il seano.' This is a favourite expression of Villani's. *Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.* It does not occur in *Malaspini*. Flemish

Flemish force, would undertake the hazard of the battle, having full confidence in God that he should obtain the victory, through his assistance, over the enemies of holy church. When King Charles heard this, he readily accepted the advice, from the great good will he had to fight, and said with a loud voice to his knights, *Venu est le jour que nous avons tant désiré*;\* then he caused the trumpets to blow, and gave orders for every man to arm and make himself ready for the battle. In a short time his orders were obeyed, and he formed his men into three divisions after the example of the enemy. The first consisted of Frenchmen, about a thousand lances, commanded by the Lord Philip de Montfort and the Maréchal de Mirepoix; the second was led by King Charles himself, with the Count Guy de Montfort, and many barons and knights of Provence, and of the Campagna, and of Rome, in number about nine hundred good knights; and the royal standard was borne by the Lord William, surnamed l'Etendart, a man of great courage; of the third squadron was captain, Robert Count of Flanders, with his tutor Giles, constable of France, and with seven hundred lances, composed of Flemings, Brabançons, and Picards; and over and above these battalions, were the exiled Guelphs of Florence, and the other Italian states, in number full fourteen hundred more; of whom a great many belonging to the principal houses of Florence, were made knights by the hand of King Charles at the commencement of the battle. Of these exiles of Florence and Tuscany, the Count Guido Guerra was captain, and Master Conrad da Montamagno, a Pistoiese; carried their standard in that battle.

Now King Manfred seeing all the divisions formed in battle array, enquired of what that fourth squadron was composed, which appeared to him so well equipped in arms and horses; and it was answered him, that they were the Guelph faction whom he had expelled from Florence, and the other places of Tuscany. Then Manfred lamented himself, saying, "Where is the succour that I receive from the Ghibelline faction, which I have so well served and put in the possession of so great treasure?" And he said, "Verily, that people shall lose nothing this day;" and this he said, speaking of the aforesaid exiles, and meaning, that, if he should gain the victory, he would be a friend to the Guelphs of Florence, seeing that they were so faithful to their lord, and to their party, and would set himself thenceforward against the Ghibellines.

The armies of both kings being drawn out in the plain of La Grancedella, in the manner already related, and each having exhorted the people under him to fight bravely, and King Charles having given the word *Monjoye*, *Chevaliers*, and Manfred, *Soavia*, *Cavalieri*, to their respective soldiers; the Bishop of Auxerte, as legate of the pope, gave absolution and benediction to all those of King Charles's host, with full pardon of every offence and penalty, by reason that they were about to

\* Villani, who has added this account of the preparations made by Charles, probably out of the *Historia Sicula* of Sabas Malaspina, frequently gives us the speeches of the Angevin monarch, in the French language; which throws a remarkable air of *vérité* over his narrative.



fight for the service of the church. This done, a sharp and severe conflict commenced between the two first divisions of French and Germans; and so desperate was the assault made by the latter, that the French were sorely annoyed by it, and forced to recoil, and lose their ground. The good King Charles, seeing them so roughly handled, no longer kept the order of battle; but being well aware that if his first division, composed of Frenchmen, on whom he mostly relied, were broken, he could have little expectation of safety from the rest, he immediately advanced to their support, with the second squadron. The exiles of Florence, with their division, as soon as they saw the king thus engaged, freely threw themselves upon his defence, and performed marvellous feats of arms that day, always following his person. The same did Master Giles le Brun, constable of France, and Robert of Flanders, with their division, insomuch that the battle was very fierce and bloody, and lasted a long time before it could be known who had the better of it. The Germans, by their valour and the strength of their good swords, caused the French great loss and slaughter; but at last there arose a loud cry among the French ranks, *alli stocchi, alli stocchi, e fedire i cavalli!* To your short swords, and strike at the horses! and they did accordingly; by which means, in a short time, the Germans were sorely grieved, and many thrown down, and almost put to flight. King Manfred, who with his band of Apulians had advanced to their assistance, seeing that they were turned and could sustain the conflict no longer, encouraged those of his own division, and commanded them to follow him to the battle; but he was ill obeyed by them, for the greater part of the Apulian barons, and those of the kingdom, deserted him, and among the rest the earl chamberlain and the Counts of Acerra, and of Caserta, and others; either through faintness of heart, seeing the Germans turn back, or, as some say, through treachery, like a faithless people, and affecting a new master; so they abandoned Manfred, and fled, some towards the country of Abruzzo, and some to Benevento.

Manfred still kept the ground with a few horse, doing as befits a valiant lord, who will rather die in battle than fly with shame; and, putting his helmet on his head, a silver eagle which formed its crest, fell before him upon his saddle bow. He seeing this, was much amazed thereat, and said to the barons by his side, in Latin, "*Hoc est signum Dei!* I fixed this crest with my own hands in such manner that it could not be moved." For all that he did not give over, but stripped himself of his royal surcoat, that he might not be known for the king, and then valiantly set himself to fight in the midst of the battle, like any other baron. His people however did not hold out long, but were soon put to flight and utterly routed; and King Manfred himself fell dead in the midst of his enemies, being killed by a French esquire, as it is said, but is not known for certain.

In this battle there was great mortality on both sides, but principally on that of King Manfred: and those who fled from the field were pursued till night by King Charles's people, who entered the city of Benevento, together with the fugitives, and made themselves masters  
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of it; of those who fled, many of Manfred's principal barons were made prisoners; among others the Count Giordano, and Master Piero Asino degli Uberti, both of whom King Charles sent prisoners to Provence, and there caused them to be cruelly put to death in different prisons. The other German and Apulian barons he kept prisoners in different places in the kingdom. A few days after, the wife and children of Manfred, who were with the Saracens of Nocera, were given up to King Charles; and these afterwards died in prison. And well did the curse of God fall on Manfred and his heirs, and plainly was the justice of God made manifest in him, because he was excommunicate, and an enemy and persecutor of holy church.

The body of Manfred was sought after for more than three days before it was found, nor was it in that time known whether he was killed or taken, or had escaped, because he had not worn his royal coat of arms in the battle. At last a common fellow, of his own soldiers, recognized it by many personal marks lying in the midst of the field where the battle had been most fierce. As soon as he had found it, he threw it across his ass's back, and drove it along, saying, "Who buys Manfred?" (*Chi accatta Manfredi?*) Upon this one of the king's barons gave him a severe beating with a cane, and carried the body before King Charles, which that king seeing, commanded all the captive barons into his presence, and enquired of each of them whether that was the body of their King Manfred? All fearfully answered, that it was; but when it came to the turn of Count Giordano, he clapped his hands before his face, weeping and exclaiming, *Oimè, oimè, signor mio, che è questo!* Alas, alas, my master, is it come to this! and the French barons commended him highly. King Charles was then entreated by some of his barons to give it an honourable interment; but he answered, *le fairois je volontiers, si lui ne fût excommunié*; but, seeing that he was excommunicate, King Charles would not suffer that he should be received into consecrated ground, but caused him to be buried at the foot of the bridge of Benevento; and every man of his army threw a stone upon his grave, so that a great mountain of stones was raised thereon. Some say, however, that he was afterwards removed from this place by the Bishop of Cosenza, under the pope's orders, and taken out of the kingdom, (because the kingdom is church-land,) and interred on the banks of the river Verde, on the confines of the kingdom and the Campagna. This, however, we do not affirm, although Dante renders testimony thereof in his *Purgatorio*, cap. 3. where he treats of King Manfred, saying, "*Se'l pastor di Cosenza, &c.*" This battle was fought on a Friday, the last day of February, in the year of Christ 1265.

On this narrative it ought to be remarked that both Malespini and Villani were strongly attached to the Guelph party, which, shortly after the death of Manfred, became again predominant in their native city; and that in the violent language of the faction, the Sultan of Nocera (as, from the employment which he gave to the Saracens established at that place, they used to denominate the  
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unhappy son of Frederick) was little inferior in the scale of abomination to Satan himself. Nevertheless, it will be seen from many passages in the preceding account that, however tainted with the prejudices of the times, those historians were more capable even than some of our own day of acknowledging the real virtues to be met with among their enemies, as well as the errors and vices of their friends. The exalted and chivalrous valour of the poor excommunicated monarch receives from them its tribute of applause, while the inhumanity of his successful rival, though no comment is made upon it, is set in too strong a contrast not to persuade us that it was felt and condemned by those who record it. We must not expect to find in the history of a Florentine Guelph so favourable a portrait of the Swabian prince as that which his friend and follower, Nicholas de Jamsilla, has transmitted to posterity; nevertheless the representation which Villani has given us of the conqueror is coloured with greater discrimination, and evinces a mind superior to any slavish bias of faction or superstition.

That the events which are about to be related may be the more plainly understood, we will now speak a little concerning his virtues and conditions; and there is good reason to make record of so great a lord and so great a friend and protector of holy church and of our city of Florence. This Charles was wise, of good governance, valiant and fierce in arms, and much feared and redoubted by all the kings of the world; magnanimous, and of high purpose to accomplish all great undertakings, steadfast in adversity, a fast and true observer of all promises, a little speaker, and a great doer. He scarcely ever laughed, was virtuous as a churchman, and catholic; severe in justice and of a ferocious countenance; large and tall in person, and sinewy; his complexion olive, with a high prominent nose; and he carried the semblance of royal majesty above all other great lords. He watched much and slept little, and used to say that sleep is so much time lost. He was bountiful to his knights and men at arms, but covetous of acquiring lands, dominion, and money wherever it might come from, to pay the expences of his expeditions and wars. In courtiers, minstrels, and jugglers, he never took delight.—*Villani*, lib. vii. cap. 1.

Respecting the infamous murder of Conradin, (a transaction scarcely to be paralleled but by that of the Duke d'Enghien in these days,) the historian's judgment is somewhat warped by his Guelphish prejudices with regard to the effect of the excommunication under which the young prince suffered; but he evidently holds the deed in abhorrence; and would fain absolve holy church from the charge of concurrence in, or approbation of, the measure.

Certainly, says he, it is seen by experience, that whosoever raises his hand against holy church and becomes excommunicate, it follows that his last end will be miserable both for soul and body; wherefore the sentence of excommunication of holy church is for ever

to be dreaded, *whether it be just or unjust*; and thereof are we assured by many undeniable miracles, as by whosoever reads the ancient chronicles, or even this new chronicle, may easily be found, in the examples of emperours and great lords who have from time to time been rebels and persecutors of holy church. However, King Charles was greatly blamed, for the sentence he pronounced against Conradin, by the pope and his cardinals, and indeed by all wise men, seeing that he had taken Conradin and his followers in battle, and it would have been better to hold him a prisoner than to put him to death. And some said that the pope was consenting thereto; but let us not give faith to it, because he was reputed a most holy man. And it appears, that the innocence of Conradin, who was of such tender years to suffer judgment of death, was the cause that God displayed his anger against King Charles by a miracle; since, not many years afterwards, God sent him great adversities even at the time when his fortunes appeared to be at their height.—Lib. vii. cap. 29.

It is somewhat instructive at the present day to learn after what manner great conquerors and scourges of the human race have, in former times, conducted themselves under the pressure of a signal reverse of fortune. Upon the mind of Charles, adversity seems to have produced a favourable effect; and the termination of his career evinces a strong sense of religion, which he certainly partook in common with his brother Saint Louis, and other members of his family, however much it might have been debased, as to its influence upon his general conduct, by the gross superstitions of the age.

When King Charles heard these news,\* he was so much amazed, that never, through danger of battle or any other adversity, had he entertained so great a fear; and he said with a sigh, "would God that I were dead, since fortune is so adverse to me that I have lost my dominion, having so great a power both at land and sea; and that it should be taken from me by a people whom I never injured! It greatly grieves me that I did not take Messina upon those conditions which were formerly offered to me. But, seeing I can now do no other," (with much sorrow he spoke,) "break up our host, and let us pass over; and whosoever was the cause of so great a treason, whether he be clerk or layman, of him I will take ample vengeance." The first day he sent over the queen, with all the artizans and equipage of the army; the second, he passed over himself with all his host, except that, by way of stratagem, he left in ambush near Messina two thousand men at arms, with two captains; to this end, that if upon the rising of his army, the besieged should sally forth out of the city to make themselves masters of the baggage of his camp, they might come behind and part of them

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\* Of the capture of his fleet before Messina, by King Peter of Arragon. This was after the celebrated massacre of the Sicilian vespers, in 1282; and the total loss of the island was the immediate consequence.

enter the place; which, if it should take effect, the king would immediately return with all his power.

This well planned stratagem failed, from causes which it is unnecessary in this place to detail. The liberation of Messina was effected; and the Arragonese admiral sailing to the Calabrian shore, set on fire eighty of King Charles's transports before his eyes.

And this King Charles and all his army beheld, without being able to give them the smallest relief, by reason of which his grief was redoubled. And, holding in his hand a staff, which it was his custom to carry, he began to gnaw it for very anguish, and said, "*Ah Dieu, molt m'aves offert à surmonter; je te prie, que l'avaler soit tout bellement.*" And by this it is shewn, that neither the wit nor the strength of man hath any avail before the judgments of God. When King Charles was arrived in Calabria, he gave licence to all his barons and their people, and returned alone and very dolorously to Naples.—Cap. 74.

'Il sembloit à Charles,' (observes M. Sismondi on this passage,) 'que ses flottes et son armée, instrumens qu'il étoit accoutumé à faire agir avec tant de facilité, se refusoient tout-à-coup à la main qui les dirigeoit.' His situation and feelings on this occasion may probably bear a pretty close comparison with those of Buonaparte after his flight from Mosco; but we entertain some doubt whether the chivalrous spirit of the latter will induce him to offer single combat '*en champ-clos*' to the Emperor Alexander, or whether, on his death-bed, he will have so good a plea to offer for the pardon of his restless ambition as that which the mistaken piety of the times encouraged Charles of Anjou to present before the judgment seat of God, doubtless with a very comfortable persuasion of its acceptance.

When he, whose busy mind could never sleep, had arrived at the town of Foggia, in Apulia, on his way to Brindisi, to advance the preparations of his navy, it pleased God that he fell sick of a violent malady, and departed this life the day after the Epiphany, in the year of Christ 1284. But, before he died, with great contrition he received the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and spoke with reverence the following words, "*Sire Dieu, je crois vraiment que vous êtes mon sauveur, ainsi vous prie, que vous aies merci de mon âme; ainsi comme je fis la prise du royaume de Sicile plus pour servir sainte église que pour mon profit ou outre convoitise, ainsi vous me pardonnez mes peches;*" and having spoken, he departed this life presently after; and his body was brought to Naples, and, after great lamentations for his death, was buried in the archiepiscopal church of Naples with high honour.—Cap. 94.

The history of the two Malespinis terminates, as we have before mentioned, with the year 1286; and the remainder of the chronicle of G. Villani, to its conclusion, in 1348, (comprising at least three-fourths of the whole,) belongs exclusively to the last mentioned

tioned author. For what he has borrowed from his predecessors, Sismondi remarks that he ought not to be charged with plagiarism, although it be true that he has copied a great deal of it, word for word. Before the invention of printing, the rights of authorship were little understood or valued. Villani undertook to compile a history of his native country from the best sources that were within his reach, for the use of his friends and of posterity. This was all his aim; and the thought of literary glory never entered into his calculations. There may have been, even at that period, some vague and unsettled idea of a property in the fruit of a man's own original genius; but in the bare record of passed or passing events (and history was then regarded in no other light) there could not be any whatever. The liberty which an ancient chronicler took with the labours of his predecessors, he was content to furnish to those who came after him; and, in the same manner as G. Villani took, without acknowledgment, the whole work of Malespini into his own history, so Giovanni himself, and his two continuators, Matthew and Philip Villani, were afterwards incorporated by a later compiler, Marchione de Coppo Stefani, and brought down by him, from 1365, (where Philip ends,) to 1385. 'Nous sommes toujours trop disposés à oublier que l'invention de l'imprimerie a complètement changé la tâche des auteurs et leurs relations avec leurs lecteurs.'

Between the Malespini and Villani, however, we have an intermediate historian to notice, whose name is less known than either of the former, but (according to Muratori's authority) is deserving of at least an equal degree of celebration. This author is Dino Compagni, whose '*Cronica di Firenze*,' beginning with the year 1279, and ending with 1312, is inserted in the ninth volume of the *Scriptores Italici*. We have not hitherto had an opportunity of consulting it, so as to know whether Villani is in any respect indebted to this, as he is to Malespini's history, or to appreciate for ourselves the justice of Muratori's commendation. It is probable, however, that owing to some causes unexplained, the work remained either unknown, or, having been partially known, became forgotten, until the illustrious labours of that great antiquary revived it. Scipio Ammirato, certainly, was a stranger to its existence. Yet was Dino a notable worthy in his generation; 'Vir nescio an antiquâ sanguinis nobilitate, certè ex honoribus et dignitatibus quas adeptus est, illustris.' He appears as one of the priors of Florence in 1289; gonfalonier of justice in 1293; and again prior in 1301. The task of amending and revising the statutes was committed to him (among others) in 1294. He says of himself that, when young, he was very active in exciting a popular commotion in his native city, confessing (with a laudable ingenuousness)

nuousness) that 'per giovenazza, non conosceva le pene delle leggi.'

'It is much to be wished,' Muratori observes, 'that we had many more such historians; for no man is more worthy of faith, or at least more capable of conveying accurate information than he who having sat at the helm of government describes events in which he himself bore a principal share, or which, at least, passed immediately subject to his own inspection.' In comparison with Malespini and G. Villani, he considers Compagni as excelling them both 'in elegance of style and choice of matter;' 'ad hæc in illo quædam verborum dictionumque puritas occurrit, usque adeo ut inter præcipuos linguæ nostræ patres sit accensendus.' Nor, he adds, is this to be wondered at; since, 'ut erat ingenio liberali a naturâ instructus, non levem Musis operam dedit.' Some of his poetical productions are preserved in Leo Allatius; and an oration which he pronounced before Pope John the Twenty-second is still extant. 'Whether he was Guelph or Gibelline\* is not discernible; but it is abundantly evident that he was a lover of good government, and a constant friend to peace; and, although he often inveighs against the vices of his countrymen, he never does so with acrimony, but always evinces the spirit of a patriotic citizen. 'Uno verbo,' concludes his animated eulogist, 'Florentia habet unde sibi de hoc etiam Scriptore multum plaudet atque gloriatur.'

We at last come, in chronological order, to the author whose name stands at the head of this article. The precise period of the birth of Giovanni Villani cannot be ascertained; but it is known that his family was among the most respectable in his native city, and that his father held the venerable office of prior in the year 1300. He appears to have been the eldest of four sons, of whom Matthew, the continuator of his history, was the youngest. He was twice married, and had children by both his wives; but none of them seem to have left any descendants; and the male line of his brother Matthew, which continued for a much longer period, terminated in the year 1616. Like almost all the noble citizens of Florence, he exercised the mercantile profession, and (as his biographer, in the 'Elogio di Giovanni Villani,' prefixed to this edition of his work, informs us) by the prudence with which he lived, was reputed worthy of the first and most honourable offices of the state. In the year 1300, (the same year in which his father held the situation of prior, as before related,) he was present at the great jubilee held at Rome under pope Boniface VIII. As it was

\* If it could be ascertained that he was of the latter faction, the ascendancy of the Guelphs at Florence, and the inveterate jealousy of their rivals which so long prevailed among them, would sufficiently account for the obscurity of his work.

upon this occasion that he first conceived the design of writing his history, we shall give our readers his account of it in his own words.

In the year 1300, Boniface the Eighth, who then filled the papal chair, proclaimed a plenary indulgence, says our author, "for every Roman, who during thirty days, and for all other persons of whatsoever nation, who during fifteen days, successively, in the said year, should visit the churches of the blessed apostles St. Peter and St. Paul." Multitudes flocked to the celebration of this jubilee from all parts of Christendom; and it was the most wonderful thing ever beheld, that, throughout the year, there were at Rome two hundred thousand pilgrims in addition to the constant inhabitants, without reckoning those who were on the roads coming and returning, and they were all (both horses and men) amply provided with victuals of all sorts, with great regularity, and without any noise or bustle. And to this, adds the historian, I can myself bear witness, who was present and saw it. Now, having undertaken this blessed pilgrimage to the holy city of Rome, seeing with my own eyes the noble antiquities which are therein, and reading the records of the great actions of the Romans written by Virgil, and by Sallust, Lucan, Titus Livius, Valerius, Paulus Orosius, and other masters of history, who have described little things as well as great, even those relating to the further ends of the world, in order to give memory and example unto posterity, I took from them my style and method of writing, albeit I were not a disciple worthy to perform so great a work. But considering that our own city of Florence, the daughter and the workmanship of Rome, was then in her ascension, and disposed to the achievement of great fortunes, as also that Rome was in her decline and diminution, it appeared to me convenient to collect in this new chronicle all the acts of the said city from its commencements, as far as it was possible for me to search for and discover them, and to follow up the same with the histories of times past and present, and of those to come (so long as it shall please God) both of the acts of the Florentine people, and of all other notable occurrences throughout the whole world, of which I may be able to obtain any knowledge; God granting his grace; in the hope whereof I have entered upon this undertaking, duly considering my own poor skill as that upon which I could place no reliance. And thus, through the mediation of Christ, in the year of his incarnation 1300, I, being returned from Rome, began to compile this book, to the glory of God and of the blessed Saint John, and in commendation of our city of Florence.—Lib. iv. cap. 36.

Very shortly after he had taken this commendable resolution, in the summer of the same year 1300, broke out that dreadful division of the Guelph faction into the *parte nera* and *parte bianca*, (the black and the white party,) which he deplores with all the feeling of a good citizen. The origin of that '*maladetta briga*' is traced to a private feud which took place in the neighbouring city of



and customs of the Tartar nations, which, on comparison with the oriental historians, will be found to be remarkably correct. The miraculous conversion of Sultan Ghâzan to christianity is, indeed, a manifest fable; but it is not at all improbable that the Florentine envoy related it for the purpose of rendering his mission more acceptable. In other respects, the character of Ghâzan Khân, certainly one of the greatest and most enlightened princes of his race, as it is given by Major Price from the Habeib-Usseir, corresponds in a striking manner with that which Villani extracted from his conversations with his friend Bastari. The year 1317 was happily distinguished for a general pacification, obtained by the mediation of Robert of Naples, between the Guelphs and Gibellins throughout Tuscany, when Villani was sent in conjunction with two others as *providitori* of a treaty between his native city and the Ghibelline state of Pisa.

We need not follow him through all the offices of state which from this time he is found to have filled at different intervals with equal honour to himself and advantage to his countrymen. His military employments do not appear to have been very frequent, but he took the field in the year 1323, during that most unfortunate campaign against Castruccio, Lord of Lucca, which had nearly terminated in the destruction of the army of the Florentines and the subversion of their liberties. In his honest and minute account of these transactions, he presents us with a very lively picture of the alternation of ignorant terror and vain confidence displayed in the conduct of an unwarlike populace, unexpectedly called to take arms in defence of their independence: lively, indeed, is his whole history of this very romantic war, which lasted with little intermission during the life of Castruccio, and during which, with an occasional mixture of extreme folly, perverseness, and vain glory, were called out all the best energies and noblest exertions of the Florentine character. The account of Castruccio himself is an honourable instance of that great historical quality which we have before attributed to Villani, of impartiality and candour even towards his enemies. Of the pride and presumption which were prominent features in his character, indeed, he affords some memorable examples; but when he comes to relate his death, which he does with many interesting particulars, he adds the following description of his person and qualities.

This Castruccio was very well made in person, sufficiently tall and active, neat and not corpulent, of a fair complexion verging towards paleness, with strait light hair and a gracious countenance. He was about 47 years old when he died. A short time before, knowing his death to be approaching, he said to many of his most intimate friends: "I see that I am going to die; *e morto me di corto vedrete disasroccato*;"

meaning, in his native Lucchese dialect, "and when I am dead, you will shortly see a great revolution of affairs." And he prophesied truly, as we shall soon have occasion to see. And, as we have been informed by his most private friends and relations, he confessed himself and received the sacraments and holy unction devoutly: but, nevertheless, he rested under a great error, inasmuch as he never acknowledged that he had offended God by the offence he had committed against holy church, satisfying his conscience that he had acted justly.

Now this Castruccio was a valiant and magnanimous tyrant, wise and crafty and enterprising and industrious, and accomplished in arms and provident in the art of war, and very adventurous in his undertakings, and much feared and redoubted, and in his time he did many great and notable things, and was a great scourge to his fellow citizens and to the Florentines and Pisans and Pistoiese, and all the inhabitants of Tuscany for the space of fifteen years that he ruled over Lucca; and he was somewhat cruel in putting men to death and torture, ungrateful for services received in his distresses and necessities, fond of new people and new friends, and very vain glorious of his state and signory; inasmuch that he believed himself to be lord of Florence, and king over all Tuscany. The Florentines were so much overjoyed at his death, that they could scarcely believe it possible; but as soon as the news was made certain, it came into the mind of me, the author of this book, to make record of a circumstance which happened to me respecting it.

Being a Florentine, and seeing my country in great disturbance through the persecution inflicted by him on our community which it seemed impossible that we should surmount, I wrote a letter to my devout friend, Master Dionysio dal borgo a San Sepolcro, master of divinity and philosophy in the University of Paris, wherein I lamented our condition, and prayed that he would instruct me how soon our adversity should come to its close; which letter of mine he answered in brief, saying, "I see Castruccio dead; and at the end of the war you will obtain possession of the Signory of Lucca by the hand of one who shall bear for his arms sable and gules, with great affliction and great expense and shame to our community, and you shall govern it but a short time." This letter I received from Paris in those days when Castruccio had won Pistoja as above related; so I wrote back to the master how Castruccio was in greater pomp and state than he had ever been, whereto he answered, "at present I shall again affirm that which I wrote to you by a former letter; and if God hath not changed his judgments and altered the course of the heavens, I see Castruccio dead and buried." And when I received this letter, I showed it to the priors my colleagues, (being then a member of that body,) and it so happened that Castruccio had then actually died a few days before, and the judgment of Master Dionysio was accomplished as a prophecy in all its parts.—Lib. x. cap. 85.

This is a pretty fair specimen of our author's credulity in matters

\* The conjunction made use of in the original is never changed from 'and' to 'but,' so that it is not easy to discover from the text at what point Villani begins to speak in terms of disapprobation.

of astrology, in which science various passages of his work evince him to have been a firm believer. It must be remembered, however, that it was a science so fully established in those days in the judgments both of the learned and of the unlearned, that to disbelieve, would have been regarded as a proof of incredulity deserving of punishment in that circle of Dante's *Inferno* to which the poet has doomed Farinata and Cavalcante, the Emperor Frederic, and the Cardinal Ubaldini.

The year after Castruccio's death, the Florentines entered into a treaty for the purchase of Lucca from certain German adventurers who had seized it in the name of the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria; and Villani was appointed one of the commissioners to conduct the negotiation. To his great displeasure, however, it was long before any thing could be done towards the accomplishment of this important purpose, owing to the over-reaching disposition which his countrymen displayed on the occasion. It seems not improbable that they might have relied on Master Denys's prediction so strongly as to indispose them for listening to reasonable terms of accommodation.

In 1341, he was again appointed to the office of treating for the purchase of Lucca which had then fallen (by the chances of the times, so fertile in revolutions among all the little states of Italy) into the hands of Mastino della Scala, lord of Verona; but the year following was witness to a revolution in Florence itself, so extraordinary that, in preparing to relate it, the author himself is constrained to doubt whether posterity will yield credit to the tale. This was the usurpation of the Signory of Florence by the Duke of Athens, who had been sent thither as lieutenant to the Duke of Calabria, by virtue of a voluntary compact entered into some time before for the sake of their defence against the common enemy Mastino, who then aspired to the dominion of Tuscany. The account of this French adventurer's tyranny, in which he found means to maintain himself, for the space of nearly a twelvemonth, is among the most interesting portions of the work; and the particulars which Villani gives of the character and conduct of the despot, who (to the greater disgrace of the Florentines) was a very contemptible being, and governed rather by the basest views of self-interest than by the principle of a splendid ambition, afford a favourable specimen of his patriotic spirit as well as of his historical ability.

Shortly after he was condemned to suffer a sad reverse of fortune. The failure of the great commercial company of the Bardi, the circumstances and causes of which are detailed with great perspicuity and intelligence by the historian, involved with it the ruin of many others of the first houses of trade in Florence, and

among the rest that of the Bonaccorsi, of which Villani himself was a principal, who, in consequence of this calamity, was, at a very advanced age, consigned to a public gaol. This event happened in the year 1345. How long he remained a prisoner is not known, nor whether he ever extricated himself from the embarrassments of his declining age; but, three years afterwards, he became one, and that the most illustrious, of the numerous victims swept off by the plague, which in 1348 desolated all the provinces of Italy, and thence spread its devastations over almost the whole of Europe. Thus was terminated a long and chequered life, the greatest part of which was spent in honour and affluence, and in a state of unremitting public activity, which furnished him with the best opportunities for the study of mankind. 'Les historiens de la Grèce,' observes M. Sismondi, (tom. iv. p. 204,) 'avoient, comme lui, parcouru toutes les carrières publiques et privées, et, par bien des traits, Villani est digne d'être comparé à Hérodote.'

After the death of Giovanni, his brother Mattéo, who, being the youngest of the family, was probably several years his junior, took up the continuation of his history from the point where it was broken off by his death, and prosecuted it with vigour, intelligence and ability, at least equal to those displayed by his predecessor, until the year 1363, when the same public calamity which had deprived the world of the elder, in its recurrence carried off the younger also. He was struck by the fatal disease on the 8th of July, and lingered till the 12th, when he devoutly rendered up his soul to God. The length of his struggle was ascribed to his temperate course of life. In dying, he charged his son Philip to continue the family work until a peace should be concluded between the states of Florence and Pisa; a task, which he faithfully performed. The treaty of peace was signed at Pescia on the 17th of August, 1364; and with that event concludes the history of the three Villani.

With regard to the comparative merits of Giovanni and Mattéo, Muratori (and no opinion can have more weight than his) seems inclined to bestow the palm upon the former. 'Comparatus cum Johanne,' he says, 'concedere illi non uno titulo videtur; quippe qui Asiatico stylo usus, pluribus interdum quam opus sit, rerum eventus describit; attamen,' he continues, 'spondere id possumus, neminem ad legendum Matthæi historiam accessurum, cui voluptatem non pariat hominis sinceritas, prudentia, rectumque de rebus quas enarrat, judicium. Proinde tanti estimata est semper ejus auctoritas, ut fermè quicunque Italicam, immò et Gallicam, aliarumque provinciarum historiam, ad ea tempora spectantem, scribere amplissimè aggressi sunt, honorem illius fidei habuerint, eumque testum rerum tunc gestarum sine trepidatione adhibuerint.'

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On account of these last mentioned and most important qualities of the historian, M. Sismondi pronounces him superior to his brother; and perhaps, though he does not expressly say it, Muratori, from the above passage, may be thought upon the whole to have entertained the same opinion.

Both these histories, eminently valuable as they are, lay concealed and almost forgotten, in MS., till about the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Giunti of Florence undertook the laudable task of giving them to the public. Their first edition of Giovanni Villani was printed at Venice in 1559; that of Mattéo, at the same place, in 1562, extending only to the 9th book. The three concluding books of the same author, and his son Philip, did not appear till 1577; and in 1581 and 1587 the whole of both histories was republished by the same enterprising printers, at Florence.

Still much was wanting to restore the text of Villani to its original purity; and many MSS. existed of which the Giunti had no information, or which they certainly did not take the pains of consulting. Muratori undertook to supply these defects, and, in 1729, published at Milan the edition which appears among his *Scriptores Italici*: it was not, however, very well received, and gave rise to a literary warfare, of which we have now neither time nor inclination to inquire into the merits. The present editors have, nevertheless, made the text of Muratori the foundation of their own; and they certainly possess ample means of forming an accurate judgment respecting it. The notes which they have furnished are few, and those few (as far as we have consulted them) distinguished only for an air of solemn trifling, which the name of the writer, Remigio Fiorentino, however high it may stand in the catalogue of Florentine commentators, does not, in our apprehensions, redeem.

The merits of the author may be in some degree, but still very imperfectly, appreciated by the series of desultory remarks and quotations which occupy the preceding pages. The latter half of the thirteenth century, and the beginning of the fourteenth, have been aptly called the heroic age of Florentine history; and the comparison of Giovanni Villani to Herodotus holds equally good with regard to the manners and situation of the people, of whom they were respectively the contemporaneous historians. It was the same age that witnessed the revival of poetry and philosophy, of sculpture, painting, and architecture. Dante,\* the first and greatest of Italian poets, Guido Cavalcanti, one of the earliest

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\* The high reputation which this poet enjoyed, even among his contemporaries, is plainly shewn, not only by the passages in which Villani expressly dwells on the circumstances of his banishment and death, but by the frequent references which he makes to the historical allusions with which his poem abounds.

among those who dared to judge for themselves on the great questions of philosophy and religion, Cimabue and Giotto, Arnolfo and Brunnelleschi, were all contemporaries and fellow-citizens of the Herodotus of Florence.

The simplicity of manners which distinguished the Florentines of that early period, may be collected from the picture presented by our historian of the condition of his fellow-citizens about the year 1250, that is, about twenty or thirty years previous to his own birth. That period forms a most distinguished era in the Florentine annals. It was then that the Guelphs were recalled to the government, after having been expelled from their native city by the Emperor Frederick the Second; and the administration which was formed upon their recall, and which lasted during the space of ten years, till the fatal battle of the Arbia (Sept. 4, 1260) restored the Ghibellin faction, offers a spectacle of successful warfare, and legitimate aggrandizement, of patriotic magnanimity and public disinterestedness, hardly to be paralleled, in the same short space of time, by the annals of any nation under the sun.

In those times, the citizens of Florence lived in great sobriety, on coarse diet, and at little expense. In many of their habits they were uncultivated and rude: both themselves and their wives were clad in garments of the coarsest texture; many even wearing skins without lining, with bonnets on their heads, and wooden shoes (*usatti*) on their feet. The ladies used no ornaments; even those of the highest rank were satisfied with a gown, somewhat scanty, of coarse scarlet stuff of Ypres or Cambray, girt with a broad silken sash after the antique fashion, and a hooded mantle lined with fur; and the common sort went clad in coarse green cambric, made after the same mode. One hundred pounds was the general rate of dower given with a woman in marriage; and those who gave the utmost, reckoned two or three hundred pounds to be an extravagant portion, and quite beyond measure. The young maidens, for the most part, were twenty years old, or upwards, before they wedded. Of such habits, and such coarse manners, were the Florentines of that day; but they were of good faith, and loyal to each other and to the public, and with all their coarse living and their poverty, they accomplished greater and more virtuous actions than are performed in these our days, with so much more refinement and so much greater opulence.—Lib. vi. cap. 70.

‘Car meilleur temps fut le temps ancien,’

has been the universal cry of writers in all ages sufficiently advanced to reflect upon the manners of their predecessors, and compare the actual state of things with what they have heard, or believe that they have heard, of former times. How just the maxim may be in general, or how strictly applicable to the age in which Villani thus deploras the decay of virtue, which the short space of half a century had produced, we shall not stop to inquire; but one or two instances of that Spartan principle which, at the period we  
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are speaking of, characterised both the community at large, and many of the individuals who composed it, we cannot forbear recording, although conscious of having already exceeded our limits. The first was the action of the public at large. The city of Arezzo had hitherto remained a stranger to the wars which divided the rest of Tuscany; the Guelphs and Gibellins possessed an equal share in its internal government; and its tranquillity was assured by treaties with the neighbouring states, and among the rest with Florence in particular. In the year 1255, it happened that Count Guido Guerra, at the head of a troop of Florentine cavalry, marched through the territory of Arezzo, on his road to Orvieto; as he passed under the walls of the former city, the Guelph party watched their opportunity, and sent him an invitation to enter and expel their Gibellin rivals. In recompense for this service, which he instantly performed, they put him in possession of their citadel. 'It is thus,' observes M. Sismondi, who relates the circumstance after Villani, 'that the citadel of Thebes was seized by a Lacedæmonian general; the senate of Sparta condemned the captor, and retained the prize: the Florentines, on the contrary, took arms immediately, and repaired to Arezzo, to re-establish the Gibellins. They were their enemies, it is true, but they were enemies with whom a treaty of peace had been concluded; and, as Count Guido thought proper to defend his conquest, and the Guelphs who had invited him, knew not how to dismiss him without a remuneration, the Florentines lent the inhabitants of Arezzo a sum of 12,000 florins, which was never repaid, to enable them to satisfy the count, recover their citadel, defend their liberties, and re-establish order within their walls.'

The other anecdote reflects at least equal lustre upon an individual. The Pisans, after breaking a peace which the superior prowess of their enemies the Florentines had compelled them to sign, were again forced, by new defeats, to submit not only to the former terms, but to deliver up in addition the castle of Mutrone, on the sea-shore, which the Florentines reserved the right of destroying, or retaining to themselves, as they might deem most advisable. After long deliberation, they came to the resolution of adopting the former course; but the Pisans, unwilling to trust to this contingency, and extremely anxious to prevent their enemies from obtaining an establishment on the sea-coast, which they feared would tend to the prejudice of their exclusive commerce, had previously sent a secret deputation to prevent them, if possible, from coming to the determination which they so much dreaded.

There was then at Florence, says Villani, a great citizen, very powerful in his influence with the people and the commonalty, one of the Anziani, by name Aldobrandino Ottobuoni, to whom the Pisan  
envoy

envoy applied himself, through one of his friends, offering him 4000 golden florins, or more if he required it, to procure the dismantling of Mutrone. The good man Aldobrandino, hearing this offer, acted not like one avaricious of gain, but as a loyal and virtuous citizen; and calling to mind, that, only the day before, he had taken counsel with the other Anziani to dismantle Mutrone, and now seeing how much it was the wish of the Pisans that it should be dismantled, he returned to the council board, and, without saying any thing of the offer which had been made him, persuaded them, by many eloquent and sound arguments, to adopt the contrary of that on which they had before determined. Now note, reader, (continues our historian,) the virtue of this noble citizen; who, albeit he was far from being rich in possessions, yet had so great continence and sincerity of love for the public good, that the good Roman, Fabricius, did not display more in rejecting the treasure offered him by the Samnites; and therefore it appears a worthy thing to make mention of him for the sake of a good example to our citizens, that now are and hereafter shall be, to cherish more the reputation of virtue than the acquisition of corruptible riches.—Lib. vi. cap. 63.

Such were the people and such the age of which the history of Giovanni Villani exhibits throughout a most lively and interesting picture; and, however much the citizens of Florence may have degenerated, even in his life-time, from the pristine simplicity of manners and strictness of morals which he remarks to have prevailed in the days of their fathers, neither then, nor for more than a century after, did their spirit of patriotism decay, or that public virtue which, so long as it accompanies a people, alone creates and preserves the genuine interest of historical narration, in any degree become extinct or evaporate.

**ART. XIII.** *Observations on the Nature and Cure of Dropsia,*

By John Blackall, M. D. Physician to the Devon and Exeter Hospital and to the Lunatic Asylum near Exeter. London. 1813. 8vo. pp. 428.

THE endeavours of those who have sought to improve the practice of medicine by applying to it facts or principles discovered in any other branches of physical science, or even by the introduction of any subtile refinements of investigation into morbid physiology and pathology, have hitherto been attended by no very decided success. An attempt of this kind is made in the present work of Dr. Blackall; and in a form, which is at least sufficient to excite our attention, and to induce the medical world to submit to the test of further experience the observations which it contains: but the concurrent testimony of such experience, in the hands of various practitioners, is obviously required, before their



their universal truth and importance can be admitted as sufficiently demonstrated.

Dropsies have been attributed by some authors to the inactivity or obliteration of the orifices of the absorbents of the respective cavities alone; but there can be little or no doubt that, in all serious cases, the secretion of the exhalant arteries has also undergone a morbid change. With whatever other disturbances of the processes of life these diseased affections may be connected, we are totally ignorant of the general nature of such a connexion: frequently they seem to be preceded by a state of inflammation, which has sometimes been supposed to have obstructed the orifices of the absorbents by an effusion of lymph, while the exhalants have remained pervious; but frequently also there is no appearance of any affection of this kind, and sometimes mechanical pressure on the trunk, or larger branches of the absorbents, seems to afford a tolerable explanation of the occurrence of local oedema. In general dropsy, it was discovered by the ingenious and industrious chemist Mr. Cruickshank, that a portion of the serum of the blood, at least of its albuminous or coagulating part, was usually mixed with the secretion of the kidneys: and the distinction of the nature and treatment of dropsies, according to the presence or absence of this symptom, constitutes the principal subject of Dr. Blackall's work, which is deduced from a series of observations, continued for several years, on an extensive scale.

With respect to the pathological part of the investigation, our author's labours seem to have been in great measure anticipated by Dr. Wells, of whose papers, published in 1812, the Postscript contains an abstract. In the dropsy following scarlatina, Dr. Wells found much danger from inflammation of the pleura or peritoneum: in a large proportion of cases the kidneys secreted some red blood; in many more their secretion was turbid, and in all severe cases it was coagulable by heat. In dropsy not following scarlatina, the coagulation took place in a little more than half of the cases examined; sometimes by heat only, and sometimes by the addition of nitrous acid, a test which becomes necessary where the fluid is so much diluted as to contain less saline matter than in its natural state; for in this case the addition of any neutral salt is sufficient to render the albumen coagulable by heat as usual. Anasarca and hydrothorax most commonly exhibited the coagulum; ascites less frequently. It often happened that the whole fluid exposed to heat became solid; sometimes softish, but sometimes quite firm: an effect which took place when common serum was added to the same secretion in a healthy state, in the proportion of one to four. From this mode of estimation it was concluded, that in one case as much as seven ounces of serum was discharged every

every day. In healthy persons Dr. Wells could scarcely ever discover any traces of a similar deposition of albumen; in some chronic diseases, especially where mercury had been employed, it was more or less observable. Bark and steel were of no use where it appeared; nor were squills, digitalis, and crystals of tartar so beneficial as in other cases: the tincture of cantharides seemed, however, to be more successful. Mr. Brande found, in a case of this sort, a considerable quantity of albumen precipitated by sulphuric acid, and an almost total deficiency of urea.

The principal part of Dr. Blackall's book is filled with a minute relation of cases of dropsies of all kinds, with their treatment, and sometimes with the appearances on dissection. Besides the distinctions derived from the presence or absence of a coagulum, Dr. Blackall seems to think that a high colour, and a large portion of extractive matter, where the coagulum is wanting, denote a strength of constitution with internal obstruction, (p. 192) and require active diuretics and deobstruents; and that the opposite state of great dilution indicates a feeble and impoverished habit, and sometimes a constitution completely broken down. With respect to the treatment of dropsy where the coagulum is discoverable, his observations are more elaborate and original.—p. 277.

‘Stahl remarks, that haemorrhages are cured by moderate depletion, but by the use of astringents and tonics are converted into dropsies; and our practice will be rational in dropsy itself, in proportion as we keep the spirit of this observation in our view. The loss of the serous part of the blood, which so remarkably distinguishes it, presents to us a symptom of a very debilitating kind; and our first consideration of the subject might naturally enough encourage us to attempt its cure by those remedies, which, from their effects on occasions not apparently dissimilar, are called astringents. If, however, the doctrine of Stahl is ever true in an actual inflammatory haemorrhage, it is certainly most strictly so with regard to this flux of serum. Whoever endeavours to restrain it by bark, steel, and similar remedies, will inevitably see reason to repent that attempt in an increased tension and fulness, a pulpy countenance, a cough, if there has been already none, and in worse cases a true peripneumony. The very symptom for which he has prescribed will likewise be aggravated. Experience more than enough has convinced me of the truth and importance of this observation. Not, indeed, that practitioners can be said generally to act in contradiction to it; for they have too much overlooked the appearance to which it relates, to have made its removal an object of their contemplation. But it is so common an error in practice to impute discharges to debility, and endeavour to check them by astringents, that it cannot be too much provided against.’

It appears, however, (pp. 80 and 188) that where the urinary coagulum is very loose, bark and other tonics are beneficial.

The author proceeds to recommend very strongly that great attention

attention be paid to the signs of inflammation, not only preferring febrifuge hydragogues, but frequently employing even venesection, especially where there are symptoms of pneumonia, after mercurial courses, and in inflammatory anasarca; the firmness, copiousness, and early appearance of the urinary coagulum affording the best guide for the administration of this remedy. Purgatives in general have the advantage of obviating an inflammatory tendency; but in hydrothorax they are generally ineffectual. Half an ounce of the supertartrate of potass daily stands 'in the very first rank,' especially where there is much urinary sediment and coagulum; it is less appropriate where the kidneys are feeble and their secretion watery. Antimonials also seem to favour the operation of laxatives. Of diuretics, squills are the more likely to be serviceable in proportion as the coagulum is less marked, and there is less appearance of inflammation and of indigestion; they operate best in the fullest doses that can be borne, and the mixture of gum ammoniac with nitrous ether seems to afford a good vehicle for administering them (p. 66.) Cantharides, and other stimulating diuretics, our author thinks have a tendency to promote the appearance of coagulum. Tobacco seems to have some pretensions to notice; but digitalis is the most important of all diuretics where the urinary coagulum is present; in its absence, and where the fluid is 'pale and crude,' it seems to fail almost uniformly: (p. 297) in the hydrothorax, its powers are truly astonishing, but it ought not to be rashly mixed with other diuretics, nor with mercurial deobstruents.

Here, however, we must observe, that we have very lately been witnesses of the total failure of a full dose of digitalis in a case of hydrothorax, which was soon afterwards completely relieved by mercurials, carried to the extent of an incipient salivation, and combined with antimonial medicines. Against an over dose of digitalis, blisters on the stomach and opiates are recommended. Dr. Blackall entertains some doubts whether the tincture is equally diuretic with the infusion and the powder. He strongly insists on the efficacy of digitalis in subduing an inflammatory diathesis, and considers it as in many cases equivalent to venesection; nor is he disposed to admit the exceptions made by Withering, Maclean, and later authors, against its use, where inflammation is present. He is even inclined to believe that the blood may generally be in an inflammatory state in the dropsy of debilitated constitutions, and that digitalis may be beneficial by 'breaking down' its 'altered texture;' (p. 316) here however we fear he is venturing a little too far into groundless theory. In other states of the body, digitalis does not appear to be diuretic. (p. 317.) Broom, artichokes, and bohea tea, are cursorily mentioned; opium more favourably; and certainly the effect of this powerful medicine in diabetes would lead

us to expect benefit from it in many dropsical cases. Tapping and scarifications have been observed to alter the nature of the urinary coagulum; but the relief derived from these operations is scarcely ever permanent. The diet, our author thinks, has usually been too cordial and stimulant: where there is hyperuresis, he forbids fruit, and recommends soda water; with respect to thirst, he observes that it is rarely not to be gratified. In a species which seems to have been the hydrops (anasarca) cacotrophicus, in the crew of an Indiaman, the use of well fermented bread appears to have produced an almost instant cure, as an active diuretic.

Among tonics, Dr. Blackall prefers bark in young persons of sound constitution, steel in a vitiated habit, with a sallow complexion. Mercury, as tending to produce the appearance of a coagulum, or even of blood, is forbidden where this appearance already exists; but where the bile passes off by the kidneys, or where their discharge is only scanty and high coloured, mercury may be the most effectual remedy. Two grains of calomel every night seem to have converted an anasarca after scarlatina into a hydrocephalus internus; while on the other hand digitalis with topical bleeding has completely succeeded in curing a hydrocephalus. Mustard cataplasms quickened with oil of turpentine are recommended to be applied to the feet in this disease; and we agree with our author in thinking this remedy frequently preferable to a common blister for the relief of local affections.

A concise and comprehensive account of almost all that has been observed concerning the angina pectoris forms an Appendix to the volume. In general Dr. Blackall coincides in opinion with Dr. Parry respecting this disease, though he remarks that in some cases the term syncope appears to be inapplicable. In the treatment, he observes that its connexion with gout or rheumatism ought to be kept in view: he recommends drains, especially issues in the thighs, or rather setons about the chest; opium in large doses, and the immersion of the arm affected in hot water, have been found very useful palliatives.

We cannot agree with Dr. Blackall when he says (p. 259) that the ancients, 'not without much propriety, termed the natural secretion an *exhalation*,' and, (p. 264.) 'that the fine material, which lubricates internal surfaces, is not liquid, but something more volatilised.' We are utterly ignorant of any 'experiments of Mr. Hunter,' which can be said to prove so paradoxical a proposition. It is firmly established, by the most accurate physical experiments, that no aqueous vapour can exist under the atmospheric pressure at a temperature lower than  $212^{\circ}$ ; and there is no vital power which has hitherto been shown, or even suspected, to exist, that can supersede this law of inanimate nature, and communicate to a watery fluid the power of remaining permanently elastic

elastic at the ordinary temperature of the animal body. It is only in very elevated situations, where the barometer is always very low, that even Lavoisier's reasoning, respecting the possible existence of ether as a vapour within the body, could be at all admissible. We also entertain doubts of the propriety of the expressions, that the '*blood has been found inflamed*;' (p. ii.) '*a severe and long continued inflammation of the blood*, not connected with any *corresponding* affection of the internal parts.' (p. 117.) We strongly suspect that the improper use of the term '*inflammation*' has insensibly led the author to the reasoning which follows; '*can we suppose it possible that such a disposition as this should be merely general?* Or, is the cellular membrane in these instances' of dropsy, '*the seat of an obscure inflammatory process?*' We see no difficulty in supposing the *possibility* that the disposition should be general, or that the blood may exhibit a buffy coat in dropsy as well as in inflammation; though we do not mean to insist on the probability of the fact.

Among the difficulties to be encountered by those who, like our author, are laudably employed in applying chemical tests to nosological distinctions, the complicated nature of the products to be examined, in a state of health, is one of the greatest. In illustration of this observation, we may adduce the analysis of the fluid which has been the principal subject of Dr. Blackall's investigations, from a paper of Professor Berzelius, published in the last volume of his Essays. Afh. III. 97.

Water . . . . .	933.00	peculiar animal ex-	
Urea . . . . .	30.10	tract and mucilage,	
Sulfate of potass . . .	3.71	and urea in triple	
Sulfate of soda . . .	3.16	combination . . .	17.14
Muriate of soda . . .	4.45	Neutral earthy phos-	
Phosphate of soda . .	2.94	phates . . . . .	1.00
Muriate of ammonia . .	1.50	Uric acid . . . . .	1.00
Superphosphate of am-		Mucus of the bladder .	.32
monia . . . . .	1.65	Silica . . . . .	.03
Uncombined lactic acid,			
lactate of ammonia,			1000.00

These proportions are however liable to considerable variation, without actual disease; in particular the uric acid may be entirely wanting, when the perspiration has been abundant. Some of the substances here enumerated would present but little difficulty in the operation of such chemical agents as might be employed for any purpose independent of them; while it would be highly necessary to attend to the presence of others, the complicated constitution and diversified form of which have hitherto rendered their nature and properties extremely obscure and uncertain.

**ART. XIV.** *Sketch of the Sikhs: a singular Nation who inhabit the Provinces of the Penjab, between the Rivers Jumna and Indus.* By Brigadier-General Sir John Malcolm. Large 8vo. pp. 200.

WE knew little of the *Seeks*, *Sic'hs*, or *Sikhs*,\* as a distinct sect of Hindoos, till the short account of them which appeared in the fourth volume of the Asiatic Researches. Mr. Charles Wilkins found at Patna a college of this sect. Curiosity led him to ask permission to enter it; he was told it was a place of worship, open to all mankind; but he was desired, as a mark of respect, to take off his shoes. He was then conducted to a carpet, and seated in the midst of a numerous assembly. On each of six or seven low desks was placed a book. In the chancel was an altar covered with a cloth of gold, upon which was laid a round black shield over a sword. On a low desk near the altar was a large folio book. Notice was presently given that it was noon, the hour of divine service; on which the great book and desk were brought with some ceremony from the altar, and placed at the opposite extremity of the hall. An old man with a reverend silver beard, kneeling before the desk, attended by a person with a drum, and two or three others with cymbals, opened the book and chanted to the time given by them; at the conclusion of every verse, the congregation joined in a response with countenances exhibiting great marks of joy. It was a hymn in praise of the unity of the Deity. 'I was singularly delighted,' says Mr. Wilkins, 'with the gestures of the old man: I never saw a countenance so expressive of infelt joy, whilst he turned about from one to the other, as it were bespeaking their assents to those truths which his very soul seemed to be engaged in chanting forth.' A young man next stood forth, and pronounced with a loud voice and distinct accent a kind of litany, in which, at certain periods, all the people joined in a general response, saying *Wa Gooroo!* They prayed against temptation; for grace to do good; for the general good of mankind; and for a particular blessing on the *Seeks*. A short benediction from the old man, and an invitation to a friendly feast, terminated the ceremony.

Mr. Wilkins was informed that the founder of their faith was named *Nāneek Sah*, a Hindoo of the military caste, who lived about four hundred years ago in the Penjab; that the great book he had seen was of his composing; that this book informs them there is but one God, filling all space, and pervading all matter; and that he is to be worshipped and invoked; that there will be

\* *Seek*, according to Mr. Wilkins, signifies 'learn thou.' '*Sikh* or *Sicsha*,' says Sir John Malcolm, 'is a Sanscrit word, which means a disciple or devoted follower.'

a day of retribution, when virtue will be rewarded and vice punished; that it commands universal toleration, and forbids disputes with those of other persuasions; that it denounces all crimes against society; inculcates the practice of all the virtues, but particularly universal philanthropy, and a general hospitality to strangers and travellers.

Such is the substance of Mr. Wilkins's information collected in 1781, which is calculated more to excite than to gratify curiosity. In 1805, General (now Sir John) Malcolm, while serving with the British army in the Penjab, collected materials for elucidating the 'history, manners and religion of the Sikhs.' His *Sketch of this singular people* appeared in the eleventh volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, and is now republished in a separate work. We here learn that Nanac Shah was born in 1469, at a small village in the province of Lahore, of the Cshatreya caste and Vedi tribe of Hindoos. Nanac was from his infancy inclined to devotion, and his indifference for all worldly concerns gave great uneasiness to his father, who endeavoured by every effort to divert his mind from the serious turn it had taken.

'With a view to effect this object, he one day gave Nanac a sum of money to purchase salt at one village in order to sell it at another; in the hope of enticing him to business by allowing him to taste the sweets of commercial profit. Nanac was pleased with the scheme, took the money, and proceeded, accompanied by a servant of the name of Bala, of the tribe of Sand'hu, towards the village where he was to make his purchase. He happened, however, on the road, to fall in with some fakirs, (holy mendicants,) with whom he wished to commence a conversation; but they were so weak from want of victuals, which they had not tasted for three days, that they could only reply to the observations of Nanac by bending their heads, and other civil signs of acquiescence. Nanac, affected by their situation, said to his companion with emotion, "my father has sent me to deal in salt with a view to profit; but the gain of this world is unstable and profitless; my wish is to relieve these poor men, and to obtain that gain which is permanent and eternal." His companion replied, "thy resolution is good; do not delay its execution." Nanac immediately distributed his money among the hungry fakirs, who, after they had gained strength from the refreshment which it obtained them, entered into a long discourse with him on the unity of God, with which he was much delighted; he returned next day to his father, who demanded what profit he had made. "I have fed the poor," said Nanac, "and have obtained that gain for you which will endure for ever." As the father happened to have little value for the species of wealth which the son had acquired, he was enraged at having his money so fruitlessly wasted, abused poor Nanac, and even struck him; nor could the mild representations of Nanac save her brother from the violence of parental resentment.'

The superstitions of his countrymen had, however, raised up for  
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Nanac a powerful protector against the ill-usage of his father. While yet a youth, and tending the cattle in the fields, he fell asleep; and as the meridian sun shone full on his face, a large black snake, raising itself from the ground, interposed its broad hood between Nanac and its rays. The chief of the district witnessed this unequivocal sign of his future greatness, and having overheard Calu punishing his son, chid him severely, and interdicted him from ever lifting his hand against him. Anxious, however, to fix him in some worldly occupation, the father prevailed on his son-in-law Jayram to admit him into partnership in his business, which was that of a grain-factor. He attended at the granary for some time; but his heart was still bent on its first object.

'One morning, as he sat in a contemplative posture, a holy Mahomedan fakir approached and exclaimed, "Oh Nanac! upon what are thy thoughts employed? Quit such occupations, that thou mayest obtain the inheritance of eternal wealth." Nanac is said to have started up at this exclamation; and, after looking for a moment in the face of the fakir, he fell into a trance, from which he had no sooner recovered, than he immediately distributed every thing in the granary among the poor; and after this act, proceeded with loud shouts out of the gates of the city, and running into a pool of water, remained there three days; during which some writers assert, he had an interview with the prophet Elias, from whom he learnt all earthly sciences.'

From this period he began to practise all the austerities of a holy man, travelled to the different Hindoo places of pilgrimage, and visited the temple of Mecca. A celebrated musician of the name of Merdana was the companion and partaker of the adventures of this errant devotee. 'Poor Merdana, who had some of the propensities of Sancho, and preferred warm houses and good meals to deserts and starvation, was constantly in trouble, and more than once had his form changed into that of a sheep, and of several other animals.' Not so his master, who resisted all the temptations thrown in his way.\* To Mahomedans as well as Hindoos, he held forth the same doctrine, earnestly entreating both to abjure the errors into which they had fallen, and to revert to that great and original tenet, the Unity of the Deity. He preached before the Emperor Baber, who was so pleased with him as to offer him an ample maintenance, which he declined on the ground of a full

\* It is impossible to read this part of the story, without adverting to the singular coincidence between the adventures of Nanac, and those of Apollonius of Tyana, who had also his Merdana, in the person of a simple squire and buffoon, named Damis. The sober sense of the west quickly reduced the pretensions of this miracle-monger to their just level; and even in India, the hot-bed of credulity and imposture, it is sufficiently manifest, that if the institutes of Nanac had not, at an early period, assumed a cast wholly military, as little would now be heard of him as of the thousand other juggling fakirs and yogees who have, from time to time, aspired to notoriety by the extravagance of their devotions.



confidence in him who provided for all, and from whom alone a truly religious man could receive favour or reward. After travelling over the greater part of India, Persia, and Arabia, every where inculcating the doctrine of the unity, he died at Kirtipur, and was buried near the bank of the river Ravi, which has since overflowed his tomb. 'Kirtipur continues a place of religious resort and worship; and a small piece of Nanac's garment is exhibited to pilgrims as a sacred relic, at his Dharma Sálá, or temple.'

In the fabulous account of Nanac's life and travels, enough appears to warrant the conclusion 'that he was a man of more than common genius;' and we think that Sir John Malcolm, in the following passage, has formed a pretty correct estimate of the object of his life, and the means he took to accomplish it.

'Born in a province on the extreme verge of India, at the very point where the religion of Mahommed and the idolatrous worship of the Hindus appeared to touch, and at a moment when both these tribes cherished the most violent rancour and animosity towards each other, his great aim was to blend those jarring elements in peaceful union; and he only endeavoured to effect this purpose through the means of mild persuasion. His wish was to recal both Mahommedans and Hindus to an exclusive attention to that sublimest of all principles, which inculcates devotion to God, and peace towards man. He had to combat the furious bigotry of the one, and the deep-rooted superstition of the other; but he attempted to overcome all obstacles by the force of reason and humanity: and we cannot have a more convincing proof of the general character of that doctrine which he taught, and the inoffensive light in which it was viewed, than the knowledge that its success did not rouse the bigotry of the intolerant and tyrannical Mahomedan government under which he lived.'

Arjunmul, the fifth in succession as chief of the Seiks in their spiritual character, was less fortunate, having met his death from the hands of the Mahommedans; on which occasion this peaceable and inoffensive sect took to arms under Har Govind, his son, and from that moment an irreconcilable hatred sprung up between the followers of Nanac and those of Mahommed. Gúru Govind, the grandson of Har Govind, whose father had also been murdered, called upon his followers to 'graft the resolute courage of the soldier on the enthusiastic faith of the devotee, to swear eternal war against the cruel and haughty Mahommedans, and to devote themselves to *steel*, as the only means of obtaining every blessing which this world, or that to come, could afford.' Nanac had carefully abstained from all interference with the civil institutions of the Hindoos; but his more daring successor, Gúru Govind, found them so much at variance with the plans of his lofty ambition, as to determine at once to break in pieces those fetters in which

the Hindoos had been so long manacled, to make converts from all castes and tribes, and to open to men of the lowest condition the prospect of worldly wealth and glory; to level the Brahmin with the Sudra; to make all Sikhs equal; and to let their advancement depend solely on their own exertions. To rouse their vanity he changed their name from Sikh to Sing, or *lion*, an honourable distinction assumed by the Rajaputs, the first military class of Hindoos. 'The disciples of Govind were required to devote themselves to arms; always to have *steel* about them in some shape or other; to wear a blue dress; to allow their hair to grow; to exclaim, when they meet each other, Wa! Guruji ká khalsah! Wa! Guruji ki fittah! Success to the state of the GÚRÚ! Victory attend the GÚRÚ!'

The neighbouring Rajas having made war on the Sikhs, applied to the Emperor Aurungzeb for assistance. He sent his son for the purpose of subduing them. 'At the prince's approach,' says Govind, 'every body was struck with terror. Unable to comprehend the ways of the eternal, several deserted me and fled, and took refuge in the lofty mountains.' He then denounces every misery that this world can bring, and all the pains and horrors of the next, on those who desert their GÚRÚ or spiritual leader. 'The man who does this shall neither have child nor offspring; his aged parents shall die in grief and sorrow, and he shall perish like a dog, and be thrown into hell to lament.' His followers fought desperately against superior forces; his mother and his two children were taken prisoners and inhumanly massacred, his son was slain in battle, and Govind, overwhelmed by numbers, fled from Cham-kour, and sunk under his misfortunes.

A prophecy had limited the number of spiritual guides to ten; and GÚRÚ Govind, being the tenth in succession, was the last acknowledged ruler. But a devoted follower and friend of his, named Banda, taking advantage of the confusion which ensued on the death of Aurungzeb in 1707, established the union of the Sikhs under his banners. Having subdued all the petty chiefs in his neighbourhood, he attacked Foujdar Khan, governor of Sarhind, the man most abhorred by the Sikhs, as the murderer of the infant children of GÚRÚ Govind. The Sikhs fought with that desperation which a spirit of revenge usually inspires. The Khan fell, with most of his army; his wife and children were put to death together with a great part of the inhabitants of Sarhind; the mosques were destroyed or polluted; the carcasses of the dead dug up and exposed to be devoured by beasts of prey. In a word, the whole country between the Setlej and the Jumna was subdued by the Sikhs. To stop the career of these merciless invaders, which threatened the empire of Hindostan, several armies were sent against them; and at length Banda was overcome, and fled with the

the most devoted of his followers to the fortress of Lóhgar, where he was surrounded and starved into a surrender. Banda and the chiefs were sent to Delhi, where, after being treated with every kind of obloquy and insult, they were put to death by the most excruciating tortures. 'Banda,' says a Mahommedan writer, 'was at last produced, his son being seated in his lap. His father was ordered to cut his throat, which he did without uttering one word. Being then brought nearer the magistrate's tribunal, the latter ordered his flesh to be torn off with red hot pincers, and it was in those moments he expired.'

From this period the Sikhs were persecuted by the Mahommedans with unrelenting severity. An edict was issued ordering all who professed the religion of Nanac to be put to death; 'a reward was offered for the head of every Sikh, and every Hindoo was ordered to shave off his hair on pain of death.' Those who escaped fled to the mountains to the north-east of the Penjab, and were scarcely heard of for a period of thirty years, when Nádir Shah invaded India. On this event, the peaceable inhabitants of the Penjab, who retired with their property to the same mountains to escape the rapacity of the Persian, were plundered by the Sikhs: the defeat of the rear of Nádir Shah's army, encumbered with spoil, added to their wealth; and at the death of this extraordinary man, taking advantage of the confusion into which the provinces of Lahore and Cabul were thrown, and of the weak state to which the empire of Hindostan was reduced, the Sikhs became daily more bold, and thousands hastened 'to join a standard under which robbery was made sacred, and to plunder was to be pious.' They extended their ravages over most of the provinces of the Penjab; repossessed themselves of the holy city of Amritsar; subdued a considerable part of the Duab of Ravi and Jalcudra, and got possession of many of the countries which they now enjoy, and from which the united forces of the Affghans and the Mahrattas, have in vain endeavoured to expel them. When unable to stand a general action, they invariably 'retreated to impenetrable mountains, and the moment they saw an advantage, rushed again into the plains with renewed vigour and recruited numbers.' Their determined courage, added to the enthusiasm of religion, has hitherto baffled every attempt to crush them. It is probable, however, that the failure is rather to be ascribed to the decline of the house of Timur than to the combined valour of the Sikhs. So far, indeed, is there at present any thing like union among them, that quarrels are regularly transmitted from father to son; every village is an object of dispute among themselves; and the title to the supremacy is contested between the nearest relations. Scindia, with his French brigades, not only checked their inroads, but made all the chiefs to the southward of the Setlej his tributaries. Sir J. Malcolm

states, that when Lord Lake, in 1805, pursued Holkar into the Punjab, the condition of the Sikhs was found weak and distracted in a degree that could hardly have been imagined; they were wholly destitute of union, 'and every shadow of that concord which once formed the strength of the nation, seemed to be extinguished.' The whole country is in fact under the government of a number of petty chiefs. These, however, on extraordinary occasions, assemble in a grand national council at the holy city of Amritsar. On this solemn occasion all private animosities cease; every personal feeling is sacrificed to the public good, and nothing is thought of but the interests of the religious commonwealth established by Nanac.

This national council, called the *Gúrú-matá*, is convened by the *Acalis*,\* or immortals, 'who, under the double character of fanatic priests and desperate soldiers, have usurped the sole direction of all religious affairs at Amritsar, and are consequently leading men in the council held at that sacred place.' The cause of one is the cause of all, and no Sikh can offend this powerful body with impunity. When the chiefs are seated, the great book is opened as described by Mr. Wilkins. After the prayers and music have ceased, and the holy cakes of wheat, butter and sugar have been broken and distributed, in commemoration of the command of Nanac to eat and give others to eat, the *Acalis* exclaim, 'Sirdars, this is a *Gúrú-matá*. The sacred Grant'h is betwixt us; let us swear by our scripture to forget all internal disputes, and to be united;' after this they proceed to settle the business of the general assembly.

The principal chiefs of the Sikhs are descendants of Hindoos. The Mahommedans who have become Sikhs are not allowed to attain power; those who retain their faith and inhabit their territories are very numerous, but invariably poor, despised and oppressed. The lower class of Sikhs are more happy; the tyranny of one chief towards his people would infallibly drive them to seek the protection of a rival chief. The ruling power is entitled to one half of the produce of the land, the farmer to the other half; but the chief generally remits a part of his share; the ryot is treated with great indulgence. They have no written code for the administration of justice. Disputes about property are settled among the heads of the village by the arbitration of five persons, the ancient mode throughout India.

The Sikhs have the Hindoo cast of countenance, are as brave, as active, and more robust, than the Mahrattas; they are bold and rough in their address, and invariably converse in a loud tone of voice. 'A Sikh,' says Sir J. Malcolm, 'bawls a secret in your ear.' He adds, 'they are more open and sincere than the Mahrattas,

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\* From the Sanscrit privative *a* and *cal*, death—*never-dying*.

tas, and less rude and savage than the Affghans: the soldiers are all horsemen, 'they are without polish, but neither destitute of sincerity nor attachment.' The character of the merchant and the ryot is pretty nearly the same; all indeed wear *steel*; and all are prompt to use it when required. A Sikh chief upwards of one hundred years of age was introduced to Lord Lake, who, pleased with the manliness of his address, and the independence of his sentiments, told him he would grant him any favour he chose to ask. 'I am glad of it,' said the old man; 'then march away with your army from my village, which will otherwise be destroyed.' Meeting two officers at the door in going away, he laid his hands on their breasts, exclaiming, 'Brothers, where were you born, and where are you at this moment?' and instantly retired.

The great objects of Nanac seem to have been to restore the Hindoo religion to its ancient purity,\* and to make all Sikhs equal as to rights, but preserving most of the institutions of Brahma. Gúrú Govind, the tenth spiritual leader in succession, gave a new character to the religion and institutions of the sect, and by the complete abolition of all distinction of castes, destroyed at one blow the whole system of the civil and religious polity of the Hindoos. 'The Brahmin, the Chsatrya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra,' he said, 'would, like *pawn*, (betle-leaf,) *chunam*, (lime,) *supari*, (areca nut,) and *khat*, (catechu,) become all of one colour when well chewed.'

This narrative of Sir John Malcolm is interesting in many points of view. It proves that the Hindoos are by no means so unchangeable in their religious tenets and civil institutions as is generally supposed, when a set of fanatics could so completely succeed in overturning both; and it holds out a hope that, by a proper management of the Brahmins and pundits, the inhuman and impolitic division of the people into castes, that fatal spell which palsies all exertion, might be dissolved, without which all attempts to improve their condition must be fruitless. It also shews us what kind of people are interposed between our possessions and the Persians on the one hand, and the Affghans and Muhrattas on the other; and it appears to us, that, united under a wise prince, the Sikhs would prove, on that side of India, an invincible barrier against any enemy that might attempt the invasion of the British territories in Hindostan.

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\* Sir J. Malcolm informs us how this is to be understood—'The most ancient Hindoos do not appear to have paid adoration to idols; but though they adored God, they worshipped the Sun and Elements.'—p. 147.

ART. XV. *The Bridal of Triermain, or, the Vale of St. Jahn*, Edinburgh; John Ballantyne & Co. London; Longman & Co. 1813. 12mo. pp. 233.

THIS poem, which is ushered to the world in a form the most unassuming, is distinguished by excellencies of no ordinary rank. We are informed, in the preface, that three fragments, written in imitation of living poets, were inserted in the *Edinburgh Annual Register* for the year 1809; and that, as they attracted somewhat more attention than the author anticipated, he was induced to complete one of them, and to present it as a separate publication.

It requires but little discrimination to discover that the prototypes of these beautiful pictures are Scott, Crabbe, and Moore. The imitations of the two latter are given as they appeared in the *Edinburgh Annual Register*: the fragment which bears the image of the northern minstrel is expanded to the tale which we now introduce to the acquaintance of our readers.

There is one peculiarity by which these imitations are distinguished. To say nothing of the more obvious and common exertions of the mimetic art, it must have been observed of those more perfect specimens of imitation, in which not the style merely, but the spirit of the original author's composition, the train of his sentiments, and his characteristic habits of thinking, have been successfully embodied, that the effect has been produced, first by judiciously selecting the peculiarities of his style and sentiments, and then by amplifying and exaggerating them. It is the same, perhaps, in every department of art. The nature which is sung by the poet, and pourtrayed by the painter, is not simple nature, but nature *embellished*. The intellectual mimic, if we may be allowed the expression, while he faithfully seizes the qualities that are characteristic of his model, seldom fails to vary their *degree*: his sentiments are considerably overcharged, and the singularities of his composition are either pushed to extravagance, or introduced with unsparing profusion. The author of the *Bridal of Triermain* has happily found means to vary and improve the principle on which hitherto such imitations have been framed. There is nothing overcharged in his sentiments; nothing exaggerated in his diction. The pictures which he has drawn are not caricatures. He has chosen such subjects as would have been selected by the authors themselves whom he imitates, and we offer them no offence when we say that they could not themselves have illuminated those subjects with sentiments more poetical, or have expressed those sentiments in language more peculiarly their own.

We shall pass over the song written after the manner of Moore.

It

s distinguished by all his elegance of conception, and all his neatness and flow of versification; and indeed it is precisely such as some future period he may himself indite, when maturer years, and corrected taste, have taught him that the lyre of the poet should be strung to other themes than the ephemeral strife of party politics, the imputed weaknesses of the great, or the pollution of vulgar morality.

But we cannot refrain from noticing somewhat more particularly the imitation of the poet of Mûston. Its title is the *POACHER*; the character Mr. Crabbe would have delighted to draw, uniting, as does, all those qualities of poverty, misery, and profligacy, which he portrays with unexampled felicity; and in the delineation of it, the author has given us specimens of almost all the merits and defects of the master whom he copies. The character and scenery are seen with the eye, and drawn with the skill of the original artist. There is the same force, and truth, and minuteness of description; the same selection and compression of language, generally powerful though sometimes quaint and familiar; the same delight in dwelling on the realities, and the painful realities of life; the same propensity to quibble and antithesis, by which Crabbe has sometimes been relieved, but oftener, perhaps, degraded some of his most happy delineations.

The lines in which the history of the 'Poacher' is given, possess an excellence independent of every collateral consideration; as specimens of Mr. Crabbe's style of composition, they leave nothing to be desired.

'That ruffian, whom true men avoid and dread,  
Whom bruisers, poachers, smugglers, call Black Ned,  
Was Edward Mansell once;—the lightest heart,  
That ever played on holiday his part!  
The leader he in every Christmas game,  
The harvest feast grew blither when he came,  
And liveliest on the chords the bow did glance,  
When Edward named the tune and led the dance.  
Kind was his heart, his passions quick and strong,  
Hearty his laugh, and jovial was his song;  
And if he loved a gun, his father swore,  
"Twas but a trick of youth, would soon be o'er,  
Himself had done the same, some thirty years before."

'But he, whose humours spurn law's awful yoke,  
Must herd with those by whom law's bonds are broke.  
The common dread of justice soon allies  
The clown, who robs the warren or excise,  
With sterner felons train'd to act more dread,  
Even with the wretch by whom his fellow bled.

Then,—

Then,—as in plagues the foul contagions pass,  
 Leavening and festering the corrupted mass,—  
 Guilt leagues with guilt, while mutual motives draw,  
 Their hope impunity, their fear the law;  
 Their foes, their friends, their rendezvous the same,  
 Till the revenue baulk'd, or pilfer'd game,  
 Flesh the young culprit, and example leads  
 To darker villainy, and direr deeds.

‘ Wild howl'd the wind the forest glades along,  
 And oft the owl renew'd her dismal song;  
 Around the spot where erst he felt the wound,  
 Red William's spectre walked his midnight round.  
 When o'er the swamp he cast his blighting look,  
 From the green marshes of the stagnant brook  
 The bittern's sullen shout the edges shook !  
 The waning moon, with storm-presaging gleam,  
 Now gave and now withheld her doubtful beam;  
 The old Oak stoop'd his arms, then flung them high,  
 Bellowing and groaning to the troubled sky—  
 'Twas then, that, couch'd amid the brushwood sere,  
 In Malwood-walk young Mansell watch'd the deer:  
 The fattest buck received his deadly shot—  
 The watchful keeper heard, and sought the spot.  
 Stout were their hearts, and stubborn was their strife,  
 O'erpower'd at length the outlaw drew his knife!  
 Next morn a corpse was found upon the fell—  
 The rest his waking agony may tell !—p. 228.

Our more immediate concern, however, is with the poem that occupies the larger part of the volume now before us. It is written, as we have already mentioned, in the style of Mr. Walter Scott; and if *in magnis voluisse sat est*, the author, whatever may be the merits of his work, has earned the meed at which he aspires. To attempt a *serious* imitation of the most popular living poet; and this imitation, not a short fragment, in which all his peculiarities might with comparatively little difficulty be concentrated, but a long and complete work; with plot, character, and machinery entirely new; and with no manner of resemblance therefore to a *parody* on any production of the original author;—this must be acknowledged an attempt of no timid daring, and it cannot be uninteresting to inquire if its execution be equal to the boldness of its conception.

In endeavouring to appreciate the merits of the copy, we may perhaps derive some benefit from impressing on our recollection the features of the original. We have had more than one opportunity of examining the characteristics of Mr. Scott's poetry, and of analysing the causes that have most powerfully contributed to his  
 unprecedented



unprecedented popularity. We shall not resume them in detail; but a few of them are naturally brought back to our recollection by the subject more immediately before us.

Mr. Scott is the poet of chivalry. His imagination, it is evident, has been, in a peculiar manner, captivated with that extraordinary system of manners which prevailed throughout Europe after the destruction of the Roman empire; and if we may form any conjecture of the acquirements of the author from his works, he is profoundly acquainted with those circumstances that distinguished the ages of romance and chivalry, on one hand, from the classical times of antiquity, and on the other from the institutions and observances of modern days. To this period he has generally assigned the events which he has celebrated; and when, in any instance, he has chosen a date somewhat less remote, the whole picture takes its tone and colouring from an age long since gone by. Upon what principle Mr. Scott has adopted the system of his poetry; whether he has selected it from some preconceived opinion of its excellence and probable popularity, or whether, as is more likely, he has been guided by the bent of his own genius and studies, it would be superfluous to inquire: and it seems to us to possess advantages which may in some measure account for the celebrity he at present possesses, and sufficient too, if prudently managed, to secure to that celebrity a permanence proportioned to its extent.

The machinery and manners and characters of classical antiquity, it has been observed, are but ill suited to the purposes of modern poetry. In the development of personages whose features are minutely known, and in the management of fictitious beings whose attributes are precisely defined, the imagination of the poet and his audience is both cramped and embarrassed. The whole scene, and the actors in it, are distinctly seen, as under the blaze of a broad sunshine; and any exertion of fancy, even in the description of beings and events merely imaginary, if not authorised by the great masters who have fixed immutably the nature of their qualities, is apt to offend, nearly as much as the violation of historical truth: nor can we conceal from ourselves that the playmates of our infancy unavoidably excite associations altogether destructive of the dignified and the sublime. In the regions of romance, as they have been termed, are to be found mines of which the riches are still unexplored. That mixture of ferocity and courtesy, of religion and barbarity, of rudeness and hospitality, of enthusiastic love, inflexible honour and extravagant enterprize, which distinguished the manners of the middle ages, opens the happiest and most fertile sources of poetical invention. In the construction of the fable, the poet is enabled to unite the charms of fiction and truth; and his

his machinery, consisting of beings whose powers are undetermined, and whose forms are dimly seen, is calculated to excite emotions eminently suited to the purposes of poetry—emotions that will not rise at the bidding of all the choir of Olympus.

The characteristics of Mr. Scott's mind, his natural talents, and acquired endowments, must have insured to him the palm in this department of poetry. His imagination is peculiarly captivated with the splendid and heroic; with events that touch the extreme verge of probability; with characters that delight in achievements requiring the most sublime exertions of virtue and valour, it is fertile in its resources, and bold and sustained and excursive in its flight. His learning, though not various, is profound. We do not, indeed, discover in his writings any very intimate acquaintance with the authors of ancient Greece; but he is perfectly versant with the events and manners of the times in which his scenes are laid. He has thus been enabled to give the most powerful and captivating interest, and the animation of reality to the pictures of his pencil. He never seems to draw from the stores of his memory. He is not a narrator of events of which he has heard or read; but appearing to have lived in the times to which his transactions relate, he presents to us individuals whom he personally knew, and events that passed before his eyes the instant before he began to describe them. These talents, natural and acquired, co-operating with perfect good sense, and a discriminating attention to the prevailing taste of his age and nation, may in some measure account for his success in the department of poetry he has chosen, and for the eminence to which he has attained by the suffrages of his country.

With all those splendid qualifications, it is impossible to conceal from ourselves, that in the construction of his stories, Mr. Scott is by no means entitled to unqualified praise. Whether a failure to please, in him whose end is pleasure, arises from inattention or incapacity, it is not perhaps very necessary to inquire; but although the sentence to be pronounced by the critic on the work itself will in both cases be the same, his sentiments, so far as they concern the author, will be materially different. If our estimate of Mr. Scott's genius and learning is accurate, or approaches to accuracy, he could not have failed in the formation of the design of his piece, provided he had bestowed the requisite degree of attention on the accomplishment of an object, which no human talent, without much painful labour and unwearied attention, can possibly perform: and of this we are the more persuaded when we observe with what felicity he has finished certain individual and insulated compartments of all his pictures. The fact however is unquestionable, that his fables will not bear the test of a  
minute

minute examination. He has brought forward the incidents as they arose in his mind, and as they contributed to increase the picturesque effect of that part of the general design which for the time engaged his attention, without inquiring how they were connected the one with the other, and still less how they bore on the catastrophe, which ultimately they ought either to promote or retard. We shall afterwards have occasion to speak of beauties which, if they do not conceal or compensate the deficiency of which we complain, diminish at least its effect: in this general survey of his character we cannot however forbear to notice the imperfection of his designs, or to regret that, shaking off his impatience of mental labour, he has not given to his works one great additional beauty, without which they never can obtain the tribute of unqualified approbation.

In the conception and display of his characters, Mr. Scott, we think, is entitled to decided and unequivocal praise. If a greater degree of attention had been devoted to the formation of his fables, the peculiar features of his *dramatis personæ* would sometimes have been more accurately and fully brought out, and sometimes perhaps have been presented to us in more interesting points of view: but the characters themselves are vividly impressed on his imagination; they are delineated with a master's hand, and are strikingly discriminated, not only in their bolder outlines but in their more minute and evanescent shades. He has certainly not introduced us to some of the scenes and modes of life, in the delineation of which consists the peculiar excellence of various contemporary poets. But we cannot doubt that the pencil which depicted the family of Douglas, the morbid sensibility of Wilfred, and the marauders of the Highlands and Border, is equally qualified to draw, with perfect truth, the quiet of domestic privacy, and the vices and misery of a modern peasant; and that scenes and characters like these are not to be found on Mr. Scott's canvass, only because they did not come within the compass of his design. He selected the characters that existed in the ages where his story is laid; and if his personages are accurately discriminated from each other, and convey to us a faithful impression of the opinions and habits that prevailed in the period whose manners are to be delineated, his duty to himself and the public is fulfilled.

In the display of sentiment and mental emotion, the nature and the subjects of Mr. Scott's poetry afforded him advantages of which we are not quite sure that he has availed himself to their fullest extent. He might, perhaps, oftener have interwoven with the scene which he brings so brilliantly to our eye the description of affections, sometimes enthusiastic and sometimes gentle, naturally suggested by the situations in which his characters are placed, and arising out  
of

of the immediate business of the moment. He has sometimes, indeed, gratified his readers with a fortunate combination of imagery and sentiment; and in these passages the simplicity with which the sentiment is expressed, the honour and virtue which it implies and excites, and above all, the relief it gives to the picture which it illuminates, afford a delight which we cannot forbear regretting that he has not more frequently found occasions of administering. There is one striking merit, however, which it would be injustice to pass over. He is never betrayed into a thought or expression capable of wounding the most fastidious delicacy; and while every adventure that he celebrates, and every sentiment that he breathes, is calculated to inspire the youth of one sex with feelings of patriotism, there is not to be found in all his works a word which the sternest moralist would proscribe as tending to sully the purity of those of the other.

It would be superfluous to dwell upon his unrivalled talent for description. On one hand, he takes care not to diminish the interest and effect by the weakness of the sketch, or by giving a general and indeterminate outline of his picture. He equally avoids, on the other, the opposite mischief of crowding and overwhelming minuteness. He is uniformly the spectator of the scenes, not one of the actors in it. Placing himself on a point from which the whole landscape lies in perspective before him, he at once depicts its most striking features; whether he has to describe motion or repose, he seizes the circumstances which give to the scene its character and interest, throwing into the shade, or but slightly glancing at, those of minor importance.

We have scarcely left ourselves room to speak of Mr. Scott's diction. It is frequently negligent, but almost always powerful. Some of his most remarkable expressions he is supposed to have borrowed from popular authors who have preceded him, and to have interwoven those with the language that is peculiarly his own. We do not accede to this opinion. The extent of his reading has given him a controul over the whole region of poetry; its language, ancient and modern, is familiar to his heart and mind; and when he adopts a mode of expression that perhaps may be traced to others, it is not by an effort of recollection, but because that language naturally suggests itself to him which is best calculated to convey his thoughts. This is not plagiarism: it might as well be said that he who has uniformly lived in good society, and speaks its language, is a servile imitator of the accomplished and the great.

It is now time to recur to the poem which has furnished us with an apology for these remarks. Like several of Mr. Scott's earlier works, it consists of two parts; a series of introductions sung by  
the

the minstrel to his mistress, and the lay itself, by the melody of which he attempts to gain her heart, and in the course of which he wins her hand.

The Introduction, though by no means destitute of beauties, is decidedly inferior to the Poem. Its plan or conception—and we have already told the whole of it—is neither very ingenious nor very striking. The best passages are those in which the author adheres most strictly to his original: in those which are composed without having his eyes fixed on his model, there is a sort of affectation and straining at humour, that will probably excite some feeling of disappointment, either because the effort is not altogether successful, or because it does not perfectly harmonize with the tone and colouring of the whole piece.

The 'Bridal' itself is purely a tale of chivalry; a tale of 'Britain's isle and Arthur's days, when midnight fairies daunced the maze.' The author never gives us a glance of ordinary life, or of ordinary personages. From the splendid court of Arthur, we are conveyed to the halls of enchantment; and of course are introduced to a system of manners, perfectly decided and appropriate, but altogether remote from those of this vulgar world; the purpose of the poet, whose betrothed is peculiarly enamoured of the extravagancies of chivalry, being to tell

'Of errant knight and damozelle,  
Of the dread knot a wizard tied,  
In punishment of maiden's pride;  
In notes of marvel and of fear,  
That best may charm romantic ear.'—p. 11.

The era chosen is the eleventh century. Sir Roland de Vaux, Lord of Triermain, having returned from an inroad on the Scottish Border, sees in a dream a lady of matchless beauty, wearing an eagle's feather in her hair, who transports him with the unrivalled tones of her harp. This powerful baron, as we learn from the introductory lines, to be afterwards quoted, required in the fair one whom he should honour with his hand, an assemblage of qualities that appears to us rather unreasonable even in those high days, profuse as they are known to have been of perfections now unattainable. His resolution however was not more inflexible than that of any mere modern youth; for he decrees that his nightly visitant, of whom at this time he could know nothing but that she looked and sung like an angel, if of mortal mould, shall be his bride. To resolve the question of her mortality, (for none of his attendants had either seen or heard her,) he dispatches his squire to a celebrated sage, on the banks of the river Eamont, by whom it was to be determined whether he was to set out in quest of a  
mistress

mistress of flesh and blood, or whether he had been visited by a delightful but tantalizing dream.

The fair intruder, we learn from this high authority, was 'of middle earth;' but she was in the *five hundred and second year of her age*. So long a period had elapsed since Arthur, the amorous and warlike, wandering from Carlisle one April morning, in his usual spirit of adventure, found himself in the delightful valley of St. John in Cumberland. In the middle of the valley he descried, for the first time, a castle pranked in all the pomp of feudal dignity and power; the drawbridge was up, and the gate closely barred; but the castle itself seemed untenanted. The gloom and silence of the scene quailed his heart for a moment; at last he blew his bugle; the portcullis slowly rose, the drawbridge was let down, and the king entered, grasping his sword, and prepared for the worst that might befall him. The warrior's alarm and precautions were equally unnecessary. Nor giant, nor dragon, nor fiend, was in that enchanted abode. In a stately hall, lighted by hundreds of tapers, he was greeted by a band of ladies, beautiful and blooming, who welcomed the flower of Christendom to their retreat. Before he recovered from his astonishment at this strange adventure, the queen of the mansion entered the hall, and Arthur became perfectly reconciled to his thralldom. The feast and song went round—the night wore apace—the lady became more tender and the knight less timid—and long ere the morning dawned he had forgot both his subjects and his queen.

But this delirium could not last for ever: and Arthur insensibly awoke to the recollection of his duties as a husband and a sovereign. To console his seductress, (the daughter of a genie and a mortal princess,) who was affectionately attached to him, he assured her that if the pledge of their loves should prove a boy, he would bestow a kingdom on him; if a maiden, that his knights, the boast of England and of Europe, should hold a joust for a summer's day, and the damsel should be the prize of the victor. This magnificent promise did not sooth his lovesick fair. She attempted, by an artifice to detain or destroy him, but Arthur found means to pass the drawbridge; and on looking back to gaze on the castle, the scene of his happiness and remorse, he discovered only the solitary streamlet, and a knoll fenced with fragments of rock.

After the lapse of fifteen years, Arthur, when holding his annual court at Penrith during the feast of Whitsuntide, the solemnities of which are described with singular felicity, was astonished by the appearance of a lady heading a band of maidens, who, lighting from her palfrey, advanced to the king, and knelt at his feet. She was drest like a huntress, the eagle plume waved conspicuous in her hair, and she bore a resemblance, but softened and refined by the gentle-  
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ness of mortality, to the sublime and magic beauty of his genius love of St. John's valley. Our readers will have anticipated that this was the daughter of the British king. He welcomed her as became the pink of courtesy; and mindful of his promise before her birth, which had been communicated to her by her mother, he summoned the nobles and knights of his court.

‘Up! up! each knight of gallant crest!  
Take buckler, spear, and brand!  
He, that to-day shall bear him best,  
Shall win my Gyneth's hand.  
And Arthur's daughter, when a bride,  
Shall bring a noble dower;  
Both fair Strath-Clyde, and Reged wide,  
And Carlisle town and tower.’—p. 77.

The call was readily obeyed; and the bravest of his red-cross champions arrayed themselves for the combat.

Before the tourney commenced, the king began to repent him of the rashness of his vow, and besought his daughter to drop her warrior if the strife should become serious. The haughty fair one rejected the application with scorn, and the combat proceeded. We are unwilling to interrupt our narrative by inserting the preparations for the combat, and the description of its pomp and circumstances, which are conceived in the best manner of the author's original, seizing the prominent parts of the picture, and detailing them with the united beauty of Mr. Scott's vigour of language, and the march and richness of the late Thomas Warton's versification. The contention waxed hot, to the horror of the king, and somewhat (we are ashamed to add) to the delight of the beautiful arbitress of the fray, in whose veins ran an infusion of the unearthly blood of her maternal grandfather. Twenty of the Round Table lay weltering in their gore. But Arthur had resigned his truncheon, and was bound by his vow. At last the young and accomplished Vanoc, the favourite of his royal master, and descended from the race of Merlin, fell at the feet of Gyneth, and dyed her sandals with his heart's blood. A peal of thunder was instantly heard, and the form of Merlin, appearing in the middle of the lists, announced to the assembly that the unrelenting princess must sleep in St. John's valley, unseen by mortal eye, until her preternatural slumber should be broken by a warrior as brave and renowned in arms as a knight of King Arthur's Table. The reluctant somnolent struggled to avert this penance, but all her efforts were unavailing.

‘Slow the dark fringed eye-lids fall,  
Curtaining each azure ball,  
Slowly as on summer eves  
Violets fold their dusky leaves.

The weighty baton of command  
 Now bears down her sinking hand,  
 On her shoulder droops her head;  
 Net of pearl and golden thread,  
 Bursting, gave her locks to flow  
 O'er her arm and breast of snow.  
 And so lovely seemed she there,  
 Spell-bound in her ivory chair,  
 That her angry sire repenting,  
 Craved stern Merlin for relenting,  
 And the champions, for her sake,  
 Would again the contest wake;  
 Till, in necromantic night,  
 Gyneth vanished from their sight.'—p. 99.

The doom of the wizard hardly differed from a sentence of never-ending slumber. While the tradition was new, many hardy adventurers attempted to break the spell. Of these, some had been unable to discover the castle; some had been deterred by its unknown but formidable dangers; and others who entered the outer gate had been seen no more. The adventure had therefore been long since abandoned, as beyond the reach of mortal achievement.

Such was the tale told by the ancient sage to De Vaux's messenger; and it inspired the warrior, as our readers must ere this have conjectured, with a desire of returning the visit which the fair slumberer had made him in his dream. The remainder of the story may be told in two words. After months of watching in the valley, the scenery of which, seen by the light of the summer and autumnal moon, is described with an ærial touch to which we cannot do justice, he discovers the enchanted castle. Undismayed by the perils which are mysteriously announced in an inscription on the gate, he forces an entrance. In traversing the extensive building he encountered dangers, and was wooed by blandishments, that must have appalled or melted every heart but that of the fated deliverer of Gyneth. Terror, avarice, pleasure, and ambition, under their appropriate emblems, by turns assail him; but the knight was not to be diverted from his purpose. He discovered and entered the bower of the entranced beauty. Her appearance and dress agreed with the description given to De Vaux's squire.

Still upon her garment's hem,  
 Vanoc's blood form'd a purple gem,  
 And the warder of command  
 Cumbered still her sleeping hand;  
 Still her dark locks dishevelled flow  
 From net of pearl o'er breast of snow;  
 And so fair the slumberer seems,  
 That De Vaux impeached his dreams,

Vapid



Vapid all and void of might,  
Hiding half her charms from sight.'—p. 195.

The warrior kneeling beside her kissed her hand, which instantly dropt the warder; the castle fell to pieces in a thunder shock; and De Vaux found himself in the open valley, and the princess reclined in his arms.

The tale, of which we have now given the summary, is told in three cantos, two of which are employed in narrating the vision of De Vaux, and the misfortunes of his future bride, and the third in celebrating his prowess and perils, and her final rescue from the enchantment. Our readers will have formed their own opinion of its qualities. Its merit, in our estimation, consists in its perfect simplicity, and in interweaving the refinements of modern times with the peculiarities of the ancient metrical romance, which are in no respect violated. In point of interest, the first and second cantos are superior to the third. One event naturally arises out of that which precedes it, and the eye is delighted and dazzled with a series of moving pictures, each of them remarkable for its individual splendour, and all contributing, more or less directly, to produce the ultimate result. The third canto is less profuse of incident, and somewhat more monotonous in its effect. This, we conceive, will be the impression on the first perusal of the poem. When we have leisure to mark the merits of the composition, and to separate them from the progress of the events, we are disposed to think that the extraordinary beauty of the description will nearly compensate for the defect we have already noticed.

But it is not from the fable that an adequate notion of the merits of this singular work can be formed. We have already spoken of it as an imitation of Mr. Scott's style of composition; and if we were compelled to make the general approbation more precise and specific, we should say, that if it be inferior in vigour to some of his productions, it equals or surpasses them in elegance and beauty; that it is more uniformly tender, and far less infected with the unnatural prodigies and coarsenesses of the earlier romancers. In estimating its merits, however, we should forget that it is offered as an imitation. The diction undoubtedly reminds us of a rhythm and cadence we have heard before; but the sentiments, descriptions, and characters have qualities that are native and unborrowed.

In his sentiments the author has avoided the slight deficiency we ventured to ascribe to his prototype. The pictures of pure description are perpetually illuminated with reflections that bring out their colouring and increase their moral effect: these reflections are suggested by the scene, produced without effort, and expressed with unaffected simplicity. The descriptions are spirited and striking, possessing an airiness suited to the mythology and manners of the

times, though restrained by correct taste. Among the characters, many of which are such as we expect to find in this department of poetry, it is impossible not to distinguish that of Arthur; in which, identifying himself with his original, the author has contrived to unite the valour of the hero, the courtesy and dignity of the monarch, and the amiable weaknesses of an ordinary mortal, and thus to present to us the express lineaments of the flower of chivalry.

The first stanza of the poem enumerates the qualities that must be found in De Vaux's destined bride. The lines are eminently beautiful; but when our readers recollect some of the events which we have detailed, they may be inclined to doubt whether the enamoured baron, before completing his union with Gyneth, has not found it necessary to lower his original pretensions.

‘ Where is the maiden of mortal strain,  
That may match with the Baron of Triermain ?  
She must be lovely and constant and kind,  
Holy and pure and humble of mind,  
Blithe of cheer and gentle of mood,  
Courteous and generous and noble of blood—  
Lovely as the sun's first ray,  
When it breaks the clouds of an April day;  
Constant and true as the widow'd dove,  
Kind as a minstrel that sings of love;  
Pure as the fountain in rocky cave,  
Where never sun-beam kiss'd the wave;  
Humble as maiden that loves in vain,  
Holy as hermit's vesper strain;  
Gentle as breeze that but whispers and dies,  
Yet blithe as the light leaves that dance in its sighs,  
Courteous as monarch the morn he is crown'd,  
Generous as spring-dews that bless the glad ground;  
Noble her blood as the currents that met  
In the veins of the noblest Plantagenet—  
Such must her form be, her mood and her strain,  
That shall match with Sir Roland of Triermain.’—p. 15.

We are strongly tempted to insert some of the stanzas in which the drama is opened; to gratify our readers with the anxiety of De Vaux after being visited by the phantom, with the rapid journey of his squire from Triermain to the banks of Eamont, which is executed in the peculiar style of Mr. Scott, and above all with the first appearance of the hermit on whose response so many important events depended. But we cannot insert all the passages that are illustrative of the poem; and we must now suppose the hermit's tale commenced, and Arthur set out on his romantic adventure.

‘ With toil the king his way pursued  
By lonely Threlkeld's waste and wood,

Till

Till on his course obliquely shone  
The narrow valley of SAINT JOHN,  
Down sloping to the western sky,  
Where lingering sun-beams love to lie.  
Right glad to feel those beams again,  
The king drew up his charger's rein;  
With gauntlet raised he skreen'd his sight,  
As dazzled with the level light,  
And, from beneath his glove of mail,  
Scann'd at his ease the lovely vale,  
While 'gainst the sun his armour bright  
Gleam'd ruddy like the beacon's light.'—p. 31.

e descried the turrets of the castle, the effect of which and the  
unding scenery on the gallant monarch, we have already men-  
d.

XV.

' The ivory bugle's golden tip  
Twice touched the monarch's manly lip,  
And twice his hand withdrew.  
Think not but Arthur's heart was good!  
His shield was cross'd by the blessed rood,  
Had a pagan host before him stood,  
He had charged them through and through;  
Yet the silence of that ancient place  
Sunk on his heart, and he paused a space  
Ere yet his horn he blew.'—p. 36.

e blew his horn, however; and entering the hall of the castle,  
vered that his momentary apprehensions were groundless, for

' — the cressets, which odours flung aloft,  
Shewed, by their yellow light and soft,  
A band of damsels fair!  
Onward they came, like summer wave  
That dances to the shore;  
An hundred voices welcome gave,  
And welcome o'er and o'er!  
An hundred lovely hands assail  
The bucklers of the monarch's mail,  
And busy laboured to unhasp  
Rivet of steel and iron clasp;  
One wrapp'd him in a mantle fair,  
And one flung odours on his hair;  
His short curled ringlets one smooth'd down,  
One wreathed them with a myrtle crown.  
A bride upon her wedding day  
Was tended ne'er by troop so gay.'—p. 39.

: frolic croud and their employments, are thus described—

' Then o'er him mimic chains they fling,  
 Framed of the fairest flowers of spring.  
 While some their gentle force unite,  
 Onward to drag the wondering knight,  
 Some, bolder, urge his pace with blows,  
 Dealt with the lily or the rose.  
 Behind him were in triumph borne  
 The warlike arms he late had worn.  
 Four of the train combined to rear  
 The terrors of Tintadgel's spear ;  
 Two, laughing at their lack of strength,  
 Dragg'd Caliburn in cumbrous length ;  
 One, while she aped a martial stride,  
 Placed on her brows the helmet's pride,  
 Then scream'd, 'twixt laughter and surprise,  
 To feel its depth o'erwhelm her eyes.'—p. 41.

The queen's approach being perceived, silence was commanded by the eldest lady of the train, a veteran between seventeen and eighteen. It is impossible to omit the description of her entrance, in which, as well as in the contrasted enumeration of the levities of her attendants, the author, we think, has had in his recollection Gray's celebrated description of the power of harmony to produce all the graces of motion in the body. The banquet immediately follows, and the commencement of the intimacy between Arthur and Guendolen. The passage is somewhat long; but we must be permitted to insert the whole of it, for on the opinion that may be formed even of these two stanzas we are willing to hazard the justness of the eulogium we have bestowed on the general poetical merit of this little work.

## XIX.

' The attributes of these high days  
 Now only live in minstrel lays ;  
 For Nature, now exhausted, still  
 Was then profuse of good and ill.  
 Strength was gigantic, valour high,  
 And wisdom soar'd beyond the sky,  
 And beauty had such matchless beam,  
 As lights not now a lover's dream.  
 Yet, e'en in that romantic age,  
 Ne'er were such charms by mortal seen  
 As Arthur's dazzled eyes engage,  
 When forth on that enchanted stage,  
 With glittering train of maid and page,  
 Advanced the castle's Queen.  
 While up the hall she slowly passed,  
 Her dark eye on the king she cast,  
 That flash'd expression strong ;

The

The longer dwelt that lingering look,  
Her cheek the livelier colour took,  
And scarce the shame-faced king could brook  
The gaze that lasted long.  
A sage, who had that look espied,  
Where kindling passion strove with pride,  
Had whispered, "Prince, beware!  
From the chafed tyger rend the prey,  
Rush on the lion when at bay,  
Bar the fell dragon's blighted way,  
But shun that lovely snare!"

XX.

At once, that inward strife suppress'd,  
The dame approached her warlike guest,  
With greeting in that fair degree,  
Where female pride and courtesy  
Are blended with such passing art  
As awes at once and charms the heart.  
A courtly welcome first she gave,  
Then of his goodness 'gan to crave  
Construction fair and true  
Of her light maidens' idle mirth,  
Who drew from lonely glens their birth,  
Nor knew to pay to stranger worth  
And dignity their due;  
And then she pray'd that he would rest  
That night her castle's honoured guest.  
The monarch meetly thanks express'd;  
The banquet rose at her behest,  
With lay and tale, and laugh and jest,  
Apace the evening flew.—p. 43.

scene in which Arthur, sated with his lawless love, and at last to a sense of his duties, announces his immediate departure, is managed, we think, with uncommon skill and delicacy.

'Three summer months had scantily flown,  
When Arthur, in embarrassed tone,  
Spoke of his liegemen and his throne;  
Said, all too long had been his stay,  
And duties, which a monarch sway,  
Duties, unknown to humbler men,  
Must tear her knight from Guendolen.—  
She listened silently the while,  
Her mood expressed in bitter smile;  
Beneath her eye must Arthur quail,  
And oft resume the unfinished tale,  
Confessing, by his downcast eye,  
The wrong he sought to justify.

He ceased. A moment mute she gazed,  
 And then her looks to heaven she raised ;  
 One palm her temples veiled, to hide  
 The tear that sprung in spite of pride ;  
 The other for an instant pressed  
 The foldings of her silken vest !—p. 61.

He then attempts to sooth her, but in vain, by the promise we have already mentioned in the narrative ; and he resolves on his departure. It is thus described, and in the appearance and bearing of Guendolen our readers will not fail to observe those minute circumstances by which Arthur, fifteen years afterwards, was enabled to recognize her daughter and his.

## VIII.

‘ At dawn of morn, ere on the brake  
 His matins did a warbler make,  
 Or stirr’d his wing to brush away  
 A single dew-drop from the spray,  
 Ere yet a sunbeam, through the mist,  
 The castle battlements had kiss’d,  
 The gates revolve, the draw-bridge falls,  
 And Arthur sallies from the walls.  
 Doff’d his soft garb of Persia’s loom,  
 And steel from spur to helmet-plume,  
 His Lybian steed full proudly trode,  
 And joyful neigh’d beneath his load.  
 The monarch gave a passing sigh  
 To penitence and pleasures by,  
 When, lo ! to his astonished ken  
 Appeared the form of Guendolen.

## IX.

Beyond the outmost wall she stood,  
 Attired like huntress of the wood ;  
 Sandall’d her feet, her ancles bare,  
 And eagle plumage decked her hair ;  
 Firm was her look, her bearing bold,  
 And in her hand a cup of gold.  
 “ Thou goest !” she said, “ and ne’er again  
 Must we two meet, in joy or pain.  
 Full fain would I this hour delay,  
 Though weak the wish—yet, wilt thou stay ?—  
 No ! thou look’st forward. Still attend,—  
 Part we like lover and like friend.”—  
 She raised the cup—“ Not this the juice  
 The sluggish vines of earth produce ;  
 Pledge we, at parting, in the draught  
 Which Genii love !”—she said, and quaff’d ;  
 And strange unwonted lustres fly  
 From her flushed cheek and sparkling eye,—p. 64.

Th

the whole description of Arthur's court is picturesque and appropriate: but we can only make room for the opening of it, with which we must conclude our extracts.

XII.

For this the King, with pomp and pride,  
Held solemn court at Whitsuntide,  
And summoned prince and peer,  
All who owed homage for their land,  
Or who craved knighthood from his hand,  
Or who had succour to demand,  
To come from far and near.  
At such high tide, were glee and game  
Mingled with feats of martial fame,  
For many a stranger champion came  
In lists to break a spear;  
And not a knight of Arthur's host,  
Save that he trod some foreign coast,  
But at this feast of Pentecost  
Before him must appear.—  
Ah, Minstrels! when the Table Round  
Arose, with all its warriors crowned,  
There was a theme for bards to sound  
In triumph to their string!  
Five hundred years are past and gone,  
But Time shall draw his dying groan,  
Ere he behold the British throne  
Begirt with such a ring!—p. 71.

he fate of this work must depend on its own merits; for it is borne up by any of the adventitious circumstances that frequently contribute to literary success. It is ushered into the world, we have already observed, in the most modest guise; and therefore, we believe, is entirely unknown. Should it fail altogether of favourable reception, we shall be disposed to abate something of the indignation which we have occasionally expressed against the extravagant gaudiness of modern publications, and imagine that we are readers whose suffrages are not to be obtained by a work without a name,

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